



Applied Knowledge Services
Governance · Social Development · Humanitarian · Conflict

Social Exclusion

Topic Guide

About this Topic Guide

This publication aims to introduce some of the best literature on the definitions, understandings, causes, and impact of social exclusion, as well as how exclusion can be measured and addressed by governments, civil society actors and international organisations.

GSDRC Topic Guides aim to provide a clear, concise and objective report on findings from rigorous research on critical areas of development policy. Rather than provide policy guidance or recommendations, their purpose is to inform policymakers and practitioners of the key debates and evidence on the topic of focus, to support informed decision-making.

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1. Overview

Social exclusion has been defined by the UK's Department for International Development (DFID) as 'a process by which certain groups are systematically disadvantaged because they are discriminated against on the basis of their ethnicity, race, religion, sexual orientation, caste, descent, gender, age, disability, HIV status, migrant status or where they live. Discrimination occurs in public institutions, such as the legal system or education and health services, as well as social institutions like the household.'¹

The concept of social exclusion arose in response to dissatisfaction with approaches to poverty that focused on income alone. However, the term remains contested and there is no agreed definition. Most commonly, social exclusion is seen to apply to groups, involving the exclusion of individuals due to their membership of particular groups that suffer discrimination. Different understandings of social exclusion emphasise different aspects: the groups at risk of being excluded; what people are excluded from (e.g. employment, education, citizenship, respect); the negative impact of social exclusion (e.g. low income, poor housing); the processes driving exclusion; and the agents involved.

There is agreement, however, that social exclusion is multidimensional: it encompasses social, political, cultural and economic dimensions, and operates at various social levels. It is dynamic, in that it impacts people in various ways and to differing degrees over time. It is also relational: it is the product of unequal power relations in social interactions. It can produce ruptures in relationships between people and society, which result in a lack of social participation, social protection, social integration and power. However, there is rarely a complete lack of access, so there is some arbitrariness in where the social exclusion lines are drawn, and who is perceived to be excluded.

The focus on process and relations complements the concept of inequality, which focuses more on disparities between different categories of people. 'Social inequalities', for example, are conceptualised as constraints on opportunity, in accessing education or healthcare for example. They are based on class and other status ascriptions such as gender, age or ethnicity. However, such a focus on structural constraints can ignore the actors who are continuously building and transforming these structures. Many authors therefore see social exclusion as a useful perspective because it offers an actor-oriented approach, which points to who is doing what, in relation to whom. It also helps identify and tackle issues of power.

In aid, exclusion has become popular with non-economic social scientists. This is due to its focus on societal institutions, actors, relationships and processes. In these, disparity in income or lack of access to social services may be both an indicator and an outcome.

The literature identifies several approaches, lessons and tools that aid actors can draw on to address social exclusion:

- **Policy instruments**, such as:
 - donors adopting specific policies and plans against social exclusion.
 - working on cross-cutting processes that can tackle the manifestations and causes of social exclusion. Examples include advancing inclusive institutions, anti-discrimination legislation, human rights, and affirmative action. Programmes that support voice, empowerment and accountability are also beneficial. So is targeted action for the inclusion for specific excluded groups, such as women and girls, and persons with disabilities. Evidence also shows that aid actors can tackle social exclusion in difficult settings, such as violent conflict and peacebuilding.
- **Sectoral action**, for instance on inclusive growth, service provision, social protection, information and communication technologies (ICTs).
- **Learning from typical challenges** for international aid, such as lessons from experiences with Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRSPs) and lessons on the role of civil society and social movements.

¹ DFID (2005). *Reducing Poverty by Tackling Social Exclusion: A DFID Policy Paper*. DFID, p. 3.
http://www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/development/docs/social_exclusion.pdf

2. Definitions and understandings of social exclusion

2.1 What are people excluded from?

The current notion of 'social exclusion' originated in European debates in the 1980s, where there has tended to be a greater emphasis on spatial exclusion. There is also a policy focus on those living in 'deprived areas', where poor housing, inadequate social services, weak political voice and lack of decent work all combine to create an experience of marginalisation.

However, there are various understandings of social exclusion and integration. In the seminal article below, Hilary Silver highlights these, and illustrates how they stem from analysts' own backgrounds and political traditions.

Silver, H. (1994). Social Exclusion and Social Solidarity: Three Paradigms. *International Labour Review*, 133(5-6), 531-578.

http://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/intlr133&div=51&g_sent=1&collection=journals

How are we to understand the new social problems that have arisen as a result of the economic restructuring of advanced capitalist democracies since the mid-1970s? This article identifies three conflicting paradigms within which different meanings of social exclusion are embedded – solidarity, specialisation and monopoly. These derive from the political ideologies of Republicanism, liberalism and social democracy. While the idea of exclusion may help to focus attention on certain social categories, it may also distract attention from general rises in inequality and undermine universal approaches to social protection.

Social exclusion is a socially constructed concept, and can depend on an idea of what is considered 'normal'. In many developing countries, where most people do not enjoy an acceptable standard of living, defining what is 'normal' is not a simple task, especially given the lack of the welfare state and a formalised labour market. Indeed, as social exclusion can be structured around hierarchy, the exclusion of people on the basis of their race, caste or gender, may be viewed by the society excluding them as 'normal'. As such, the concept of social exclusion is contested, in that it is often difficult to 'objectively' identify who is socially excluded, as it is a matter of the criteria adopted and the judgements used.

Saith, R. (2001) *Social Exclusion: The Concept and Application to Developing Countries*. Queen Elizabeth House Working Paper 72. Oxford: University of Oxford. <http://www3.qeh.ox.ac.uk/pdf/qehwp/qehwps72.pdf>

What is social exclusion? How has the concept been applied in developing countries? This chapter explains that in developed countries social exclusion has been defined in relation to the welfare state and formal employment. Attempts to adapt the concept for the developing world have led to the repetition and relabelling of earlier poverty studies. Rather than trying to transplant the concept, therefore, elements such as its helpful focus on process could be incorporated into existing frameworks.

Social exclusion can also be seen as a part of Sen's capability approach, which is based on the ideas of 'functionings' and 'capabilities'. 'Functionings' are those things that an individual is able to do or be in leading a life, such as having a healthy body, being educated, having self-respect, participating in community life, etc. 'Capabilities' are combinations of various functionings which allow an individual to lead the kind of life he or she values. Social exclusion can thus be seen as a process leading to a state in which it is more difficult for certain individuals and groups to achieve certain 'functionings'. The impossibility of reaching a functioning leads to a state of deprivation, and the 'state' of social exclusion can be defined as a combination of deprivations.

Sen, A. (2000). *Social Exclusion: Concept, Application, and Scrutiny* (Social Development Papers No. 1). Asian Development Bank. <http://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/29778/social-exclusion.pdf>

What new insight into poverty – if any – is provided by the approach of social exclusion? This paper from the Asian Development Bank scrutinises the nature, relevance and reach of the idea of social exclusion, as well as its usefulness outside the European context in which it arose, with a particular focus on Asia. It argues that this approach does indeed offer useful insights for poverty diagnostics and policy, if used with discrimination and scrutiny.

2.2 Multidimensionality

Social exclusion is multidimensional, and can encompass a lack of access to employment, legal redress and markets; a lack of political voice; and poor social relationships. Authors therefore argue that it is not enough to examine these issues individually, and that the links between them must be explored.

De Haan, A. (1999). *Social Exclusion: Towards an Holistic Understanding of Deprivation*. London: DFID.

<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+http://www.dfid.gov.uk/pubs/files/sdd9socex.pdf>

What are the conceptual merits of the notion of social exclusion, and how relevant is it for developing countries? This paper considers the usefulness of social exclusion as a framework for understanding deprivation. It argues that the value of the concept lies in focusing attention on two central elements of deprivation: its multidimensionality and the processes and social relations that underlie it.

Bhalla, A., & Lapeyre, F. (1997). *Social Exclusion: Towards an Analytical and Operational Framework*.

Development and Change, 28(3), 413–433. <http://doi.org/10.1111/1467-7660.00049>

What is the difference between poverty and social exclusion? How can the concept of social exclusion be used as a tool for policy-making? This paper argues that social exclusion overlaps with poverty but goes beyond it by explicitly embracing the relational as well as the distributional aspects of poverty. The concept has universal validity although it has not gained much attention in developing countries. An analytical framework should establish the interrelationships between the social, economic and political dimensions of exclusion.

Social exclusion also sees deprivation and lack of participation as stemming from factors beyond low income.

Burchardt T., Le Grand J., & Piachaud D. (2002). Introduction. In Hills, J., Le Grand, J. & Piachaud, D (Eds.), *Understanding Social Exclusion*. Oxford University Press.

<http://ukcatalogue.oup.com/product/9780199251940>.

There are three main approaches to analysing and understanding social exclusion. These respectively emphasise the roles of: individuals; institutions and systems; and discrimination and lack of enforced rights. Given the complexity of influences on individuals, however, a broad perspective is most helpful.

Fischer, A. (2011). *Reconceiving Social Exclusion (Working Paper No. 146)*. Brooks World Poverty Institute.

http://www.bwpi.manchester.ac.uk/medialibrary/publications/working_papers/bwpi-wp-14611.pdf

This paper argues that social exclusion should be clearly differentiated from poverty. It proposes a reconceptualisation of social exclusion, not as a static state, but as ‘structural, institutional or agentive processes of repulsion or obstruction’ (p. 3). This definition encompasses processes occurring vertically throughout social hierarchies, not just in their lower strata. It enables social exclusion to inform analyses of stratification, segregation and subordination, especially within contexts of high or rising inequality. This redefinition can be applied to situations: 1) where exclusions lead to stratifying or impoverishing trajectories without any short-term poverty outcomes; 2) where the upward mobility of poor people is hindered by exclusions occurring among the non-poor; and 3) to situations of inequality-induced conflict.

2.3 Key debates and the concept of ‘social inclusion’

One critique of social exclusion is that the concept is based on an ‘underlying moral meta-narrative’ which assumes that social inclusion or integration, as the opposite of social exclusion, is inherently good and desirable (Hickey & du Toit, 2007: 3). As a result, efforts to tackle exclusion can often be led by implicit normative assumptions about how social life should be organised. This often ignores the ways in which the terms of inclusion can be problematic, disempowering or inequitable.

Adverse incorporation

The concept of 'adverse incorporation' sees poverty and inequality as a result, primarily, of unequal economic and power relations, thus requiring efforts to change the societal, political and economic dynamics that keep people disadvantaged. Many impoverished and exploited people are in fact included, but on highly adverse terms. Indeed, total exclusion on any dimension is rare, and so adverse incorporation might be a preferable term to social exclusion for many situations.

Hickey, S., & du Toit, A. (2007). *Adverse Incorporation, Social Exclusion and Chronic Poverty (Working Paper No. 81)*. Chronic Poverty Research Centre, University of Manchester.

http://www.chronicpoverty.org/uploads/publication_files/WP81_Hickey_duToit.pdf

How do the processes of adverse incorporation and social exclusion (AISE) underpin chronic poverty? This paper examines the politics and economy of poverty's causal processes over time. Challenging AISE involves a shift from policy to politics and from specific anti-poverty interventions to longer-term development strategies. Particular attention should be given to: industrialisation and labour market restructuring; moves towards developmental states; and supporting shifts from clientelism to citizenship.

Related research summary also available: http://www.chronicpoverty.org/uploads/publication_files/RS_7.pdf

Social integration

Social integration has been defined as 'the process of promoting the values, relations and institutions that enable all people to participate in social, economic and political life on the basis of equality of rights, equity and dignity' (UN Expert Group Meeting on Promoting Social Integration 2008²). However, social integration can also imply integration on poor terms (like adverse incorporation), and cultural homogenisation.

Ferguson, C. (2008). *Promoting Social Integration: Background Paper for Discussion*. Report commissioned by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA) for the Expert Group Meeting on Promoting Social Integration, Helsinki, Finland, 8-10 July 2008. <http://www.gsdr.org/docs/open/SE6.pdf>

What are the policy instruments that provide the most coherent and consistent cross-sectoral approach to social integration? This paper reviews policy instruments and institutions that promote social integration, finding that the human rights framework provides the most effective basis for policy development. This framework can help to resolve some of the tensions between conflicting processes.

Voluntary exclusion

Some minority groups voluntarily exclude themselves from wider society. This phenomenon should be distinguished from social exclusion, which occurs for reasons that are beyond the control of those subject to it.

Barry, B. (1998). *Social Exclusion, Social Isolation and Distribution of Income*. Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion, London School of Economics. <http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/dps/case/cp/Paper12.pdf>

While social exclusion is unquestionably closely associated with poverty, is it inextricably linked? Can a community marked by significant inequalities of power and status still be socially integrated? This paper discusses the relationships between social exclusion, justice and solidarity, with a particular focus on class systems within the USA and Britain. Despite varying income distribution, government policies targeting inequality and favouring social solidarity can promote an integrated society.

² UN Expert Group Meeting on Promoting Social Integration – Draft Summary, Finland, July 8-10, 2008, p. 2. Available at: http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/social/meetings/egm6_social_integration/documents/DRAFT_EGM_Finland_Summary.pdf

3. Identifying exclusion

3.1 Identifying and measuring social exclusion

The measurement of social exclusion is tied to the definition of social exclusion. Different approaches have been adopted to define social exclusion in developing countries. These include efforts to determine whether people benefit from opportunities or whether they fall below average achievements. They may also be based on preconceived ideas about which groups are excluded (e.g. people living in remote areas or tribal groups) or on surveys assessing which groups are perceived to be excluded. These approaches all tend to identify different people as excluded, as the 'states' of exclusion are highly diverse and of differing salience globally. As a result, there can be no single set of indicators that would be equally relevant to all contexts.

Social anthropologists argue that exclusion is a process and that identifying and measuring it risks essentialising statistical categories into groups. On the other hand, economists argue that gathering and analysing statistical information relating to social exclusion can help to identify which groups are excluded, identify the forms and levels of exclusion they face, and quantify the impact of exclusion. Disaggregated data allows progress to be monitored and change relating to specific groups to be tracked over time. Statistical information can also draw attention to exclusion, strengthening advocacy strategies and creating leverage. Raising the profile and visibility of excluded groups can also be a powerful act in itself.

The collection of multidimensional data – including economic, social and political dimensions - is essential if policies are to be effectively designed and monitored, and correctly aimed at reducing group inequalities and increasing social inclusion. Without such data it is difficult to know what sort of action is needed, and whether it has been effective. However, the availability of disaggregated data across countries and regions remains a problem.

Burchardt, T., Le Grand, J., & Piachaud, D. (2002). Degrees of Exclusion: Developing a Dynamic, Multidimensional Measure. In Hills, J. Le Grand, J. and Piachaud, D. *Understanding Social Exclusion*. Oxford University Press. <https://books.google.co.uk/books?isbn=0199251940>

How can a dynamic, multidimensional measure of social exclusion be developed and applied? This chapter illustrates this process by applying a definition of social exclusion to the British Household Panel Survey, 1991-1998. The study examines different dimensions of social exclusion at specific points in time, analysing the degree of individuals' participation in 'key activities' by number of dimensions and by duration. Developing an empirical measure of social exclusion involves clarifying which outcomes matter for their own sake rather than as indicators of other problems. The measurement tools available, however, do not address the extent to which non-participation is voluntary.

3.2 Using quantitative and qualitative data

Some forms of social exclusion are relatively easy to measure, while others are quite difficult. Many forms of social exclusion are represented by clear divisions between groups, but multiple identities can blur group boundaries, and some excluded groups can be 'invisible'. For example, it can be difficult to collect information on mobile populations, and some sensitive information such as HIV status can be difficult to collect using traditional methods such as surveys. This has implications for how data is collected and reported.

Gacitua-Mario, E., & Woden, Q. (2001). *Measurement and Meaning: Combining Quantitative and Qualitative Methods for the Analysis of Poverty and Social Exclusion in Latin America* (Technical Paper No. 518).

Washington, DC: World Bank. [\[wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2002/01/18/000094946_0201040949175/Rendered/PDF/multi0page.pdf\]\(http://wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2002/01/18/000094946_0201040949175/Rendered/PDF/multi0page.pdf\)**](http://www-</p></div><div data-bbox=)**

What policy implications do integrated poverty analyses, incorporating quantitative and qualitative methods, present to decision-makers in Latin America? This paper examines three case studies, from Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, to survey the recommendations produced by research combining quantitative and qualitative approaches. It argues that governments need to improve service provision to marginal communities by expanding public information campaigns and developing their collection of data on poverty in these areas.

Adato, M., Carter, M. R., & May, J. (2006). Exploring Poverty Traps and Social Exclusion Using Qualitative and Quantitative Data. *Journal of Development Studies*, 42(2), 226-247.

<http://doi.org/10.1080/00220380500405345>

Are poverty traps inevitable in a polarised society like South Africa? This article investigates social capital and blockages to upward mobility using quantitative and qualitative data from the 1990s. Large numbers of South Africans are indeed trapped in poverty. Social relationships are most helpful for non-poor households. For the poor, social capital at best helps stabilise livelihoods at low levels and does little to promote upward mobility. Poverty alleviation therefore requires more proactive efforts to ensure that households have a minimum bundle of assets and access to the markets needed to increase them.

Popay, J. et al. (2008) Defining and Measuring Social Exclusion. In *Understanding and Tackling Social Exclusion*, Final Report to the WHO Commission on Social Determinants of Health from the Social Exclusion Knowledge Network, Part 2.

http://www.who.int/social_determinants/knowledge_networks/final_reports/sekn_final%20report_042008.pdf

Part II of this report focuses on issues related to the definition and measurement of social exclusion. Chapter 2 describes the general approach to the concept of social exclusion adopted by the SEKN and presents the conceptual model we have developed. The global salience of the concept of social exclusion is considered, as is the relationship between social exclusion, population health and health inequalities. Chapter 3 presents a series of thematic case studies to explore the nature, scale and impact of exclusionary processes, before describing some of the formal approaches to measurement which are available or being developed.

Stewart, F., Brown, G., & Mancini, L. (2005). *Why Horizontal Inequalities Matter: Some Implications for Measurement* (Working Paper No. 19). Oxford: Centre of Research on Inequality, Human Security, and Ethnicity. <http://www3.qeh.ox.ac.uk/pdf/crisewps/workingpaper19.pdf>

Why do inequalities between groups matter as well as inequalities between individuals? What is the best way to measure such horizontal inequalities? This paper argues that horizontal inequalities (HI) matter for the wellbeing of individuals within groups, and for their impact on wider growth and conflict. Most discussion of inequality concerns Vertical Inequality (VI) between individuals, and is generally confined to a few economic variables such as income or consumption. Horizontal inequalities (HI) are inequalities between groups, and have been largely ignored by policy makers. Group inequality is important because it can affect happiness, efficiency and political stability. It is difficult to assess HI because group identities are fluid, multiple, and may be endogenous. However, felt differences are important and clear enough in many societies to measure HIs if the contingent nature of group definitions is taken into account. Three alternative HI measures were reviewed and compared using data over time for Indonesia, South Africa and the USA; the coefficient of variation among groups (GCOV), the Group Gini (GGINI), and Group Theil (GTHEIL) indices.

3.3 Using non-income measures

While income poverty is an important indicator of social exclusion, it is not the only one. There are various non-monetary and subjective indicators, which should be explored at the cross-sectional level and also longitudinally.

McKenzie, D. J. (2005). Measuring Inequality with Asset Indicators. *Journal of Population Economics*, 18(2), 229-260. <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/DEC/Resources/finaljpopmckenzie1.pdf>

Are household infrastructure, building materials and ownership of certain durable assets significant in measuring inequality in living standards? This paper focuses on poverty in Mexico and shows that where there is no information on household income and consumption, asset indicators can be used to provide a reasonable measure of inequalities in living standards. When used in practice, the study found that, after controlling for

household income and demographics, school attendance of boys in Mexico is negatively related to state-level inequality.

Verner, D. & Alda, E. (2004). *Youth At Risk, Social Exclusion and Intergenerational Poverty Dynamics: A New Survey Instrument with Application to Brazil*. Washington DC: World Bank. http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2004/06/14/000009486_20040614162712/Rendered/PDF/wps3296youth.pdf

What risk factors face poor youth in Northeastern Brazil and how are these risks transferred from one generation to the next? This paper documents the results of a survey conducted in the very poorest urban neighbourhoods of Fortaleza. The new survey instrument used covers five areas: i) socio-economic background; ii) education; iii) health and sexuality; iv) social capital and violence; and v) employment and economic activity. The survey results reveal that youth face significant environmental challenges.

Innovative measuring techniques, such as the socio-economic mapping technique described below, can also help raise public awareness of social exclusion issues.

Camara, G., Monteiro, A. M., Ramos, F. R., Sposati, A., Koga, D. (2004). *Mapping Social Exclusion/Inclusion in Developing Countries: Social Dynamics of São Paulo in the 1990s*. Centre for Spatially Integrated Social Science. http://www.dpi.inpe.br/gilberto/papers/saopaulo_csiss.pdf

How can spatial analysis of socio-economic indicators mapped over geographical areas enhance understanding of social exclusion patterns in developing world cities? This paper reviews previous social indicator mapping projects in Sao Paulo and presents methodologies for mapping social exclusion in urban areas. It argues that social scientists and policymakers could benefit from socio-economic mapping techniques, for instance in redrawing Sao Paulo's administrative zones according to social exclusion indicators.

For another longitudinal model that integrates multiple dimensions of social exclusion, see the following (based on UK data):

Peruzzi, A. (2014). *Understanding Social Exclusion from a Longitudinal Perspective: A Capability-Based Approach*. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 15(4), 335–354. <http://doi.org/10.1080/19452829.2013.877426>

3.4 Tools for assessing exclusion

Many donor measures are concerned with mapping the processes of exclusion and identifying the excluded in a given country: an important task when such groups may previously have been excluded from development interventions. The DFID Gender and Social Exclusion 'How to' Note below also aims to identify the implications of exclusion for economic development and growth, and for conflict and political stability, in any given context.

Hinds, R. (2013). *Tools for Participatory Analysis of Poverty, Social Exclusion and Vulnerability* GSDRC (Helpdesk Research Report 959). Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. <http://www.gsdr.org/docs/open/HDQ959.pdf>

How can participation be used in analyses of micro-level social exclusion? This rapid review of academic and practitioner literature identifies several quantitative and qualitative tools. A major lesson is that practitioners' qualities and skills are as important as the tools. This includes cultural sensitivity, humility, facilitation skills, experience and training. Practitioners also need to manage expectations, do no harm, and ensure accessibility and gender sensitivity. Useful approaches have included ranking, seasonal calendars, storytelling, and participatory theatre. Visuals (e.g. diagrams) have often proven helpful.

DFID (2008) *Gender and Social Exclusion Analysis How to Note (Practice Paper)*. London: DFID. <http://www.gsdr.org/docs/open/SE9.pdf>

This guidance note from DFID suggests a structure, methodology and analytical framework for a Gender and Social Exclusion Analysis (GSEA). A GSEA examines who is excluded, plus the processes, impacts and implications of gender inequality and social exclusion. DFID country offices should carry out a GSEA before preparing a Country Governance Analysis and as part of the country planning process. The GSEA should inform the analysis, issues and choices stages of the country planning process.

Several donor agencies have also developed tools for political economy analysis, which can be conducted at a country, sector or problem level in order to support the design of country strategies and programmes. Some of the more widely cited country-level approaches are DFID's Drivers of Change, the Dutch Foreign Ministry's Strategic Governance and Corruption Assessment, and SIDA's Power Analysis.

DFID's 'Drivers of Change' approach, for example, focuses on agents (individuals and organisations pursuing particular interests), structural features (the history of state formation, economic and social structures), and institutions (the rules governing the behaviour of agents). It is used to analyse the way power works in a society, and to understand the formal and informal institutions and incentives that drive change or maintain the status quo. This type of analysis can provide deeper insights into how exclusion operates in a particular context, and help identify options to bring about more inclusion.

DFID. (2009). *Political Economy Analysis How to Note (Practice Paper)*. London: DFID.

<http://www.gsdr.org/docs/open/PO58.pdf>

DFID's 'how to' note aims to bring together the diverse literature and tools on political economy analysis in a short and accessible document. It covers the following questions: What is political economy analysis? How and why does political economy analysis add value to development agencies' work? What political economy tools are available? How does political economy analysis relate to other tools? And how should political economy analysis be prepared, undertaken and applied? It includes case studies on how political economy analysis has been used by DFID offices.

Examples of political economy analysis, including DFID's Drivers of Change country studies, are available in the GSDRC topic guide on Political Economy Analysis:

Mcloughlin, C. (2014). *Political Economy Analysis: Topic Guide (2nd ed.)* Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. <http://www.gsdr.org/docs/open/PEA.pdf>

Poverty and Social Impact Assessments (PSIA) are another way of analysing the impact of policy reforms on different stakeholder groups, with a particular focus on the poor and vulnerable. They can also be an important way of providing a focus on, and opening up dialogue around, issues of exclusion.

World Bank. (2007). *Tools for Institutional, Political, and Social Analysis of Policy Reform: A Sourcebook for Development Practitioners*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTTOPPSISOU/Resources/1424002-1185304794278/TIPS_Sourcebook_English.pdf

This Sourcebook introduces a framework as well as tools for institutional, political, and social analysis (TIPS) in Poverty and Social Impact Analysis. Intended primarily for practitioners who undertake policy analysis in developing countries, it provides illustrative guidance on a range of tools and their application.

For further resources on political economy analysis tools, see the GSDRC Political Economy Analysis guide: <http://www.gsdr.org/go/topic-guides/political-economy-analysis/tools-for-political-economy-analysis>

3.5 Examples of social exclusion analyses

The disadvantages faced by the excluded are multidimensional and overlapping. Which of the various dimensions – if any – is most central to the exclusion of a particular group will depend on context. The concept of social exclusion can form the basis for context-specific analysis, and can allow for contesting definitions of integration. So, in some societies or among some groups labour market participation may form the core element around which other elements of deprivation coalesce, whereas elsewhere religious identity may be the more important factor. The resources below present some country-specific analyses of social exclusion.

Peleah, M., & Ivanov, A. (2013). *Measuring Intersecting Inequalities through the Social Exclusion Index: A Proposal for Europe and Central Asia (Working Paper No. 22)*. UNECE.

http://www.unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/stats/documents/ece/ces/ge.15/2013/WP_22_UNDP_D_En.pdf

Assessments of social exclusion by group can lack accuracy, relevance to policy, and complexity. This quantitative paper argues that a social exclusion index constructed by UNDP can help to address these weaknesses. The index measures exclusion from economic life, social services, and civic and social

participation. The authors apply it to seven countries in Central Asia and South-Eastern and Eastern Europe. They find that social exclusion stems from three factors: individual risks; local conditions (e.g. characteristics of the local economy); and drivers of exclusion in the specific national, regional or local environment (e.g. structures such as private institutions, discriminatory behaviours, policies). This enables the use of individualised approaches and provides stronger evidence to discuss policy options.

Gacitúa Marió, E., & Woolcock, M. (with M. von Bulow). (2008). Overview: Assessing Social Exclusion and Mobility. In Gacitúa Marió, E., & Woolcock, M. (Eds.), *Social Exclusion and Mobility in Brazil* (pp. 1-34). World Bank.

<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/6340/424860ISBN0978101OFFICIALOUSE00NLY1.pdf?sequence=1>

What is the way forward for poverty reduction in Brazil? This study looks at the problems of inequality, exclusion and restricted mobility. It argues that income inequality is the main impediment to poverty reduction in Brazil. Therefore, redistributive policies are essential to enhancing social inclusion. This means focusing on developing market, political, social and cultural institutions and delivery mechanisms that will sustain progress towards a more accountable and cohesive society.

Human Rights in China. (2007) *China: Minority Exclusion, Marginalisation and Rising Tensions*. Minority Rights Group. <http://www.minorityrights.org/download.php?id=29>

Over the past twenty-five years, China has undergone rapid social and economic change. This report argues that this transformation has exposed the Chinese government's negative policies towards minorities. Key issues preventing minorities from exercising their rights include limited political participation, inequitable development and inadequate protection of minority cultural identity.

Byrne, S., & Chakravarti, S. (2009). *Inequality, Power and Social Exclusion in India*. Poverty-wellbeing.net, March. <http://gsdl.ewubd.edu/greenstone/collect/admin-mprhgdco/index/assoc/HASH01fd.dir/P0159.pdf>

4. Causes and forms of social exclusion

Exclusionary processes can have various dimensions:

- **Political exclusion** can include the denial of citizenship rights such as political participation and the right to organise, and also of personal security, the rule of law, freedom of expression and equality of opportunity. Bhalla and Lapeyre (1997: 420)³ argue that political exclusion also involves the notion that the state, which grants basic rights and civil liberties, is not a neutral agency but a vehicle of a society's dominant classes, and may thus discriminate between social groups.
- **Economic exclusion** includes lack of access to labour markets, credit and other forms of 'capital assets'.
- **Social exclusion** may take the form of discrimination along a number of dimensions including gender, ethnicity and age, which reduce the opportunity for such groups to gain access to social services and limits their participation in the labour market.
- **Cultural exclusion** refers to the extent to which diverse values, norms and ways of living are accepted and respected.

These relationships are interconnected and overlapping, and given the complexity of influences on individuals, it is impossible to identify a single specific cause in the context of social exclusion. People may be excluded because of deliberate action on the part of others (e.g. discrimination by employers); as a result of processes in society which do not involve deliberate action; or even by choice. However, more generally, the causes of social exclusion that lead to poverty, suffering and sometimes death can be attributed to the operations of unequal power relations.

Tilly, C. (2007). Poverty and the Politics of Exclusion. In Narayan, D. & Petesch, P. (Eds.), *Moving out of Poverty: Vol. 1. Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Mobility* (pp. 45-76). Washington, DC: World Bank.
<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTMOVOUTPOV/Resources/9780821369913.pdf>

How does politics affect individual and collective exits from poverty? This chapter examines the politics of exclusion and the political production or reproduction of poverty. It focuses on causal links among four elements: social exclusion, poverty, exits from poverty and overall processes that generate inequality among social categories. Social exclusion lies at the heart of inequality-generating processes. Exclusion itself promotes poverty, and exits from poverty therefore depend on eliminating or bypassing the usual effects of social exclusion. Political programmes to address political interests are required.

Mosse, D. (2007). *Power and the Durability of Poverty: A Critical Exploration of the Links between Culture, Marginality and Chronic Poverty*. Chronic Poverty Research Centre..

http://www.chronicpoverty.org/uploads/publication_files/WP107_Mosse.pdf

What are the causes of chronic poverty and through what social mechanisms does it persist? How does a weak group become a constituency and a political agenda? This paper draws on case studies from western India. Research on poverty has to be reconnected to knowledge about the way in which socio-economic, political and cultural systems work. Chronic poverty develops in the midst of capitalist growth and is perpetuated by ordinary relations of exploitation and opportunity hoarding. To address it, multi-level and long-term strategies are needed.

Social exclusion can also result from the persistence of poverty.

Stewart, F. & Langer, A. (2007) *Horizontal Inequalities: Explaining Persistence and Change*. Working Paper No. 39. Oxford: Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity, August.

<https://lirias.kuleuven.be/bitstream/123456789/316985/1/workingpaper39.pdf>

Why do Horizontal Inequalities (HIs) persist in some cases and narrow in others? This paper explores case studies of HIs over time in different countries. It presents a framework in which complementarities between

³ Bhalla, A., & Lapeyre, F. (1997). Social Exclusion: Towards an Analytical and Operational Framework. *Development and Change*, 28(3), 413-433

the productivity and accumulation of different types of capital tend to lead to self-perpetuating cycles of success and failure. Persistence of HIs is not inevitable, but interventions are generally needed in relation to both human capital accumulation and economic disadvantage if groups are to catch up.

4.1 Exclusion, rights and citizenship

There are clear links between the concept of social exclusion and a rights-based approach to development. Social exclusion analysis can help to identify which groups are being denied access to their rights, and which actors or organisations are blocking their access. A social exclusion analysis is useful even when rights are not on the agenda, because it can help focus attention on those within society who are denied access to resources, institutions or decision-making processes. Social exclusion therefore also links to development agendas focusing on citizenship, participation, democratisation and accountability.

Social exclusion addresses the political nature of deprivation, in that it examines the links between people's lack of citizenship status and their levels of poverty. Citizenship is centred on the capability of exercising individual and collective rights, and inequalities in this capability can generate a social hierarchy, made up of first- and second-class citizens. This often means that not all individuals are equal before the law, and that they do not all have the same access to public goods supplied by the state. Political aspects of exclusion can include the lack of political rights, such as political participation and the right to organise; alienation from or lack of confidence in political processes; and lack of freedom of expression and equality of opportunity.

The following paper includes a discussion on social exclusion as 'incomplete citizenship'.

Gore, C. (with J. B. Figueiredo & G. Rodgers). (1995). Introduction: Markets, Citizenship and Social Exclusion. In Rodgers, G., Gore, C. & Figueiredo, J. B., *Social Exclusion: Rhetoric, Reality, Responses. A contribution to the World Summit for Social Development (1-40)*. International Institute for Labour Studies.

http://www.ilo.org/public/libdoc/ilo/1995/95B09_55_englp3.pdf

What are the advantages of adopting a social exclusion approach to issues of citizenship rights? Section II.2 of this chapter argues that the condition of citizenship must be a clear part of development policy analysis. Citizenship rights appear to be severely limited in many low-income countries, with civil and political rights often as reduced as social rights. Human rights conditionality prods governments to provide certain rights to their citizens, but macro-economic conditionality undermines countries' actual capacity to do so.

The paper below argues that there are certain core values that people associate with the idea of citizenship. These include social justice, self-determination and a sense of horizontal solidarity with others.

Kabeer, N. (2005). The Search for Inclusive Citizenship: Meanings and Expressions in an Interconnected World. In Kabeer, N. (Ed.), *Inclusive Citizenship*. Zed Books. <http://www.drc-citizenship.org/system/assets/1052734474/original/1052734474-kabeer.2005-introduction.pdf>

What does 'citizenship' mean for excluded groups around the world? What do these meanings tell us about the goal of building inclusive societies? This chapter outlines some of the values and meanings associated with citizenship. It considers how debates around citizenship, rights and duties can be interpreted in the light of these values, and discusses the emergence of an explicit rights-based approach in the development agenda.

Gibney, M. (2006). Who should be Included? Noncitizens, Conflict and the Constitution of the Citizenry. CRISE Working Paper 17. Oxford: University of Oxford. <http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/pdf/outputs/inequality/wp17.pdf>

What can the consideration of citizenship issues contribute to debates on political institutions in divided societies? What does it mean to distribute citizenship fairly? This paper considers the question of access to citizenship and associated rights for noncitizens. A growing literature has been concerned with the tyranny of ethnic majorities in democratic political systems, but a 'tyranny of the citizens' should also be considered. Residents of a society who are stateless or 'informal members' should have genuine opportunities to gain citizenship.

For further evidence on social exclusion and justice, see the GSDRC topic guide on justice:

Crichton, J., Scott, Z. & Haider, H. (2012). *Topic Guide on Justice*. Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. <http://www.gsdr.org/docs/open/justice.pdf>

See in particular the section on human rights, gender and social exclusion: <http://www.gsdrc.org/go/topic-guides/justice/human-rights-gender-and-social-exclusion>

4.2 Exclusion based on economic status

The distribution of resources and the accumulation of wealth is an unequal process, which is based on power relations, the capacity of various groups to lobby for their interests and influence the government's agenda, and the targeting of government policies. Economic exclusion also refers to the exclusion of workers (either totally or partially) from three basic markets: labour, credit, and insurance. Applying the social exclusion approach to labour markets highlights the real and growing differences between the employed and the unemployed, between open and underground economies, and between the formal and informal sectors.

Whilst this exclusion plays an important role in the reproduction of inequality, it is also itself the result of inequalities, in access to resources, employment, education, and public services. Educational status, particularly illiteracy, can be an important cause of exclusion from the labour market.

Justino, P. & Litchfield, J. (2005). *Economic Exclusion and Discrimination: The Experience of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples*. Minority Rights Group International. <http://www.minorityrights.org/925/briefing-papers/economic-exclusion-and-discrimination-the-experiences-of-minorities-and-indigenous-peoples.html>
What are the links between discrimination against ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples and their exclusion from economic life? This paper surveys the various forms of discrimination faced by minority and indigenous populations and analyses the causes of the economic exclusion they experience. It argues that discrimination is a central obstacle to development among these groups and, as such, should be a key concern in policy-making.

Exclusion from the labour market can also result from outright discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity, religion, gender, age or social class.

Thorat, S., Attewell, P., & Rizvi, F. F. (2009). *Urban Labour Market Discrimination*. Indian Institute of Dalit Studies. <http://www.dalitstudies.org.in/download/wp/0901.pdf>

Do caste and religion influence a graduate's employment opportunities in India's private sector? This paper examines the prevalence of discrimination in the job application processes of modern private sector enterprises. It finds that discriminatory processes operate even at the first stage of the application process. Caste favouritism and social exclusion still exist in the labour market in today's urban India.

4.3 Exclusion based on social status or identity

Social exclusion is often the effect of a process of discrimination or 'othering' on the basis of cultural, social and/ or racial identity. Such discrimination can generate powerful exclusionary processes. It can be systematic and intentional – resulting from policies which are embedded in the formal institutions of the state, as in the case of the Apartheid regime in South Africa. Discriminatory processes and practices can also be deeply embedded in the operation of labour markets. For example, Popay et al. (2008, see below) highlight the example of the majority indigenous Tuareg in North Niger. The Tuareg represent only one per cent of upper management personnel and 15 per cent of workers and employees in the uranium mining industry, which has polluted their traditional lands and compromised their livelihoods. Discriminatory processes may also be reinforced by religion, tradition and cultural practices – as exemplified by India's caste system – and embedded in dominant social attitudes, behaviours and prejudicial practices. The causes and experiences of different forms of exclusion also combine into complex intersections, as people's positions are shaped by their standing in relation to the multiple dimensions discussed in this guide. People can thus be at a disadvantage in one regard (e.g. women with regard to gender) but privileged in another (e.g. upper caste).

Kabeer, N. (2002). *Citizenship and the Boundaries of the Acknowledged Community: Identity, Affiliation and Exclusion (Working Paper No. 171)*. IDS. <https://www.ids.ac.uk/files/dmfile/Wp171.pdf>

The history of citizenship has been an unhappy one. The denial of resources and the rights of some groups by others is typical, and no historically significant form of citizenship has been incompatible with this type of exclusion. This paper looks at two different forms of citizenship: the 'imagined community' of the nation-state

with its rights and duties, and other communities within the nation-state with their own claims and obligations. It considers how these forms of citizenship shape the patterns of access to and exclusion from resources.

Das, N. K. (2009). Identity Politics and Social Exclusion in India's North-East: The Case for Redistributive Justice. *Bangladesh e-Journal of Sociology*, 6(1).

<http://www.bangladeshsociology.org/Identity%20Politics%20and%20Social%20Exclusion%20in%20Indias%20North-East.pdf>

This paper analyses how identity politics have served to marginalise and exclude different groups in North-East India. These exclusions often assume a binary form, with oppositions including majority-minority, 'sons of the soil'-immigrants, locals-outsiders, tribal-non-tribal, hills-plains, inter-tribal and intra-tribal. Local people's anxiety for autonomy and the preservation of their language and culture should be viewed as a prerequisite for distributive justice, rather than dysfunctional to a healthy civil society.

Haider, H. (2009). *Identity Politics in Nepal* (GSDRC Helpdesk Research Report). Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham.

<http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/HD571.pdf>

The Panchayat regime (1960-1990) in Nepal imposed the values and norms of the dominant group – its language, religion and culture on society as a whole. The languages, cultures and religions of other groups were starkly marginalised. In addition, indigenous nationalities (*adibasi janajati*), dalits and *madhesis* (people of Indian ethnicity living in the Tarai plains), who comprise over two-thirds of the population, have been excluded politically, economically and socially. Women also suffer from exclusion and marginalisation; even those of 'high caste'. In 1990, the 30 year-old Panchayat regime was overthrown, a new Constitution written and a multiparty system re-established. These reforms did not properly address the exclusion of marginalised groups and ethnic centralisation continued. But they did provide the space for such grievances to be mobilised and heard – resulting in the emergence of 'identity politics'.

Caste

Caste has been a structuring inequality in south Asia and beyond. While its manifestations and effects appear similar to class, its workings and implications for social exclusion need to be analysed distinctly. In particular, adverse *inclusion* in caste systems is a major problem. Both references below suggest that approaches to tackling social exclusion caused by caste would have to be specific to caste, sustained and multi-pronged.

Judge, P. S. (Ed.). (2014). *Mapping Social Exclusion in India*. Cambridge University Press.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107296947>

What does a mapping of the patterns and modes of social exclusion in India reveal? How do multiple exclusions affect people's trajectories at macro and micro levels? Which strategies of social inclusion and integration have help erode caste-based discrimination? This 15-chapter book draws on quantitative and qualitative data from sociology, political science, and history. Its detailed analyses show how class, caste, gender, religion, language, geographic location, ethnicity, and disability, have combined to structure society. Social exclusion interacts with systems of inequality, poverty and globalisation. Authors also assess responses from the State, at federal, state and local levels (e.g. reservation policy), and from society (e.g. marginalised groups' autonomous organisation, protests, mass social movement, activism).

India Exclusion Report. 2013-14. (2014). New Delhi: Books for Change.

<http://www.indianet.nl/pdf/IndiaExclusionReport2013-2014.pdf>

How well does the Indian State fulfil its responsibilities towards excluded groups, at local, district, state and federal level? This report offers comprehensive qualitative and quantitative analyses of social exclusion in India. First, it studies exclusion from four public goods: school education; urban housing; labour markets, particularly decent work; and law and justice, focusing on the impact of anti-terror legislation. It identifies the excluded groups, and the negative effects of exclusion for them and society at large. Mechanisms of exclusion include faulty law and policy, institutional bias in implementation, active violence and discrimination by the state, and problems with budgets. Second, the report analyses public budgets, planning, and statistics and reveals discriminations against women, Dalits, Adivasis, Muslims, and persons with disabilities. Third, the report identifies that highly excluded groups, such as transgender persons, bonded labourers, and Musahars (a

scheduled caste in Northern India), suffer from intersecting disadvantages. They face multiple denials of public goods, discrimination, insecurity, indignity and violence.

Each chapter lays out proposals to reverse and prevent such entrenched exclusion. Many laws and policies need to be changed or better implemented. More measures must prevent discrimination, injustice and violence, such as training of public officials, public campaigns, unionisation, and prosecutions. More and better data is needed on inclusion. Special redress is required for highly excluded groups, such as: follow-through on legal recognition for transgender persons; higher public investments in agriculture and rural employment against bonded labour; supporting Musahars' self-organisation.

Gender and sexualities

Discrimination against women is widespread and systemic, and they are subject to exclusion in various spheres. Women continue to face barriers to their political participation, and are vastly under-represented in local and national governing bodies worldwide. There are also gender differences in terms of inclusion in the labour market. Most women work in the informal economy, which is characterised by job insecurity, poor working conditions and low pay. The persistence and reproduction of women's exclusion is also supported by social norms and religious values. In many communities, traditional barriers still prevent women from going out of their homes to work. For some women, having primary or sole responsibility for household duties, including childcare, also prevents them from working outside their homes or areas of residence.

Social exclusion has some powerful advantages for gender analysis: it is dynamic and process-oriented, it enables a focus on the excluded and included as well as the excluders and includers, and it allows for the kind of multilayered analysis that is needed for a better understanding of gender and other complex social relations.

The literature on gender is extensive and cannot be covered in any great depth in this guide. The resources included here aim to highlight some important aspects of the links between gender and social exclusion.

For syntheses of recent evidence on gender and its practical implications for social exclusion and aid, see the following GSDRC topic guides:

Kangas, A., Haider, H., & Fraser, E. (2014). *Gender: Topic Guide* (Revised edition with E. Browne). Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. <http://www.gsdr.org/docs/open/gender.pdf>

**Chrichton, J., Haider, H., Chowns, E., & Browne, E. (2015). *Human rights: Topic guide*. Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. <http://www.gsdr.org/docs/open/rights.pdf>
See in particular the section on women's human rights: <http://www.gsdr.org/go/topic-guides/human-rights/rights-groups-and-discrimination#women>**

**Crichton, J., Scott, Z., & Haider, H. (2012). *Topic Guide on Justice*. Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. <http://www.gsdr.org/docs/open/justice.pdf>
See in particular the section on human rights, gender and social exclusion: <http://www.gsdr.org/go/topic-guides/justice/human-rights-gender-and-social-exclusion>**

For a synthesis of recent evidence on sexual minorities' rights and the practical implications for social exclusion and aid, see the following GSDRC topic guide:

**Chrichton, J., Haider, H., Chowns, E., & Browne, E. (2015). *Human rights: Topic guide*. Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. <http://www.gsdr.org/docs/open/rights.pdf>
See in particular the section on sexual minorities' rights: <http://www.gsdr.org/go/topic-guides/human-rights/rights-groups-and-discrimination#Sexual>**

Costa, J., Silva, E., & Vaz, F. (2009). *The Role of Gender Inequalities in Explaining Income Growth, Poverty and Inequality: Evidences from Latin American Countries* (Working Paper No. 52). International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth, UNDP. <http://www.ipc-undp.org/pub/IPCWorkingPaper52.pdf>

What role can gender play in understanding income growth, poverty and inequality? This working paper argues that gender equality is critical in any attempt to reduce poverty. In particular, it finds that increasing women's access to the labour market correlates very positively with greater economic equality overall. The analysis draws on micro-simulations performed for eight Latin American countries, covering four areas of gender inequality: labour market participation, occupational status, wage discrimination and characteristic endowments.

Morrisson, C., & Jütting, J. P. (2005). Women's Discrimination in Developing Countries: A New Data Set for Better Policies. *World Development*, 33(7), 1065–1081. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2005.04.002>

How do gender inequalities in developing countries affect women's economic activity? This paper introduces innovative indicators to measure constraints imposed on women by social institutions: laws, norms, traditions and codes of conduct. These are the most important factors in determining women's participation in economic activities outside the household. Measures to improve women's access to education and health will have limited impact while social institutions continue to discriminate against women.

Plantenga, D. (2004). Gender, Identity, and Diversity: Learning From Insights Gained in Transformative Gender Training. *Gender & Development*, 12(1), 40–46. <http://doi.org/10.1080/13552070410001726506>

Why prioritise gender inequality over other forms of oppression, such as those based on class, ethnicity and religion? This article draws on insights from gender training sessions to examine gender, identity and power in development organisations. It recognises that identities are always multiple and interconnected, so gender cannot be viewed in isolation. Power dynamics between different identities give privileges to some and make others vulnerable. Gender training should acknowledge these differences and find strategies to promote equality.

Cornwall, A., & Jolly, S. (2006). Introduction: Sexuality Matters. *IDS Bulletin*, 37(5), 1-11.

<http://www.ids.ac.uk/files/dmfile/Intro37.52.pdf>

What is the connection between sexuality and development? This introductory article addresses the role of sexuality in development. The mainstream literature has largely ignored this subject, either reducing it to a health and reproduction issue, or dismissing it as a 'luxury'. In fact, sexuality is a matter of major concern to people worldwide, and development policies are already making an impact on sexuality, intended or not. Sexuality is an issue that cuts across various domains and is linked to human wellbeing. Silences, taboos and societal expectations around sex often reinforce or build up negative gender stereotypes and affect lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people.

Franzoni, J. M., & Voorend, K. (2012). Who Cares in Nicaragua? A Care Regime in an Exclusionary Social Policy Context. In Razavi, S. *Seen, Heard and Counted: Rethinking Care in a Development Context* (pp. 121–148). John Wiley & Sons. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9781118297261.ch6/summary>

This mixed-method book chapter compares the gendered care regimes created by Sandinista legacies (1979-1990) and by neoliberal public policies (1990-2006), to explain why women have been carrying most of the burden of care. Nicaraguans have long approved of community interventions in care, particularly among the poor, and in the face of frequent epidemics and disasters. Sandinistas strongly supported community involvement. The neoliberal downsizing of government since the 1990s, combined with Catholic leaders' views on family, has promoted an exclusionary targeting of basic social services. Project-based welfare has created discontinuity and a lack of coordination. To compensate, local care has grown, but it depends heavily on unpaid, predominantly female work: families (especially mothers), community organisations (often heavily female), social service workers who have suffered greater job instability. The authors recommend formalising care through decent paid work, and tackling the familialisation of care and, as a related but distinct problem, its femininisation.

Khan, S. (2009). *Gender and Elections in Afghanistan* (GSDRC Helpdesk Report). Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. <http://www.ids.ac.uk/files/dmfile/Intro37.52.pdf>

Press coverage around the recent presidential elections in Afghanistan emphasised the low turnout of women voters, highlighting the shortage of female staff at polling stations, proxy voting by male family members, and the threat of retributive violence against women voters and candidates as key factors. However, the academic literature is largely silent on these issues, both in the Afghanistan context and more generally. According to one author, relatively little is known about the actual dynamics of women's access to the polls and their

opportunities to stand as candidates. Most studies of women's political participation focus on the problem of low levels of female representation in government. This stream of research considers the structural and cultural conditions that make it difficult for women to be nominated as candidates and to win political office, as well as the behaviour of female parliamentarians once in government.

Razavi, S., & Jenichen, A. (2010). The Unhappy Marriage of Religion and Politics: Problems and Pitfalls for Gender Equality. *Third World Quarterly*, 31(6), 833–850. <http://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2010.502700>

Has the growing presence of religion in politics made it harder for women to pursue gender equity? This article explores how religion as a political force shapes the struggle for gender equality in developing and developed countries. It is based on studies in Chile, India, Iran, Israel, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Serbia, Turkey and the United States. The political influence of religious actors and movements worldwide has increased post-Cold War. The 'private sphere' has become politicised and is often the focus for conflict between religious actors and human rights advocates.

OECD. (2010). *Atlas of Gender and Development: How Social Norms Affect Gender Equality in non-OECD Countries*. Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development.

http://www.keepeek.com/Digital-Asset-Management/oecd/development/atlas-of-gender-and-development_9789264077478-en#page1

Race

Few studies provide careful examination of the role played by race in social exclusion, poverty, and inequality. This is partly because the subject remains taboo in many countries and as a result, the data that could support such analyses are often lacking. However, some studies, on exclusion in Latin America for example, have shown that certain racial groups experience considerable disadvantages in terms of access to schooling, formal sector jobs and remuneration. Their lower labour market earnings result in disproportionately high poverty levels.

Wade, P. (2005). Rethinking Mestizaje: Ideology and Lived Experience. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 37, 239-257. <http://personalpages.manchester.ac.uk/staff/peter.wade/articles/JLAS%20article.pdf>

How do people live the process of racial-cultural mixture? By adopting an approach that focuses on the everyday, this paper emphasises the ways in which *mestizaje* (mixture) as a lived process involves the maintenance of enduring spaces for racial-cultural difference alongside spaces of sameness and homogeneity. In so doing, it highlights the way in which notions of inclusion and exclusion in processes of mixture are intertwined and challenges essentialist notions of identity.

White, S. (2002). Thinking Race, Thinking Development. *Third World Quarterly*, 23(3), 407–419.

<http://doi.org/10.1080/01436590220138358>

The discussion of race in development is traditionally taboo: development is determinedly colour-blind. This article challenges the dominant stance on development. It argues that the silence on race masks and marks its centrality to the development project. The politics of race in development deserves consideration. Race is a socio-historical construct, which operates both as an aspect of identity and as an organising principle of social structure. Development is increasingly identified as a project of Western capitalism. It cannot be separated from the wider context of Western-inspired global capitalism and the geopolitical interests of dominant states.

Hooker, J. (2005). Indigenous Inclusion/Black Exclusion: Race, Ethnicity and Multicultural Citizenship in Latin America. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 37(02), 285–310. <http://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X05009016>

Why is the landscape of citizenship so uneven across Latin America? Latin America exhibits high degrees of racial inequality and discrimination against Afro-Latinos and indigenous populations, despite constitutional and statutory measures prohibiting racial discrimination. The multicultural reforms of the 1980s and 1990s, which brought many collective rights to indigenous groups have not, however, had the same impact on Afro-Latinos. This article examines the region's multicultural citizenship regimes, and finds an emphasis on cultural difference or ethnic identity over race which disadvantages Afro-Latinos.

Indigeneity, ethnicity and culture

As with race, the literature on ethnicity and exclusion notes that ethnic differences can result in reduced access to and accumulation of assets and goods, and that exclusion can affect the return on those assets in the labour

market. This can have important implications for poverty and wellbeing. Ethnic (as well as racial) exclusion can result from discriminatory institutional rules, as well as social attitudes and practices. This discrimination is particularly problematic when it occurs in public sector organisations, which are responsible for public service provisioning. Creating genuine structures of social inclusion in such contexts is particularly challenging.

For a synthesis of recent evidence on minorities' and indigenous peoples' rights and the practical implications for social exclusion and aid, see the following GSDRC topic guide:

Chrichton, J., Haider, H., Chowns, E., & Browne, E. (2015). *Human rights: Topic guide*. Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. <http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/rights.pdf>

See in particular the section on minorities' and indigenous peoples' rights: <http://www.gsdrc.org/go/topic-guides/human-rights/rights-groups-and-discrimination#min>

Mustafa, A. R. (2006). *Ethnic Structure, Inequality and Governance of the Public Sector in Nigeria* (Programme Paper No. 24), UNRISD, November.

[http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/%28httpAuxPages%29/C6A23857BA3934CCC12572CE0024BB9E/\\$file/Mustapha.pdf](http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/%28httpAuxPages%29/C6A23857BA3934CCC12572CE0024BB9E/$file/Mustapha.pdf)

How has ethnic mobilisation and confrontation manifested itself in multi-ethnic Nigeria? What efforts have been made to address it? This paper explores Nigeria's contradictory processes of ethno-regional fragmentation and a centralising nation-building agenda. Ethnic mobilisation remains resilient in the face of repeated efforts at political engineering and nation-building.

Cultural status inequalities arise when certain groups' cultural norms, practices and symbols are given differential treatment or recognition. In the following paper, the three main aspects of cultural inequality are defined as: i) recognition of religious practices and observances; ii) language rights and language recognition; and iii) recognition of ethnocultural practices. Cultural status inequalities are particularly prone to group mobilisation and violence because of their inherent link with group identity.

Langer, A., & Brown, G. (2007). *Cultural Status Inequalities: An Important Dimension of Group Mobilization* (CRISE Working Paper no. 41). Oxford: Centre for Research on Inequality Human Security and Ethnicity.

http://www.qeh.ox.ac.uk/publications/wps/wpdetail?jor_id=393

What is the relationship between cultural status and group mobilisation? This paper analyses this relationship within the broader framework of horizontal inequalities – that is, inequalities between culturally defined groups. Group grievances and violent conflict can emerge out of the inferior treatment or status afforded to different groups' cultural practices by the state. The most dangerous situations exist where all three dimensions of horizontal inequality – socioeconomic, political and cultural – run in the same direction.

Laaksonen, A. (2005, January). *Measuring Cultural Exclusion through Participation in Cultural Life*. Paper presented at Third Global Forum on Human Development: Defining and Measuring Cultural Exclusion, Paris.

http://www.academia.edu/2781161/Measuring_Cultural_Exclusion_through_Participation_in_Cultural_Life
What indicators should be used to measure individuals' access to cultural rights? How can a strengthening of cultural life contribute to social inclusion and participation? This paper looks at three geographically diverse consultations on cultural inclusion to identify the key cultural rights priorities for communities worldwide. It argues that an enabling cultural environment promotes individuals' access to their rights and a sense of social responsibility.

However, development practitioners must be careful about how they judge other cultures. On an organisational and individual level, they need to examine their own cultural assumptions and power dynamics. Their role must be to make space for discussion of cultures by 'insiders', and to ensure the participation of excluded groups – enabling them to identify and take action against practices they find oppressive.

Jolly, S. (2002). *Gender and Cultural Change: Overview Report*. Brighton: BRIDGE, Institute of Development Studies. <http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/sites/bridge.ids.ac.uk/files/reports/CEP-culture-report.pdf>

Is Gender and Development (GAD) an imposition of western ideas on other cultures? This accusation can obstruct efforts to tackle gender inequality. Yet ideas in development are disproportionately influenced by richer countries. This paper addresses this problem by examining culture and the origin of cultural norms.

Awareness of power dynamics and willingness to tackle gender stereotypes can be effective in challenging cultural norms.

On social exclusion and inclusion of indigenous populations, see also:

Nathan, D., & Xaxa, V. (2012). *Social Exclusion and Adverse Inclusion: Development and Deprivation of Adivasis in India*. OUP India. <http://ukcatalogue.oup.com/product/9780198078937.do>

Religion

Religion-related exclusion can come in two forms. The first is the denial of the right to practise one's religion freely or at least equally. The second is the exclusion of people from the wider legal, economic and political rights available more generally on the grounds of their religion or religious identity. An additional important dimension is the exclusion by a religious group of its own members from certain religious practices. In India, the practice of untouchability which excludes dalits from Hindu temples is highlighted by the paper below as an example of this.

Bhargava, R. (2004). *Inclusion and Exclusion in South Asia: The Role of Religion*. United Nations Development Programme. http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hdr2004_rajeev_bhargava.pdf

What forms of exclusion related to religion occur in South Asia and how can these be addressed? This paper examines the role of religion in inclusion and exclusion in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. A South Asian society with a secular state such as India is most likely to be inclusive or to have potential for inclusion. Conversely, a society without a secular state such as Pakistan or Bangladesh has much greater potential for exclusion.

Children and youth

Although most people make a 'normal' transition from youth to adulthood, in many countries young people are increasingly unable to achieve the social and economic levels associated with adulthood. This trend has been termed 'the blocked transition to adulthood', and is also known as the 'waithood' in the Middle East and 'youthmen' in Rwanda. Youth exclusion is particularly widespread in countries with rigid and conservative power structures, which exclude them and other marginalised groups in society. For example, young people in the Middle East often see their governments as unelected, unaccountable, corrupt and providing no legitimate outlet for youth discontent. Therefore, it is the intersection of youth with other dimensions of disadvantage that makes social exclusion a useful framework for analysis.

For a synthesis of recent evidence on children' and youth's rights and their practical implications for social exclusion and aid, see the following GSDRC topic guide:

Chrichton, J., Haider, H., Chowns, E., & Browne, E. (2015). *Human rights: Topic guide*. Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. <http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/rights.pdf>

See in particular the sections on children's and adolescents' human rights:

<http://www.gsdrc.org/go/topic-guides/human-rights/rights-groups-and-discrimination#children>

<http://www.gsdrc.org/go/topic-guides/human-rights/rights-groups-and-discrimination#adolescents>

Kabbani, N., & Kamel, N. (2007). *Youth Exclusion in Syria: Social, Economic and Institutional Dimensions*. Washington DC / Dubai: Middle East Youth Initiative. <http://journalistsresource.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/08/Youth-Exclusion-in-Syria.pdf>

What factors contribute to the economic exclusion of young Syrians, and how do these factors interact? This paper examines economic, social and institutional dimensions of youth exclusion in Syria. Findings suggest that a combination of factors contributes to economic exclusion, with multiple risk factors having a cumulative impact towards youth exclusion.

UNICEF. (2006). *Excluded and Invisible: The State of the World's Children 2006*. New York: United Nations Children's Fund. <http://www.unicef.org/sowc06/>

How can children be included in the millennium agenda? Meeting the MDGs and the broader aims of the Millennium Declaration would transform the lives of millions of children: saving them from illness, premature death, extreme poverty and malnutrition and helping them gain access to safe water and decent sanitation

facilities, and primary schooling. However, with the MDGs focused on national averages, children in marginalized communities risk missing out on essential services such as health care, education and protection. This paper discusses the root causes of the exclusion and invisibility of some children, and how the MDGs can be met so that they are included and protected.

Thorat, S., & Sadana, N. (2009). Discrimination and Children's Nutritional Status in India. *IDS Bulletin*, 40 (4), 25-29. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1759-5436.2009.00055.x/abstract>

What is the connection between caste and health status in India? This paper argues that discrimination and exclusion associated with 'untouchability' may play a role in the poor health of lower caste individuals. Particularly in the nutrition domain, lower caste children have significantly lower indicators of health and wellbeing. Proactively inclusive measures are needed to reverse current trends, beginning with antipoverty and education programmes. Equally necessary is a major campaign to raise awareness among rural people, including the scheduled castes (SC) and scheduled tribes (ST), encouraging them to access healthcare services.

Old age

As with youth, the intersection of old age with other categories such as gender, ethnicity, and disability, can result in discrimination against, and the marginalisation of, older people. They can face multi-dimensional disadvantages including lack of assets, isolation and physical infirmity. These are closely related to the processes and institutional arrangements that exclude them from full participation in the economic, social and political life of their communities. These include the discriminatory laws and practices of governments and the negative attitudes and discriminatory practices of family members, healthcare providers and employers. Age-based prejudice isolates older people from consultation and decision-making processes at family, community and national levels, and can lead to the denial of services and support on the grounds of age.

For a synthesis of recent evidence on the rights of the elderly and the practical implications for social exclusion and aid, see the following GSDRC topic guide:

Chrichton, J., Haider, H., Chowns, E., & Browne, E. (2015). *Human rights: Topic guide*. Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. <http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/rights.pdf>

See in particular the section on the human rights of the elderly: <http://www.gsdrc.org/go/topic-guides/human-rights/rights-groups-and-discrimination>

Beales, S. (2000). *The Mark of a Noble Society: Human Rights and Older People*. London: HelpAge International. <http://www.helpage.org/download/4c48db115b881>

Older women and men are now the world's fastest-growing population group, and among the poorest. What barriers do older people face in having their predicaments acknowledged and their contributions supported? How can their rights be promoted and protected? There is a compelling economic as well as moral logic for including older people in global strategies to combat poverty to further human rights. This paper explores the relationship between poverty and human rights, and the barriers older people face.

Disability

Disabled people often have limited access to education, employment, and public services. Some of the barriers to their inclusion are physical, such as inaccessible buildings and transport; institutional, such as discriminatory legislation; and attitudinal, for example stigma. Disability has been something of a zone of invisibility, and people with disabilities are not included in any of the MDG's Goals, Targets or Indicators, yet an estimated one billion people worldwide live with varying degrees of disability.

For a synthesis of recent evidence on the rights of persons with disabilities and the practical implications for social exclusion and aid, see the following GSDRC topic guide:

Chrichton, J., Haider, H., Chowns, E., & Browne, E. (2015). *Human Rights: Topic guide*. Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. <http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/rights.pdf>

See in particular the section on the human rights of persons with disabilities: <http://www.gsdrc.org/go/topic-guides/human-rights/rights-groups-and-discrimination#dis>

UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs. (2011). *Disability and the Millennium Development Goals: A Review of the MDG Process and Strategies for Inclusion of Disability Issues in Millennium Development Goal Efforts*. New York: UN. http://www.un.org/disabilities/documents/review_of_disability_and_the_mdgs.pdf
This publication provides a 'road map' for how and why disability can and should be included in the planning, monitoring and evaluation of MDG-related programmes and policies.

World Health Organisation & the World Bank (2011). *World Report on Disability: Summary*. Geneva: WHO. http://whqlibdoc.who.int/hq/2011/WHO_NMH_VIP_11.01_eng.pdf
This report finds that more than a billion people, about 15 per cent of the world's population, are estimated to live with some form of disability. It synthesises the evidence on how to address the barriers they face in health, rehabilitation, support and assistance, environments, education and employment. It argues that many of the barriers are avoidable, and that the disadvantages associated with disability can be overcome. Multiple, systemic interventions are needed.

Yeo, R. (2001). *Chronic Poverty and Disability. Background Paper 4*. Manchester: Chronic Poverty Research Centre. http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/PDF/Outputs/ChronicPoverty_RC/04Yeo.pdf
Disabled people make up approximately 10 per cent of any population and more of those living in chronic poverty. The international development targets are unlikely to be met without including disabled people. There is, however, a risk the targets could cause a focus on those easiest to bring out of poverty, not those in chronic poverty. While there has been a shift towards considering disability rights in rhetoric, in many places there has been little concrete action. Existing research uses different definitions of disability and impairment, and definitions are complicated by cultural variations on what impairments cause marginalisation. Disabled people exert little influence on policy makers, are hard for researchers to reach and research methods can also exclude them. Existing anecdotal evidence, however, points to a disproportionate number of disabled people in all countries amongst those in extreme or chronic poverty.

Munsaka, E. (2015). *Exclusion in Development Initiatives: A Study of Women with Disabilities in Binga, Zimbabwe*. *Community Development Journal*, 50(2), 180–195. <http://doi.org/10.1093/cdj/bsu027>
Women with disabilities (WWDs) want to participate in their communities' development but have faced barriers, this small-group qualitative research in Binga (Zimbabwe) shows. Women had difficulties accessing formal support that would enable their participation. Dehumanisation and 'othering' positioned them as incapable, unproductive, dependent and inferior. This negated their agency and undermined their potential and self-esteem. Governmental and non-governmental actors largely reinforced such exclusion. The author recommends monitoring and enforcing the inclusion of WWDs in initiatives of their choice, as well as increasing the critical awareness and training of community workers.

Trani, J. & Loeb, M. (2012). *Poverty and Disability: A Vicious Circle? Evidence from Afghanistan and Zambia*. *Journal of International Development*, S1, S9-S52 <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/jid.1709/abstract>

HIV/AIDS

Social exclusion can increase the risk factors leading to HIV infection, making the disease much harder to prevent. The stigma associated with the infection also means that in many countries people living with HIV and AIDS are likely to be socially excluded. Some groups will find their exclusion compounded by contracting the virus and find themselves blamed for their condition, for example gay men, young women and widows. This can make HIV and AIDS more difficult to treat.

Operario, D. (2008). *The Epidemic Through Voices – Impact and Vulnerability*. In UNDP, *Living with HIV in Eastern Europe and CIS: The Human Cost of Social Exclusion* (chapter 2). United Nations Development Programme. http://europeandcis.undp.org/rhdr.aids2008/report/aids_04.pdf
How does the HIV epidemic impact on human development? What are the specific challenges amongst vulnerable populations? This paper examines the impacts of HIV in Eastern Europe and CIS countries. A human development perspective is called for, providing a comprehensive approach to match the complex challenges of HIV.

4.4 Exclusion based on spatial factors

Spatial inequalities include disparities between rural and urban areas, and also between geographically advantaged and disadvantaged areas. Spatial disadvantage may result from the remoteness of a location which makes it physically difficult for its inhabitants to participate in broader socio-economic processes. Or it may operate through the segregation of urban environments and the 'subcultures' of violence, criminality, drug dependence and squalor, which can often characterise urban slums and excluded neighbourhoods. In some cases, ghettos of marginalised religious or ethnic groups can form as the direct result of communal violence. In many countries, these disparities are increasing, partly as a consequence of the uneven impact of trade and globalisation. These disparities are particularly worrying where they overlap with political or ethnic divisions.

The spatial dimension of exclusion cannot be entirely separated from its resource and identity dimensions since it is usually culturally and economically marginalised groups that inhabit physically deprived spaces. Activities of economic and political importance are often concentrated in urban centres. These centres also benefit from a constant inflow of new material, financial and human resources from the peripheries. Government policies can also be biased towards these areas. As a result of this, and the constant leakage of resources to the central regions, peripheral areas often have difficulty in self-sustaining economic development.

Kanbur, R., & Venables, A. (2005). *Spatial Inequality and Development: An Overview of UNU-WIDER Project*. <http://www.arts.cornell.edu/poverty/kanbur/WIDERProjectOverview.pdf>

The UNU-Wider project on 'Spatial disparities in development' has analyzed evidence on the extent of spatial inequalities in over 50 developing countries. The research finds that spatial inequalities are high, with disparities between rural and urban areas, and also between geographically advantaged and disadvantaged regions. In many countries such disparities are increasing, partly as a consequence of the uneven impact of trade openness and globalization. While there are efficiency gains from the concentration of economic activity in urban centres and in coastal districts, the associated regional inequalities are a major contributor to overall inequality. They are particularly worrying if they align with political or ethnic divisions. The broad outline of appropriate policy for managing high and rising spatial disparities is also clear. The case for policy interventions to ensure a more spatially equitable allocation of infrastructure and public services, and for policies to ensure freer migration, has been made powerfully in the papers in this project.

Higgins, K., Bird, K., & Harris, D. (2010). *Policy Responses to the Spatial Dimensions of Poverty (Working Paper)*. London / Manchester: Overseas Development Institute and the Chronic Poverty Research Centre. <http://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/5518.pdf>

How should public policy address the spatial dimensions of poverty? This paper reviews policy documents and eight country cases to identify how the spatial dimensions of poverty are reflected in development policies. Lessons include the need to: 1) balance universalism and targeting; 2) manage the form and processes of integration in the economy; 3) use both short-term and longer-term policies; and 4) respond to different scales and settings of spatial poverty traps.

Tam, T., & Jiang, J. (2015). *Divergent Urban-rural Trends in College Attendance State Policy Bias and Structural Exclusion in China*. *Sociology of Education*, 88(2), 160–180. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0038040715574779>

In China, difference in college attendance has widened since 1998 between urban and rural holders of residency permits (based on the *hukou* residence system). Prevailing explanations have emphasised urban students' advantages in school quality and household financial resources. However, this statistical analysis of 28 districts over 14 cohorts (1989-2002) reveals the key reason to be that the increase in opportunities for vocational education has happened quasi-exclusively in cities, which rural students cannot easily access. As a result, the dynamic has benefited mostly lower-achieving urban students. State policy has thus structurally excluded rural upper-secondary school students from the path to college.

Fischer, A. M. (2005). *State Growth and Social Exclusion in Tibet: The Challenges of Recent Economic Growth*. Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies. <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=tDiBIL5bl-AC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>

How has economic growth and transformation in China influenced structural marginality in Tibetan areas? This book uses a macro socio-economic perspective to trace how economic growth and transformation interact

with social change and population transitions in the Tibetan areas, and how these processes influence the emergence or exacerbation of structural marginality and social exclusion. It argues that the most pressing economic issues facing the Tibetan regions relate to the socio-economic marginalisation of the majority of Tibetans from rapid state-led growth.

Often, vulnerable groups can become concentrated in areas of low investment, poor land and lack of opportunities. These areas include slums, which often lack health and education services, as well as infrastructure. Not only do slums house vulnerable people, they are also inherently vulnerable places.

United Nations Human Settlements Programme. (2003). Urbanization Trends and Forces Shaping Slums. In *The Challenge of Slums: Global Report on Human Settlements* (Netherlands). UN-HABITAT.

<http://mirror.unhabitat.org/pmss/getElectronicVersion.aspx?nr=1156&alt=1>

Why do cities take certain forms and the poor congregate in particular locations? How do macro or external forces act on the cities responsible for slum formation? This paper examines urbanisation trends and the forces that shape slums. It is argued the internal spatial organisation of cities can be seen as 'ecological' competition, with the strongest groups taking the more desirable land.

Khan, S. (2009). *Urbanisation and Urban Poverty in Bangladesh* (GSDRC Helpdesk Research Report). Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. <http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/HD618.pdf>

Access to housing and security of tenure is a key issue for the urban poor of Bangladesh. Often they are forced to settle in informal settlements on marginal lands where they fall prey to *mastaans*, or middle men, who charge extortionate rents for land and services and often use coercive methods. These settlements often have little or no access to basic services such as water and electricity, and what access is provided tends to be stretched far beyond capacity. They are particularly vulnerable during monsoon rains. The inhabitants also live under the constant threat of eviction. The urban poor also tend to work informally, with low wages and lack of job security, contributing to the prevalence of child labour. Rates of unemployment are often quite low in urban areas, but this tends to mask high levels of underemployment.

Chandhoke, N. (2010). *Some Reflections on the Notion of an Inclusive Political Pact: A Perspective from Ahmedabad* (Working Paper No. 71). London: Crisis States Research Centre

<http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/28470/1/WP71.2.pdf>

Homelessness is a manifestation and consequence of social exclusion, and it also reinforces homeless persons' exclusion in multiple dimensions.

Fiorati, R. C., Carretta, R. Y. D., Kebbe, L. M., da Silva Xavier, J. J., & Lobato, B. C. (2014). Inequalities and Social Exclusion among Homeless People: A Brazilian Study. *American International Journal of Social Science*, 3(6). http://www.aijssnet.com/journals/Vol_3_No_6_November_2014/2.pdf

This in-depth ethnographic study with 15 homeless people in São Paulo finds that research participants' households had suffered from social vulnerability and poverty over past generations. Their family relations were marked by violence and disintegration. In their daily lives, participants found themselves in close proximity to violence and crime. They experienced inequities, a lack of access to decent living standards, and a risk of early death. Public policies, assistance and healthcare for this population have lacked stability. Homeless person's problems have tended to be medicalised whereas, the authors argue, homelessness results from historical and social determinants.

4.5 Exclusion based on migration

Migration can act both as a way of moving out of poverty, and a cause of social exclusion. For example, foreign remittances can help receiving households to increase their income and consumption levels, as well as their capabilities to face socioeconomic shocks. However, rural-urban migrants for example, often do not benefit from the same political, social and economic rights as other urban citizens. They often find themselves in insecure, low-paid jobs, or become concentrated in vulnerable areas such as slums and deprived housing estates, with high levels of criminality and violence.

Similar conditions can also sometimes affect foreign immigrants or refugee groups, generating mutual mistrust and resentment. 'Host'-immigrant tensions can be increased by perceptions of religious, ethnic or cultural 'otherness' that can sharpen social divisions and potentially contribute to conflict. (However, findings from West Africa suggest that cultural similarities between immigrants and host populations can actually worsen immigrant-host relations.)

Where policy directly or indirectly discriminates against migrant and immigrant populations – through, for instance, the targeting of immigrants by law enforcement in the first case, or the failure to provide language assistance to foreign migrants in the second – this process may become cyclical, with structural exclusion driving low educational attainment, low employment, vulnerability to crime and consequent community tensions. There are thus fears that the exclusion of migrants can pose a threat to stability.

For a synthesis of recent evidence on migrants' rights and the practical implications for social exclusion and aid, see the following GSDRC topic guide:

Chrichton, J., Haider, H., Chowns, E., & Browne, E. (2015). *Human Rights: Topic guide*. Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. <http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/rights.pdf>
See in particular the section on migrants' rights: <http://www.gsdrc.org/go/topic-guides/human-rights/rights-groups-and-discrimination#mig>

Adida, C. L. (2011). Too Close for Comfort? Immigrant Exclusion in Africa. *Comparative Political Studies*, 44(10), 1370-1396. http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1750400

Why do some minority groups involved in South-South migration integrate into their host societies, whereas others face exclusion and hostility? Why, for example, are Nigerian Hausas integrated into Ghanaian society in Accra but rejected in Niamey (Niger)? This study draws on surveys of Nigerian Hausa and Yoruba immigrants and host populations in urban Ghana, Benin and Niger. Its findings suggest that cultural similarities may worsen, not improve, immigrant-host relations in sub-Saharan Africa: cultural similarities seem to motivate immigrant community leaders to seek to preserve their group identities by highlighting group boundaries. In addition, host societies seem to reject groups that can easily blend in because those groups can access indigenous benefits in the competition for scarce resources.

DFID. (2007). *Moving Out of Poverty – Making Migration Work Better for Poor People (Policy Paper)*. London: DFID. http://www.migrationdrc.org/publications/other_publications/Moving_Out_of_Poverty.pdf

How can policymakers and development agencies maximise the opportunities and minimise the risks associated with rising levels of national and international migration? This paper analyses the impact of voluntary economic migration on poverty reduction and development goals. Migration carries risks both for migrants and for the countries sending and receiving them. However, the benefits of migration can be maximised by improving planning for internal mobility, encouraging legal migration, promoting low-cost methods for sending remittances, and supporting diaspora activity.

Kothari, U. (2002). *Migration and Chronic Poverty (Working Paper No. 16)*. Manchester: Chronic Poverty Research Centre, Institute for Development Policy and Management. http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/PDF/Outputs/ChronicPoverty_RC/16Kothari.pdf

What is the relationship between chronic poverty and processes of migration? While livelihoods strategies are diverse and multiple, for many poor people migration represents a central component of these. How can research examine the characteristics of those who move and stay and what compels them? This paper addresses the implications of current migration-related policies for chronic poverty and identifies possible future research priorities for the Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC). It does not look at 'forced' migration (including refugees) but focuses on 'free' population movements.

Ngan, L. L.-S., & Chan, K.-W. (2013). An Outsider is Always an Outsider: Migration, Social Policy and Social Exclusion in East Asia. *Journal of Comparative Asian Development*, 12(2), 316–350. <http://doi.org/10.1080/15339114.2013.801144>

Governments in Seoul, Taipei, Hong Kong and Beijing have disadvantaged low-income migrants who have come from rural areas or from abroad, this qualitative comparison shows. The discrimination is based on class, race and the urban-rural divide, and is produced by policies and biased practices. One key driver has been the

under-valuation of migrants' contribution to economic growth, with migrant workers and their families presented as a burden. The marginalisation of migrants from welfare services, labour rights and social participation has had cumulative effects on their social exclusion. The author calls for better legislation, but also for embracing multiculturalism and migration.

Sommers, M. (2006). *Fearing Africa's Young Men: The Case of Rwanda*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

<http://www->

wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2006/02/13/000090341_20060213142651/Rendered/PDF/351490RW0Young0men0WP3201PUBLIC1.pdf

Do the concentrated numbers of male youths in urban Rwanda threaten social stability? The World Bank investigates this theory, examining the concept that large concentrations of male youths are disconnected from their cultures and prone to violence due to the 'youth bulge'. However, interviews with urban male youths in Rwanda indicate that they are constrained by limited opportunities rather than menaces to society. The situation confronting most Rwandan youths and most of their counterparts in Africa remains alarming – a largely silent emergency.

Yang, J. (2013). *Social Exclusion and Young Rural-Urban Migrants' Integration into a Host Society in China*.

***The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 648(1), 52-69.**

<http://ann.sagepub.com/content/648/1/52.full.pdf>

Has market-driven migration inside China advanced equal rights and personal development for migrants? This multilevel modelling draws on nationally representative data. It finds that young rural-to-urban migrants achieve a lower socio-economic status than local youth, who fare best, and migrant youth from urban areas. Social exclusion against rural migrants stems from institutional constraints (such as *hukou* – the household registration system) and from the workings of local employment and public services. The author recommends reforming education and *hukou*, improving young rural urban migrants' education, and eliminating policies that favour locally born populations in social services.

4.6 Useful websites

Helpage International

www.helpage.org

Indian Institute of Dalit Studies

www.dalitstudies.org.in

Middle East Youth Initiative

www.shababinclusion.org

UNICEF

www.unicef.org

Migrating out of Poverty research programme consortium

migratingoutofpoverty.dfid.gov.uk

5. Important dynamics in social exclusion

5.1 Social exclusion as a process

Social exclusion is a process. It can involve the systematic denial of entitlements to resources and services, and the denial of the right to participate on equal terms in social relationships in economic, social, cultural or political arenas. Exclusionary processes can occur at various levels – within and between households, villages, cities, states, and globally. This is an actor-oriented approach which is useful because it points to who is doing what and in relationship with whom. It also provides information for international development agencies to identify those dynamic processes already extant which they could aim to strengthen or minimise. In a situation where there is a disparity in social power relationships, the question of who has the prerogative to define, who is the definer and who is the defined, becomes a site of conflict.

In the text below, Naila Kabeer identifies three types of attitudes and social practices which result in exclusion (2000: 91-93). These can be conscious or unconscious, intended or unintended, explicit or informal. They are:

1. *Mobilisation of institutional bias*: This refers to the existence of ‘a predominant set of values, beliefs, rituals and institutional procedures that operate systematically and consistently to the benefit of certain persons and groups at the expense of others’. This mechanism operates without conscious decisions by those who represent the status quo.
2. *Social closure*: This is the way in which ‘social collectivities seek to maximize rewards by restricting access to resources and opportunities to a limited circle of eligibles’. This involves the monopolisation of certain opportunities based on group attributes, such as race, language, social origin and religion. State institutions cause exclusion when they deliberately discriminate in their laws, policies or programmes. In some cases, there are social systems that decide people’s position in society on the basis of heredity.
3. *Unruly practices*: This refers to the gaps between rules and their implementation. Institutions unofficially perpetuate exclusion when public sector workers reflect the prejudices of their society through their position; in this way institutionalising some kind of discrimination.

Kabeer, N. (2000). Social Exclusion, Poverty and Discrimination: Towards an Analytical Framework. *IDS Bulletin*, 31(4). <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1759-5436.2000.mp31004009.x/abstract>

The concept of social exclusion (SE) has emerged relatively recently in Northern discussions about poverty, inequality and justice. How transferable is this concept to the South, where poverty is a mass phenomenon? This paper examines the roots of the social exclusion concept and finds that it can be helpful in analysing social policy in the South, particularly in terms of understanding institutions at the ‘meso-level’.

Exclusionary processes are not confined to the lower levels of a social hierarchy and can occur at various social levels. Marginalisation, disadvantage and discrimination can be experienced irrespective of poverty, and thus the concept of social exclusion can play an important role in aiding the understanding of social processes such as conflict.

Fischer, A. M. (2008). *Resolving the Theoretical Ambiguities of Social Exclusion with Reference to Polarisation and Conflict* (Working Paper No. 08-90). DESTIN, London School of Economics. <http://www.lse.ac.uk/internationalDevelopment/pdf/WP/WP90.pdf>

Is social exclusion a redundant concept? This paper aims to resolve conceptual ambiguities by redefining social exclusion as processes of obstruction and repulsion. This definition brings attention to closely related processes of disadvantage while differentiating social exclusion from poverty. Exclusion occurs at all levels of a social hierarchy, and exclusions that do not necessarily lead to poverty may still have very powerful effects on social processes such as conflict.

Power relations

A social exclusion analysis focuses on who is being excluded and who is doing the excluding, and why. For example, social exclusion can be the result of deliberate discrimination, exploitation and/ or an attempt to protect privilege.

Moncrieffe, J. (2008). Beneath the Categories: Power Relations and Inequalities in Uganda. In Bebbington, A. et al., *Institutional Pathways to Equity: Addressing Inequality Traps*. Washington, DC: World Bank

What are the broad dynamics that create and sustain poverty and inequality? This chapter uses evidence from Uganda to assert that power relationships often underpin and perpetuate inequality and poverty in societies. It suggests that understanding and addressing these adverse power relations are necessary for building capabilities and ensuring that disadvantaged groups and individuals can make the best of the assets and opportunities they possess.

Longer summary: <http://www.gsdr.org/go/display&type=Document&id=3444>

An earlier version is available online:

Moncrieffe, J. (2004). *Beyond Categories: Power, Recognition, and the Conditions for Equity*. Background Paper for the World Development Report 2006.

http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTRANETSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/Resources/Conditions_for_Equity_Uganda_Moncrieff.pdf

In the chapters below, Charles Tilly looks at how opportunity hoarding and exploitation are two key ways in which social exclusion is generated and sustained.

Tilly, C. (1998). Modes of Exploitation. In *Durable Inequality*. University of California Press

What are the processes of exploitation? In this chapter, Tilly examines the South African system of apartheid and categorical inequality to identify the key elements of exploitation. Drawing from this and other historical cases, Tilly applies his model to modern society to illustrate that exploitation, while not as overt as in South Africa, still thrives, such as in gender pay inequality and minority rights imbalances. Exploitation involves the coordinated efforts of power-holders, command over deployable resources and their returns, categorical exclusion and skewed division of returns as compared with effort.

Longer summary: <http://www.gsdr.org/go/display&type=Document&id=3655>

Tilly, C. (1998). How to Hoard Opportunities. In *Durable Inequality*. University of California Press

What is opportunity hoarding and how does it relate to social exclusion? In this chapter, Tilly uses examples of chain migration to illustrate how particular groups organise to hoard opportunities, excluding others from certain occupations and business sectors. While opportunity hoarding does not necessarily result in exclusionary costs to society, it is a potential mechanism of categorical inequality. It can couple with exploitation to create damaging differentials in opportunities and rewards among groups in society.

Longer summary: <http://www.gsdr.org/go/display&type=Document&id=3654>

The issue of agency is key to the social exclusion debate. This focuses on the role of various agents, as well as more impersonal forces and processes, in causing exclusion. These agents and forces can potentially include globalisation, international organisations, nation states, elites, and excluded groups and individuals themselves.

Atkinson, A. B. (1998). Social Exclusion, Poverty and Unemployment. In Atkinson, A. B., & Hills, J. (Eds.) *Exclusion, Employment and Opportunity*. Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE), London School of Economics. <http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/dps/case/cp/Paper4.pdf>

This paper defines exclusion in terms of relativity, agency and dynamics. It explores the three-way relationship between poverty, unemployment and social exclusion, and the position of the UK labour market. Unemployment may lead to poverty, but it does not necessarily do so. Whether employment promotes inclusion depends on the quality of the jobs. It is important to consider the role of the government and of companies in relation to exclusion.

Exclusion may also be the outcome of a historical process which severely disadvantages particular groups. Inequality/ poverty traps refer to pervasive inequalities in economic, political and social opportunities that

combine and persist over time to keep people poor. The following paper outlines the concept of an 'inequality trap'.

Bebbington, A. J., Dani, A. A., de Haan, A., & Walton, W. (2007). Inequalities and Development: Dysfunctions, Traps and Transitions., In Bebbington, A. J., Dani, A. A., de Haan, A., & Walton, W. (Eds.), *Institutional Pathways to Equity: Addressing Inequality Traps* (chapter 1). Washington, DC: World Bank.

<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=a-TMNwEnE-cC&lpg=PA28&pg=PA3#v=onepage&q&f=false>

What are inequality traps and how can the international community help countries with inequality to progress toward more equitable and efficient societies? This introductory chapter contends that addressing inequality traps requires understanding the causal forces, be they economic, political, or social, which shape a society's inequalities. It recommends that the international community shift its focus toward providing incentives for internal actors to change the structures and institutions that sustain inequality and the self-reinforcing mechanisms that generate inequality traps.

The paper below outlines an analytical model for measuring empowerment, which consists of an interaction between two sets of factors: (a) changes in the opportunity structure, which includes the dominant institutional climate and social structures within which disadvantaged actors must work to advance their interests, and (b) changes in the capabilities of poor individuals or groups to exercise agency.

Narayan, D. & Petesch, P. (2007). Agency, Opportunity Structure and Poverty Escapes. In Narayan, D. & Petesch, P. (Eds.), *Moving Out of Poverty*. Washington, DC: World Bank

<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTMOVOUTPOV/Resources/9780821369913.pdf>

Why are some people able to move out and stay out of poverty while others remain in chronic poverty? There is little consensus on the underlying causes of poverty and processes determining access to economic opportunity and mobility. This introductory chapter looks at different approaches to analysing poor people's mobility. It recommends an empowerment approach that seeks to understand underlying factors of exclusion and inequality.

Some commentators argue, however, that social exclusion approaches take too simplistic a view of power, according to which the included are considered powerful and the excluded powerless. Instead, power should be seen as dispersed and fluid.

Jackson, C. (1999). Social Exclusion and Gender: Does One Size Fit All? *The European Journal of Development Research*, 11(1).

Are social exclusion frameworks adequate for understanding the links between marginalisation and poverty? What are the gender implications of the core concepts of these approaches? Concepts of social exclusion claim to offer an integrated framework for analysing social disadvantage. However, this paper argues that such approaches are often simplistic because they rest on unquestioned assumptions about power, marginality, and agency. Gender analysis can strengthen social exclusion perspectives by revealing the specifics of particular forms of disadvantage.

Longer summary: <http://www.gsdr.org/go/display&type=Document&id=1843>

Labelling

'Othering' and 'bordering' are two further important processes of exclusion. 'Othering' is the process through which a dominant group defines into existence a subordinate group. This is done through the invention of categories and labels, and ideas about what characterises people belonging to these categories. The literature defines 'othering' as what happens when a person, group or category is treated as an 'object' by another group. This 'objectification' allows actors to break the moral rules of social relationships.

'Bordering' often accompanies 'othering' and involves maintaining spatial and symbolic borders or boundaries to keep people excluded. These boundaries prevent people from equitable access to jobs, services and political spaces.

The final part of this section examines these and other processes of relational inequality.

Eyben R. (2004). Inequality as Process and Experience. In Eyben R., & Lovett J., *Political and Social Inequality: A Review (IDS Development Bibliography 20)*. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.

What are the key processes that contribute to inequality? Eyben examines four key, generic processes that offer an actor-oriented framework for understanding how inequality can be maintained or transformed. These processes are: (i) 'othering' and objectification; (ii) spatial and symbolic boundary maintenance; (iii) emotion management; and (iv) subordinate adaptation (which involves strategies including trading autonomy for protection).

Longer summary: <http://www.gsdrc.org/go/display&type=Document&id=3222>

International development practitioners and researchers often aim to quantify and measure categories of people in order to define needs and design interventions to perceived problems. Not only can this constitute a potentially 'othering' labelling process, this kind of labelling can also affect power relations in ways that trigger social dislocation and undermine efforts to achieve greater equity.

Moncrieffe, J. (2007). Labelling, Power and Accountability: How and Why our Categories Matter., In Moncrieffe, J., & Eyben, R. (Eds.), *The Power of Labelling*. Earthscan.

<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=SK9d0qCtbCYC&lpg=RA1-PA1&pg=RA1-PA1#v=onepage&q&f=false>

Is there a value in labelling and framing? How are labelling, power and accountability connected? This chapter shows that framing and labelling processes are linked to the distribution of social, political and economic power, and are critical for securing hegemonic meanings and values. Labelling is inevitable and is important for policy but the uncritical approach to such hegemonic practices has harmful consequences that undermine many of the moral goals of development.

The spaces of social exclusion

Social exclusion can occur in different sites and spaces: within state institutions, the market, the community and the family. A person can be denied access completely or given only unequal access; both can constitute exclusion.

Exclusion can result from the power relations that shape these spaces. In the article below John Gaventa argues that in this sense, the concept of boundaries is important: 'Power relations help to shape the boundaries of participatory spaces, what is possible within them, and who may enter, with which identities, discourses and interests' (2006: 26). Power needs to be understood in relation to how spaces of engagement are created, the levels of power that exist within them, and the different forms of power that flow across them.

Gaventa, J. (2006). Finding the Spaces for Change: A Power Analysis. *IDS Bulletin*, 37(6).

http://www.powercube.net/wp-content/uploads/2009/12/finding_spaces_for_change.pdf

Development actors are increasingly aware of the need to understand and engage with power relations as a means of promoting pro-poor change. So where should they target their efforts and which strategies should they use? This article explores one approach to power analysis, known as the 'power cube'. If the development community wants to change power relationships to make them more inclusive, it must reflect on power relationships. The power cube may represent the first step in making power's most hidden and invisible forms more visible.

Cornwall, A. (2004). New Democratic Spaces? The Politics and Dynamics of Institutionalised Participation. *IDS Bulletin*, 35 (2), 1-10. <http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/PDF/Outputs/CentreOnCitizenship/cornwall.pdf>

Across the world, political space for public engagement in governance appears to be widening. But do these spaces offer increased prospects for deliberative democracy, or are they forms of co-option that deflect social energy from other forms of political participation? This article introduces case studies that consider issues of representation, inclusion, voice, and the efficacy of citizen engagement. Much of the potential of these fledgling democratic institutions has yet to be realised, but change is already beginning.

Structural discrimination

Social exclusion occurs where particular groups are excluded by mainstream society from fully participating in economic, social and political life. Discrimination can work explicitly, through institutions, norms and values. It can also have invisible impacts, where values and ideas affect the self-perceptions of excluded people and their

capabilities to claim their rights. One approach to correcting this is to adopt rights-based approaches to development which emphasise non-discrimination, inclusion, and empowerment, aimed particularly at vulnerable or marginalised groups.

For further resources on the links between rights, groups and discrimination, see the GSDRC guide on Human Rights: <http://www.gsdrc.org/go/topic-guides/human-rights/rights-groups-and-discrimination>

The book chapter below discusses the concept of 'structural inequality', which is described as a condition which arises when certain groups enjoy unequal status in relation to other groups, as a result of unequal relations in their roles, functions, rights and opportunities.

Dani, A. A. & de Haan, A. (2008). Social Policy in a Development Context: Structural Inequalities and Inclusive Institutions. In Dani, A. A. & de Haan, A., *Inclusive States: Social Policy and Structural Inequalities* (pp. 1-37). Washington DC: World Bank ,

How can states achieve the Millennium Development Goals in the context of severe social inequality? This introductory chapter argues that the effective governance institutions necessary for achieving these goals can only emerge from policies that promote inclusion. There need be no trade-off between promoting inclusion and promoting economic growth. Rather, inclusive institutions can provide better services for the whole population, build human and social capital, increase agency and the rule of law and facilitate more sustainable and equitable economic development.

Longer summary: <http://www.gsdrc.org/go/display&type=Document&id=3163>

At its extreme, structural discrimination can be described as structural violence. This is a concept which it has been argued makes visible 'the social machinery of oppression'. The following study argues that our understanding of exclusion and marginalisation is distorted because the most marginalised and oppressed die and thus the extremes of their suffering become invisible and forgotten.

Farmer, P. (2004). An Anthropology of Structural Violence. *Current Anthropology*, 45(3), 305-325.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/382250>

Why and how are diseases like AIDS and tuberculosis associated with poverty and inequality? This study from 'Current Anthropology' examines AIDS and tuberculosis in rural Haiti in relation to the social and economic structures in which they are embedded. A syncretic and biosocial anthropology shows how inequality and poverty create differential risk for infection and for adverse outcomes including death. It is important to link such anthropology to epidemiology and to an understanding of differential access to new diagnostic and therapeutic tools.

5.2 The conceptual links between exclusion and poverty

People who are socially excluded are generally also poor, particularly if poverty is defined in a multidimensional way. There are, however, several key differences between the concepts of poverty and social exclusion: (i) the majority of people in a society may be poor, (i.e. suffer from adverse incorporation) but it does not make sense to say that the majority are excluded; (ii) in most cases social exclusion implies inequality or relative deprivation, whereas poverty need not; (iii) social exclusion implies that there are processes of exclusion and institutional processes and actors responsible for excluding, whereas poverty does not. Some authors also connect state fragility to social exclusion.

Stewart, F., Saith, R. & Franco, S. (2007). Alternative Realities? Different Concepts of Poverty, their Empirical Consequences and Policy Implications. In Stewart, F., Saith, R. and Harriss-White, B., *Defining Poverty in the Developing World* (217-37). Palgrave Macmillan.

What are the implications of alternative definitions of poverty? Do different approaches identify different people as poor? This chapter considers the implications of four approaches to measuring poverty - monetary, capabilities, social exclusion and participatory methods - through a theoretical review and empirical research in India and Peru. There is a lack of overlap empirically between the people identified as poor according to the different approaches to poverty, and this means that policies targeted according to one type of poverty will not

reach people affected by other types.

Longer summary: <http://www.gsdr.org/go/display&type=Document&id=3605>

Silver, H. (2007). *The Process of Social Exclusion: The Dynamics of an Evolving Concept*. CPRC Working Paper 95. Manchester: Chronic Poverty Research Centre

http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/PDF/Outputs/ChronicPoverty_RC/95Silver.pdf

What is social exclusion and is it a more useful concept for tackling disadvantage than poverty? This paper documents some of the mechanisms of individuals' downward spiral, with the accumulation of dimensions of exclusion. The study of social exclusion aims to transcend poverty's narrow focus on monetary or material resource distribution. Exclusion as a process of progressive social rupture is a more comprehensive and complex conceptualisation of social disadvantage.

Bird K. (2007). *The Intergenerational Transmission of Poverty: An Overview* (ODI Working Paper No. 286, CPRC Working Paper No. 99). London and Manchester: ODI and the Chronic Poverty Research Centre.

<http://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/885.pdf>

Poverty is not transferred as a 'package', but as a complex set of positive and negative factors that affect an individual's chances of experiencing poverty, either in the present or at a future point in their life. The factors influencing an individual's likelihood of being poor include both the 'private' transmission (or lack of transmission) of capital and the 'public' transfer (or lack of transfer) of resources from one generation to the next. These can be positive or negative. The livelihoods framework is used to explore how the vulnerability and policy context influences individual and household level asset holdings and how capabilities, agency, perception of risk and levels of vulnerability and resilience combine with contextual and structural factors to influence individual and household responses to shocks and opportunities during the life course.

The following paper makes a case for the rescue of 'exclusion' from the poverty debate. In a discussion which focuses on the ways in which policymakers in India have attempted to include typically excluded 'Scheduled' castes and tribes, the author argues that such designations have actually served to distract from the context and nature of exclusion, as well as the many forms of discrimination that various groups suffer.

de Haan, A. (2011). *Rescuing Exclusion from the Poverty Debate: Group Disparities and Social Transformation in India* (Working Paper No. 517). The Hague: International Institute of Social Studies.

<http://repub.eur.nl/res/pub/22626/wp517.pdf>

This paper examines how India's Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes categories are applied in poverty analysis and social policy, including in India's targeted poverty programmes and BPL (Below Poverty Line) Census. It finds that, while Indian poverty debates highlight the severe inequalities between social groups, they pay insufficient attention to the nature of exclusion. In some respects, support to deprived groups has led to the opposite of what progressive legislators intended and has made social identities more deeply entrenched in political frameworks.

See also: **Hickey, S. and du Toit, A. (2007). *Adverse Incorporation, Social Exclusion and Chronic Poverty* (Working Paper 81). Chronic Poverty Research Centre, University of Manchester**

http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/PDF/Outputs/ChronicPoverty_RC/81Hickey_duToit.pdf

Du Toit, A. (2004). *Social Exclusion Discourse and Chronic Poverty: A South African Case Study*. *Development and Change*, 35(5), 987-1010. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2004.00389.x/abstract>

The concept of social exclusion has become increasingly dominant in European and UK debates about poverty. This article questions the export of 'social exclusion' discourse to the field of development and poverty studies. It considers the results of research into chronic poverty in the Ceres district of South Africa and argues that the concept of social exclusion often fails to capture how poverty can be exacerbated by the production and accumulation of wealth. The notion of 'adverse incorporation' better contributes to the understanding of poverty in developing societies.

Adato, M., Carter, M. & May, J. (2006). *Exploring Poverty Traps and Social Exclusion in South Africa Using Qualitative and Quantitative Data*. *Journal of Development Studies*, 42(2), 226-247

<http://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/events-documents/656.pdf>

Are poverty traps inevitable in a polarised society such as South Africa? This article investigates social capital and blockages to upward mobility using quantitative and qualitative data from the 1990s. Large numbers of

South Africans are indeed trapped in poverty. Social relationships are most helpful for non-poor households. For the poor, social capital at best helps to stabilise livelihoods at low levels and does little to promote upward mobility. Poverty alleviation therefore requires more proactive efforts to ensure that households have a minimum bundle of assets and access to the markets needed to increase them.

For a synthesis of recent evidence on state fragility and its practical implications for aid, including for social exclusion, see the following GSDRC topic guide:

McLoughlin, C. (2012). *Topic Guide on Fragile States*. Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham.
<http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/CON86.pdf>

5.3 The links between exclusion and inequality

The concepts of social exclusion and inequality are closely linked. Unequal societies in which certain groups are discriminated against can lead to exclusion. Likewise, social exclusion involves inequality. Unlike vertical inequalities, which focus on individuals, horizontal inequalities concern inequalities between groups, as does social exclusion. Both horizontal inequalities and social exclusion are multidimensional, encompassing social, economic and political forms of exclusion. However, horizontal inequalities are not always severe enough to lead to a situation defined as social exclusion.

Policies and initiatives to reduce horizontal inequalities and social exclusion can be quite similar; both take a multidimensional approach and generally target groups rather than individuals. Both are also concerned with the responsibility of richer groups in bringing about social exclusion/ horizontal inequality, and are conscious of the need to address policies towards richer as well as poorer people to reduce social exclusion/ horizontal inequality.

The social exclusion discourse in Latin America, for example, emerged partly as a result of widespread recognition of the high levels of inequality throughout the region. In sub-Saharan Africa, debates on poverty reduction are increasingly focused on inequality, providing entry points for social exclusion to be addressed.

Stewart, F. (2004). *Horizontal Inequalities: A Neglected Dimension of Development* (Working Paper No. 1). Oxford: Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security, and Ethnicity.

http://www.qeh.ox.ac.uk/publications/wps/wpdetail?jor_id=356

Why are groups important for individual welfare and social stability? When and how do horizontal inequalities lead to conflict? Current thinking about development places individuals firmly at the centre of concern for analysis and policy. Attention is focussed on inequality between individuals. This paper explores why groups are important for individual welfare and social stability, and argues that inequalities between culturally formed groups (horizontal inequalities) are an important but neglected dimension of development.

United Nations Development Programme. (2005). *Inequality and Human Development*. In *Human Development Report 2005, International Co-operation at a Crossroads - Aid, Trade and Security in an Unequal World* (chapter 2). New York: United Nations Development Programme.

http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/266/hdr05_complete.pdf

Does inequality matter? This chapter sets out the reasons why inequality is important and looks at its different dimensions. It shows how interlocking inequalities in income, health and education disadvantage the poor and argues that even modest moves towards greater distributional equity could advance human development and accelerate progress towards the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Okojie, K., & Shimeles, A. (2006). *Inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Synthesis of Recent Research on the Levels, Trends, Effects and Determinants of Inequality in its Different Dimensions*. London: Overseas Development Institute. <http://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/4058.pdf>

How should researchers monitor the various forms of inequality in sub-Saharan Africa? What steps should policymakers take to reduce this inequality? This paper surveys empirical studies of poverty in an attempt to establish the levels, consequences, current trends and determinants of inequality in the region. It argues that

educational reforms, infrastructure development and demographic change can reduce income inequality, and that promoting equality and economic growth can together lower poverty levels.

Lakhani, S., Sacks, A., & Heltberg, R. (2014). 'They are Not Like Us': Understanding Social Exclusion (Policy Research Working Paper, No. 6784). World Bank.

<https://openknowledge.worldbank.com/bitstream/handle/10986/17340/WPS6784.pdf?sequence=1>

How do negative attitudes underpinning social exclusion work? This statistical study by the World Bank, based on a survey in Europe and Central Asia, finds widespread rejection of marginalised groups. It identifies clusters of intolerance towards: the poor, families with children and the elderly; stigmatised attributes and behaviours (e.g. people living with HIV, drug users, homosexuals); and specific identity groups (e.g. immigrants, minorities). Country-specific history and culture are far more determinant to these attitudes than socio-economic characteristics. As a result, the authors suggest a series of strategies against social exclusion that would seek to change social norms, attitudes and behaviours towards disadvantaged groups, among both insiders and outsiders. The authors also warn against reproducing stigmatising categories. Potential entry points exist in both formal institutions (such as laws, education, service provision) and informal institutions (such as engaging with religious leaders).

5.4 Exclusion as a cause and consequence of violent conflict

Social exclusion as a cause of violent conflict

There are close links between social exclusion and violent conflict and insecurity, both in terms of causes and consequences. There are now convincing arguments that some forms of social exclusion generate the conditions in which conflict can arise. This can range from civil unrest to violent armed conflict and terrorist activity. Severely disadvantaged groups with shared characteristics (such as ethnicity or religion) may resort to violent conflict in order to claim their rights and redress inequalities. Group differences are not enough in themselves to cause conflict, but social exclusion and horizontal inequalities provide fertile ground for violent mobilisation. Hence, the concept of social exclusion can help in conflict resolution because it identifies some of the causes of conflict. By analysing why some societies with sharp horizontal inequalities suffer conflict and others do not, it has become evident that conflict occurs most frequently when socio-economic and political horizontal inequalities are combined. Becoming aware of exclusion and inequality, therefore, can be an essential first step for international development practitioners in contributing to conflict prevention and resolution in fragile states.

For syntheses of recent evidence on violent conflict and its practical implications for aid, including for social exclusion, see the following GSDRC topic guides:

Haider, H. (2014). *Conflict: Topic Guide* (Revised edition with B. Rohwerder, chapters 1-2). Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. <http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/CON69.pdf>

Strachan, A. L. and Haider, H. (2015). *Gender and conflict: Topic guide*. Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/gender_conflict.pdf

The following three papers examine the concept of horizontal inequalities and their impact on development and social stability.

Stewart, F., Brown, G. K., & Langer, A. (2008). Major Findings and Conclusions on the Relationship between Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict. In *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*. Palgrave Macmillan.

<http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/PDF/Outputs/Inequality/conferencepaper2.pdf>

What are the links between horizontal inequalities (HIs) and conflict? This chapter summarises findings from case studies plus more global analyses. Severe HIs are particularly likely to be a source of conflict when they are consistent across socioeconomic, cultural and political dimensions. While socioeconomic HIs generate fertile ground for conflict and cultural status inequalities bind groups together, political HIs provide incentives for leaders to mobilise people for rebellion.

Kanbur, R. (2007). *Poverty and Conflict: The Inequality Link*. New York: International Peace Academy.

<http://www.ipinst.org/2007/06/poverty-and-conflict-the-inequality-link>

How do poverty and inequality causally interact with conflict? While there is a general view that poverty and inequality can lead to conflict, the nature of the links are less well appreciated. This paper draws out the links based on the recent economics literature and discusses their implications for policy. While inequality is a natural concomitant of economic processes, particularly those driven by the market, its implications for security emerge when unequal outcomes align with socio-political cleavages.

Østby, G. (2006). *Horizontal Inequalities, Political Environment and Civil Conflict: Evidence From 55 Developing Countries*. CRISE Working Paper 28. Oxford: University of Oxford.

<http://www3.qeh.ox.ac.uk/pdf/crisewps/workingpaper28.pdf>

To what extent do horizontal inequalities contribute to the onset of conflict? Are they particularly conflict provoking under certain political conditions? This study measures the impact of the political environment in 55 developing countries on the relationship between socioeconomic horizontal inequalities and civil conflict onset. It finds that horizontal inequalities are particularly inflammatory in democratic regimes with inclusive electoral systems. The study concludes that, in order to ensure peace, developing countries need governments that are both politically and economically inclusive.

A particular issue in fragile or failed states is seen by political scientists as the lack of a 'social contract' between the state, incumbent elite groups and ethnic communities. This leads to political fragmentation, which is further exacerbated by the convergence of various social, ethnic and resource exploitation-related issues.

Douma, P. (2006). *Poverty, Relative Deprivation and Political Exclusion as Drivers of Violent Conflict in Sub Saharan Africa*. *Journal on Science and World Affairs*, 2(2), 59-69.

http://www.scienceandworldaffairs.org/PDFs/Vol2No2_Douma.pdf

How can states in sub-Saharan Africa better provide for the needs of their populations and reduce inter-group violence? This article examines poverty and conflict escalation in Niger and Senegal. The partiality of some state policies regarding resource distribution promotes inter-group inequality and contributes to violence. The incumbent state elite should adopt a long-term perspective based on cross-group solidarity.

Recent research has also shown that the inclusiveness of political settlements, i.e. those agreements through which key actors - usually elites - organise and share political power in society, can have an important effect on mitigating the potential for political instability and violent conflict.

Lindemann S. (2008). *Do Inclusive Elite Bargains Matter? A Research Framework for Understanding the Causes of Civil War in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Discussion Paper 15). Crisis States Research Centre, London School of Economics and Political Science.

<http://www.lse.ac.uk/internationaldevelopment/research/crisisstates/download/dp/dp15.pdf>

Sub-Saharan Africa is the world's most conflict-intensive region. But why have some African states experienced civil war, while others have managed to maintain political stability? This discussion paper argues that the ability of post-colonial states in Sub-Saharan Africa to maintain political stability depends on the ability of the ruling political parties to overcome the historical legacy of social fragmentation. Creating inclusive elite bargains can bring stability while exclusionary elite bargains give rise to trajectories of civil war.

Horizontal inequalities can be based on both real and imagined differences. These differences can be exploited by faction leaders in order to exercise and maintain power.

Choi, H. J. (2014). *How Ethnic Exclusion Influences Rebellion and Leader Survival A Simulation Approach*. *Social Science Computer Review*, 32(4), 453-473. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0894439313513420>

Ethnically inclusive ruling coalitions have not always helped prevent and manage conflict in ethnically divided dictatorships, a comparison of 52 countries that had small minimum winning coalitions between 1946 and 2004 shows. Further, the author's computational simulation finds that, with *small* coalitions, authoritarian leaders gain lasting political benefits from exclusive ethnic policies, even if those policies motivate excluded groups to rebel. The risk of rebellion (through civil war or a coup) is greatest with semi-exclusive regimes, and lowest with either highly exclusive or highly inclusive regimes. On the other hand, in *large* winning coalitions, leaders who use even moderate exclusion are likely to be ousted in a regular manner. The author therefore calls

policymakers to consider leaders' political incentives when pushing for greater inclusiveness, to address risks of violence and instability.

Langer, A., & Ukiwo, U. (2007). *Ethnicity, Religion and the State in Ghana and Nigeria: Perceptions from the Street* (CRISE Working Paper No. 34). Oxford: Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity. http://www.qeh.ox.ac.uk/publications/wps/wpdetail?jor_id=385

What can social surveys tell us about perceptions of ethnicity, religion and the state in Ghana and Nigeria? This working paper analyses survey data on how people see their own identities and their perceptions of the domination of state institutions by particular ethnic or religious groups. The data show quite marked differences in comparative perceptions of identities and of perceptions of the state in both countries. These differences may help to explain why Nigeria has been more prone to violent conflict than Ghana.

Social exclusion as a consequence of violent conflict

As well as being a common cause of conflict, social exclusion can also occur as a result of conflict. Pervasive conflict can marginalise whole societies, and is a major cause of refugees who then become excluded in the place or country to which they move.

Halabi, Z. (2004). *Exclusion and Identity in Lebanon's Palestinian Refugee Camps: A Story of Sustained Conflict. *Environment and Urbanization*, 16(2), 39-48.* <http://eau.sagepub.com/content/16/2/39.abstract>

This paper describes the events that have taken place over the last fifty years since the establishment of the first Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, and the relationship between these events and the endemic inter-communal violence within these camps. It explains the exclusionist policies of the Lebanese state and the resulting levels of tension and conflict that have undermined peace processes and social reconciliation following the Lebanese civil war. A case study of one camp, Chatila, illustrates how these realities play out in the daily lives of Palestinian refugees and other residents within the camp, stimulating conflicts over identity and continuing hostility.

Certain groups, such as women, can often become further marginalised by conflict. While conflict can create space for women to take on new roles, it can also create new vulnerabilities. Today's conflicts are accompanied by widespread sexual violence against women and girls. In the aftermath, they can often suffer social stigmatisation as a result of rape, injury or HIV infection sustained during war. Security issues in the post-conflict phase can also hinder women and girls' access to services. When schools are destroyed and children have to travel long distances, for example, girls are more likely to stay at home in order to avoid the increased risk of abduction, sexual violence and exploitation. Certain sub-groups of women can also become particularly vulnerable as a result of conflict and are frequently invisible in post-conflict peace processes – these are young women, female-headed households, widows, and women from already marginalised groups.

Fraser, E. (2009). *The Impact of Conflict on Women's Voice and Participation* (GSDRC Helpdesk Research Report). Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. <http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/HD591.pdf>

Although conflict can reduce the voice of less powerful groups (including women), there are also opportunities for these groups to contest well-established social structures and divisions, and for new, non-traditional leaders to emerge. Women assume varied roles during armed conflict, as victims, perpetrators and peace activists. There are sub-groups of women who may be particularly vulnerable as a result of conflict and are frequently invisible in post-conflict peace processes and community-driven development, for example young women, female-headed households, widows and women from marginalised groups. However, women are not necessarily the only, or even the most, excluded group in a given society. Furthermore, female participation does not necessarily lead to positive outcomes for women. Not all women have equal voices or the same vested interests; other issues of identity, such as ethnicity, religion, and age can be equally important.

McDevitt, A. (2009). *The Impact of Conflict on Women's Education, Employment and Health Care* (GSDRC Helpdesk Research Report). Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. <http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/HD588.pdf>

The extent to which conflict restricts women's freedom of movement depends on a number of factors including the stage of conflict, whether the women are displaced, whether they are directly or indirectly affected by the conflict, and the cultural norms of the conflict-affected area. Forced displacement, for example,

may in some cases lead to greater mobility, where women assume additional responsibilities such as taking on the role of primary breadwinner. Nevertheless, it is generally accepted that the fear of violence more often than not restricts women's freedom of movement. In times of political, economic and social uncertainty, there is a strong tendency to revert to traditional values which appear to offer protection for women and girls but which restrict their mobility.

For further resources on the impact of conflict on women and girls, see the Conflict topic guide:

<http://www.gsdrc.org/topic-guides/conflict/>

5.5 Globalisation and social exclusion

Globalisation is an uneven and socially unequal process and there are concerns that global production and trading systems serve to increase poverty and inequality. The following paper highlights the ways in which the exclusionary processes associated with globalisation graft themselves onto local dynamics of social exclusion.

Beall, J. (2002). *Globalisation and Social Exclusion in Cities: Framing the Debate with Lessons from Africa and Asia*. *Environment and Urbanization*, 14(1), 41-51. <http://eau.sagepub.com/content/14/1/41.abstract>
How can city governments in the developing world balance the competitive demands of an increasingly globalised economy with their growing responsibility for improving social welfare and reducing social exclusion? This paper considers these contradictory roles in the context of the debates on globalisation and social exclusion. Using case studies from South Africa and Pakistan, it illustrates how global economic trends can exacerbate existing exclusionary processes, further complicating the task of city governments stretched thin through funding reductions and decentralisation.

Globalisation can undermine labour organisations and informal networks of solidarity, lead to the deterioration of working conditions for vast numbers of people, and widen income inequalities.

United Nations Human Settlements Programme. (2003). Cities and Slums within Globalizing Economies. In *The Challenge of Slums: Global Report on Human Settlements*. UN-HABITAT. <http://unhabitat.org/books/the-challenge-of-slums-global-report-on-human-settlements-2003/>

How has globalisation contributed to slum formation? Trade, deregulated capital, labour markets and the withdrawal of the state have all influenced levels of poverty and inequality. This chapter argues that the insecurities created by globalisation far outweigh any benefits to poorer people. Slums are a result of urban poverty. Creating cities without slums is essentially a search for sustainable urban livelihoods.

The vast majority of the poor in developing countries work in the informal economy, which is characterised by insecure jobs, weak representation, and a lack of labour regulation. The paper below examines the trade-offs involved in being included in the global economy – in particular, exclusion from economic security, labour rights, bargaining power, and voice.

Carr, M., & Chen, M. (2004). *Globalization, Social Exclusion and Work: With Special Reference to Informal Employment and Gender*. Geneva: International Labour Office.

<http://www.ilo.org/dyn/dwresources/docs/625/F1146925582/gender%20and%20globalisation.pdf>

How can social exclusion in the realm of work best be tackled in the developing world? This paper considers processes of social inclusion and exclusion in relation to the employment opportunities associated with the global economy. The concept of 'unemployment' does not fit the reality of the developing world. However, if an understanding is reached of how social exclusion or inclusion works in different patterns of global integration, it should be possible to promote more favourable inclusion.

Pervasive inequalities faced by groups that span national borders yet maintain a strong group identity can contribute to conflict.

Stewart, F. (2008). *Global Aspects and Implications of Horizontal Inequalities: Inequalities Experienced by Muslims Worldwide*. Oxford: Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity.

http://www.qeh.ox.ac.uk/publications/wps/wpdetail?jor_id=422

Are Muslims discriminated against globally as a group? This study reviews inequalities among groups (horizontal inequalities, HIs) of Muslims/non-Muslims within developed and developing countries and between Muslim and non-Muslim countries. It finds that Muslims are systematically disadvantaged across many dimensions. In countries in Europe, Asia and Africa, where Muslims are in a minority they have a worse socio-economic position than non-Muslims, less political representation and their culture is often given less respect. This is also true in comparisons of Palestine and Israel, and of Muslim countries taken as a group as against non-Muslim ones. Furthermore, inequalities faced by Muslims in one part of the world may mobilise Muslims in other parts of the world. Inequalities need to be addressed within countries and between them, both politically and in terms of socioeconomic and cultural status.

Despite these serious problems, recent evidence from the World Bank suggests that globalisation has also brought some benefits for typically excluded groups, such as women. The authors note that the greater levels of economic integration, technological diffusion, and access to information brought about by globalisation, have 'operated through markets, formal institutions, and informal institutions to lift some of the constraints to greater gender equality'. However, for results to be more wide-reaching and enduring, targeted public action aimed at closing remaining gender gaps is required.

World Bank. (2011). Globalization's Impact on Gender Equality: What's happened and what's needed. In *World Development Report 2012: Gender Equality (chapter 6)*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDR2012/Resources/7778105-1299699968583/7786210-1315936222006/chapter-6.pdf>

What impact has globalisation had on gender equality? This study examines the impacts of economic integration, technical change and access to information on gender inequality. It argues that not everyone is benefiting from globalisation. Women, for whom existing constraints are most binding, are often left behind. While the forces unleashed by globalisation have lifted some of the barriers to greater gender equality, public action is needed to lift these further. In particular, public policy needs to address gender gaps in endowments, agency, and access to economic opportunities.

5.6 Useful websites

Chronic Poverty Advisory Network

www.chronicpoverty.org

Chronic Poverty Research Centre publications archive on DFID's Research for Development site

<http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/Search/SearchResults.aspx?search=advancedsearch&SearchType=3&Projects=false&Documents=true&DocumentsOnly=true&ProjectID=50134>

Publications archive of the Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity (CRISE)

www.qeh.ox.ac.uk/research/research-networks/crise-network/crise-publications-1

6. The impact of social exclusion

The existence of social exclusion makes it difficult to achieve particular social objectives, such as reducing poverty and malnutrition, because there are often hidden barriers to reaching those who are socially excluded. Social exclusion also generally involves exclusion in more than one dimension, and these can reinforce each other. For example, a combination of economic and educational exclusion makes it more difficult to advance on either front.

The following book aims to measure the consequences of social exclusion through a series of country case studies in Latin America. The chapter below outlines the findings from these case studies.

Behrman, J., Gaviria, A., & Szekely, M. (2003). *Social Exclusion in Latin America: Perception, Reality and Implications*. In Behrman, J. R. et al., *Who's In and Who's Out: Social Exclusion in Latin America*. Inter-American Development Bank

<http://publications.iadb.org/bitstream/handle/11319/323/Who%20In%20and%20Who%20Out.%20Social%20Exclusion%20in%20Latin%20America.pdf?sequence=1>

What are the perceptions and realities of social exclusion in Latin America? This chapter summarises findings from five country studies. Inequality appears to arise largely from the absence of opportunities for large segments of the population. Exclusion of some groups on the basis of gender, ethnic origin, place of residence or social status may explain inequality of opportunity. The most obvious policy responses are not always the best options.

6.1 Health and education

The greater poverty of socially excluded groups often translates into poorer levels of health and education, particularly when their poverty is combined with remoteness and lack of infrastructure and social services.

Kabeer, N. (2005). *Social Exclusion: Concepts, Findings and Implications for the MDGs (Paper commissioned as background for the Social Exclusion Policy Paper)*. London: DFID. <http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/SE2.pdf>

What insights does the concept of social exclusion offer the development studies literature? How is it relevant to key Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)? This paper argues that the challenges that social exclusion presents to current policy concerns suggest that the 'business as usual' approach to development has been inadequate. Economic theories have focussed on resource-based paradigms of disadvantage, taking the individual or household as the unit of analysis. Sociologists, however, have focussed on forms of disadvantage based on the cultural devaluation of groups or categories of people in society based on who they are perceived to be.

Lewin, K. M., Wasanga, P., Wanderi, E., & Somerset, A. (2011). *Participation and Performance in Education in Sub-Saharan Africa with Special Reference to Kenya: Improving Policy and Practice*. Centre for International Education, Department of Education, University of Sussex.

http://www.dfid.gov.uk/r4d/PDF/Outputs/ImpAccess_RPC/PTA74.pdf

Using national data sets from sub-Saharan Africa and a detailed country case study from Kenya, this paper explores aspects of exclusion from education and how patterns of participation have been changing. Over-age status is found to be linked with lower examination results and exclusion from the best secondary schools.

Lewis, M., & Lockheed, M. (2008). *Social Exclusion and the Gender Gap in Education (Policy Research Working Paper No. 4562)*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2008/03/9086476/social-exclusion-gender-gap-education> Why is there still a gender gap in education in some countries? This paper reviews gender in education and tests the relevance of ethno-linguistic fractionalisation (ELF) in explaining cross-country differences in learning and school attainment.

Mathieson, J., Popay, J., Enoch, E., Escorel, S., Hernandez, M., Johnston, H., & Rispel, L. (2008). *Social Exclusion and Health Inequalities*. In *Social Exclusion: Meaning, Measurement and Experience and Links to*

Health Inequalities - A Review of Literature (chapter 8). World Health Organisation.

http://www.who.int/social_determinants/media/sekn_meaning_measurement_experience_2008.pdf.pdf

What are the limits of present empirical evidence over the links between health inequality and social exclusion? How does social exclusion contribute to the theories of social inequality in health? This paper examines the theoretical contribution that social exclusion can make to theories of social inequality in health. It is argued that the present focus on a state of social exclusion fails to recognise the crucial causal link to power inequalities across society. It does not take into account the potential for targeted inequality amongst marginalised groups.

Cultural exclusion can also result in ambivalence towards education, further entrenching income inequality.

Yi, L. (2005). Muslim Narratives of Schooling, Social Mobility and Cultural Difference: A Case Study in Multi-ethnic Northwest China. *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 6(1), 1-28.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1468109905001702>

What explains the persistent poor educational performance of China's Muslim minority populations? This paper draws on community level interviews with Muslim communities in the Qinghai-Gansu borderland to analyse the impact of cultural exclusion on ethnic minority educational attitudes and performance. There is a tension between Muslims' desire for full social citizenship in the form of rights to employment and education and the limited social and cultural capital they possess with which to achieve these goals. The party-state needs a more coherent approach to national identity and minority rights, so as not to exacerbate existing tensions between minorities and the wider society.

Cross-country research by the OECD demonstrates that countries with discriminatory social institutions tend to score poorly in the Millennium Development Goals.

OECD. (2010). *Gender Inequality and the MDGs: What are the Missing Dimensions? (At Issue Paper)*. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. <http://www.oecd.org/dev/development-gender/45987065.pdf>

What gender issues are hampering progress in achieving the Millennium Development Goals? This paper uses the Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) to examine gender inequality and the MDGs. It focuses on three MDGs: eradicating extreme hunger and poverty (MDG 1), achieving universal primary education (MDG 2) and improving maternal health (MDG 5). 'Missing dimensions' to these three MDGs are found to be: women's control over resources; their access to land and credit; decision-making power and the percentage of early marriages; and violence against women. These dimensions should be more explicitly targeted.

Such failure to invest in health and education (termed 'human capital endowments') may severely limit societal potential and carry considerable social and economic costs. This is particularly marked with respect to gender difference and exclusion. New research by the World Bank reveals that progress in redressing gender differences in mortality risks and participation in education has been tremendous where the removal of a single barrier is sufficient. However, such progress is not evenly distributed, and gender inequality in these fields remains unacceptably high for some of the most disadvantaged communities.

World Bank (2011). *Education and Health: Where Do Gender Differences Really Matter?*. In *World Development Report 2012: Gender Equality* (chapter 3). Washington DC: World Bank.

<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDR2012/Resources/7778105-1299699968583/7786210-1315936222006/chapter-3.pdf>

This study notes that investments in health and education shape the ability of men and women to reach their full potential. It examines gender gaps in education and health, and progress in addressing them. It finds that great progress had been made in cases where removing a single barrier – in markets, households or institutions – is required. However, progress has been slower either where multiple barriers need to be lifted at the same time or where a single point of entry produces bottlenecks.

6.2 Income inequality

Social exclusion can lead to and result from disparities in income distribution, with the wealthiest segments of a country's population receiving the greatest proportion of its national income. Income inequality arises from inequities in the distribution of assets such as land, credit and education.

Barron, M. (2008). Exclusion and Discrimination as Sources of Inter-Ethnic Inequality in Peru. *Economia*, 31(61), 51-80. http://mpa.ub.uni-muenchen.de/10456/1/MPRA_paper_10456.pdf

What impact do discrimination and exclusion have on income inequality between indigenous and non-indigenous workers in Peru? What policies could help to reduce this inter-ethnic inequality? This paper assesses the extent to which exclusion and discrimination contribute to inter-ethnic income inequality in Peru. It finds that exclusion plays a greater role than discrimination in contributing to Peru's inter-ethnic inequality.

The inequalities that arise from social exclusion are self-reinforcing. Recent research has demonstrated how income inequalities persist because of two 'inequality traps', which relate to human capabilities and access to capital.

Stewart, F. (2009). Horizontal Inequality: Two Types of Trap. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 10(3), 315-340. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19452820903041824>

Why do group inequalities often persist over the long term, and how can they be addressed? Group membership matters because wellbeing is affected both by individual circumstances and how well the group is doing. Strong complementarities among (1) capabilities and (2) capitals explain persistent group inequality. Multiple deprivations in capabilities and assets prevent catch-up without special interventions. Addressing HIs therefore requires governments to go beyond eliminating current, formal discrimination: the weak asset and capabilities base arising from past discrimination must also be tackled. As social and cultural capital inequalities cannot be eliminated by policy, strong affirmative action in other areas such as education and employment is justified.

6.3 Exclusion, growth and poverty

There is some evidence that economic growth is positively related to equality. One explanation for this is that with more equality there is more investment in education, health and nutrition. There is also some evidence to show that policies designed to tackle social exclusion can lead to more equitable forms of growth as excluded groups gradually gain greater access to education, employment and business opportunities. Excluded sections of the population can often be quite large (for example, racial groups in Latin America), so targeted policies can have an impact on increasing human capital and widening economic markets, whilst reducing the risk of political instability and its overall impact on economic growth.

The poverty-reducing effects of economic growth fall as inequality rises. In addition, the interaction of economic inequalities with other inequalities may result in negative consequences for growth. For example, economic dynamics and innovation depend on competitive processes of entry that are stifled by unequal economic institutions. Greater equity in political institutions is also considered good for growth because it is associated with broader and better-quality provision of public education, which, in turn, translates into a better-performing workforce.

Zoninsein, J, (2001). *The Economic Case for Combating Racial and Ethnic Exclusion in Latin American and Caribbean Countries* (Research Report). New York: Inter-American Development Bank.

<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.195.8119&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

What economic gains would come from ending racial and ethnic exclusion in Latin America and Caribbean countries (LAC)? This working paper employs Brimmer's methodology to analyse household survey data from Bolivia, Brazil, Guatemala and Peru. It presents some potential gains in terms of aggregate production and income. Ending long-term social exclusion could expand the economies of LACs by up to 36 percent. This would bring gains to society as a whole, not just to the excluded groups.

Gradstein, M. (2003). *The Political Economy of Public Spending on Education, Inequality and Growth*. Washington DC: World Bank. <https://ideas.repec.org/p/wbk/wbrwps/3162.html>

This paper examines data on public spending on education in developing countries, revealing significant inequality in the distribution of resources between rich and poor groups. While current donor policy is to alleviate poverty through the universal provision of public services in developing countries, the evidence suggests that political dynamics within these countries often distort these goals to the disadvantage of the poor. Personal rent-seeking, in the form of political pressure from richer households, skews resource allocation, often resulting in both increased inequality and social exclusion.

6.4 Violence and insecurity

When individuals or groups, and particularly youth, feel excluded from power structures, and deprived of legitimate outlets to express their grievances, violence can provide an opportunity for them to have a voice and to gain control over their own lives.

Hilker, M., & Fraser, E. (2009). *Youth Exclusion, Violence, Conflict and Fragile States*. London: Social Development Direct. <http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/CON66.pdf>

What factors contribute to youth exclusion and increase the likelihood of youth engagement in violence? How can DFID effectively address issues of youth exclusion and violence? This report examines existing evidence and analysis on the links between youth exclusion, violence, conflict and fragile states. It highlights factors which can contribute to youth violence, and makes recommendations for DFID's work on youth exclusion and violence.

Moser, C. & Ilwaine, C. (2000). Summary Findings – Perceptions of General Problems and Violence. In Moser, C. & Ilwaine C., *Urban Poor Perceptions of Violence and Exclusion in Colombia* (chapter 2). Washington DC: World Bank. <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=2oM0GpyqoosC&pg=PA15>

What do poor people living in urban areas in Colombia see as the most important problems affecting them and their communities? How do Colombia's poor urban communities perceive violence and exclusion? This chapter documents how people living in poor urban communities in Colombia perceive violence. It uses a participatory urban appraisal methodology to identify the main problems and types of violence affecting poor urban communities.

6.5 Subjective wellbeing

The psychological aspects of exclusion are also important. These include the absence of power, voice and independence, and vulnerability to exploitation and humiliation.

The following article highlights the importance of a capacity for agency that allows poor people to improve the quality of their relationships and to secure respect and dignity for themselves. The paper argues: 'The injury done to people who experience discrimination on the basis of labels they are given by society and entrenched ideas about their inferiority or societal taboos around sex, death and dirt goes well beyond that of economic deprivation and lack of political voice. When people are treated as lesser because of the colour of their skin, their sex, what they do for a living, and where they live, they can come to internalise a sense of lack of worth that profoundly affects their sense of what they can do and what they are due by society' (Eyben et al, 2008: 8)

Eyben, R., Kabeer, N. and Cornwall, A. (2008). *Conceptualising Empowerment and the Implications for Pro-Poor Growth*. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies. <http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/SE8.pdf>

This paper proposes a framework to enable the empowerment of the poor to be conceptually understood and operationally explored. It examines the different facets of 'social', 'economic' and 'political' empowerment. International development actors often lack awareness of much that is already known about these issues. These are the conceptual tools for identifying complex and mutually dependent processes that development actors can support and facilitate for achieving pro-poor growth.

Appadurai, A. (2004). The Capacity to Aspire: Culture and the Terms of Recognition. In Rao, V. & Walton, M. (Eds.), *Culture and Public Action*. Stanford University Press.

<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=4kGJ86s8MB4C&pg=PA59>

Why does culture matter for development and for poverty reduction? The capacity to aspire is a future-oriented cultural capacity. This chapter argues that strengthening the capacity to aspire could help the poor to contest and alter the conditions of their poverty. Culture is a dialogue between aspirations and sedimented traditions. Traditions, linked to issues of social class, can conflict with development goals. Policymakers must approach the creation of a culture of aspiration through capacity building.

Hoff, K., & Pandey, P. (2008). Economic Consequences of Social Identity: Discrimination, Social Identity, and Durable Inequalities. *American Economic Review*, 96(2), 206-211.

<https://www.aeaweb.org/articles.php?doi=10.1257/000282806777212611>

What are the mechanisms by which societal discrimination affects individual achievement and why do effects of past discrimination endure once legal barriers are removed? This paper reports findings of experiments in village India that explore the effect of social identity on individual performance. The link between discrimination, social identity and behaviour causes the effects of past discrimination to persist over time for well-identified groups.

6.6 Useful websites

World Bank Poverty and Inequality Research: Pro-Poor Growth

go.worldbank.org/2AZ9SA3610

Overseas Development Institute: Growth, Poverty and Inequality Programme

odi.org/programmes/growth-poverty-inequality

7. Tackling social exclusion: approaches, lessons and tools

Tackling social exclusion requires a multi-faceted approach to policy and action on a number of fronts. If only one aspect is addressed, success will be unlikely because other aspects of exclusion will prevent effective progress. The first priority is a good scoping exercise to identify the dimensions and causes of exclusion (see 'Causes of Exclusion').

In a 2005 paper cited earlier, Naila Kabeer⁴ argues that a 'business as usual' approach to development has so far proved inadequate in addressing the challenges posed by social exclusion for four reasons:

- Prevalent forms of data collection tend to define the poor in terms of assets or income. The absence of disaggregated data has thus 'invisibilised' socially excluded groups.
- Socially excluded groups are less likely to benefit from economic growth than other sections of the poor because: a) they have limited assets and b) the discrimination they face in markets for labour and commodities makes it harder for them to turn their resources into income.
- Socially excluded groups are less likely to be able to access 'normal' forms of social provisioning. Discriminatory attitudes prevalent in society are often reproduced by state officials responsible for service provision. They are also unlikely to be able to purchase these services privately in the market place.
- Socially excluded groups are generally less likely to participate in 'normal' models of democracy. Particularly where they constitute a minority, there is no incentive for political parties competing for power to take their interests into account since they neither represent enough votes nor are they able to exercise a great deal of influence. They are also unlikely to have the resources needed to compete for political office. (2005: 30-31)

Tackling social exclusion therefore requires a long-term strategic response, which addresses the multiple and overlapping disadvantages experienced by excluded groups. Resources on this page consider the various ways in which governments, civil society, donors and international bodies have worked to tackle social exclusion.

7.1 Policy instruments

Policy responses to social exclusion have ranged from legislative measures to tackle discrimination at a national level to civil society movements focused on ensuring a voice for the excluded.

Popay, J., Escorel, S., Hernández, M., Johnston, H., Mathieson, J., & Rispel, L. (2008). Tackling Exclusionary Processes. In *Understanding and Tackling Social Exclusion (part 3)*. World Health Organisation.
http://www.who.int/social_determinants/knowledge_networks/final_reports/sekn_final%20report_042008.pdf

What can be learned from existing policies and actions that aim to address social exclusion? This report section examines state-led policies, strategic initiatives for policy development and coordination, and the roles of civil society and the private sector. Donors need to develop ways of enabling universal systems of social protection and essential services (free at point of use) to be funded in low and middle income countries.

Piron, L. H., & Curran, Z. (2005). *Public Policy Responses to Exclusion: Evidence from Brazil, South Africa and India*. London: Overseas Development Institute (ODI). <http://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/2303.pdf>

How have governments in Brazil, South Africa and India sought to address exclusion in those three societies? What lessons can be learnt from their experiences? This paper reviews recent research on policymakers' responses to exclusion to evaluate the success of various strategies aimed at addressing inequality in

⁴ Kabeer, N. (2005). *Social Exclusion: Concepts, Findings and Implications for the MDGs*. London: DFID, p. 31.

developing countries. It argues that, while affirmative action and inclusive politico-legal frameworks contribute to anti-exclusion efforts, coordinated public policy and an equitable political economy are also necessary to ensure successful policy implementation.

O'Neill, T., & Piron, L-H. (2003). *Rights-Based Approaches to Tackling Discrimination and Horizontal Inequality*. London: Overseas Development Institute (ODI). <http://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/4555.pdf>

How can discrimination and horizontal inequality be combated? Many societies exhibit strong horizontal inequality, meaning gaps in wellbeing between clearly defined groups (for example, along lines of gender or ethnicity). Frequently, a lack of respect for equal rights and difficulties in claiming entitlements are major factors underlying poverty, contributing to economic and social exclusion. This paper reviews the importance of human rights, the extent, nature and processes of discrimination and how far states combat it. It presents the potential contribution of rights-based approaches by governments, civil society and international donors to combating discrimination and inequalities.

Stewart, F., Brown, G., & Langer, A. (2007). *Policies towards Horizontal Inequalities* (CRISE Working Paper No. 42). Oxford: Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity <http://www3.qeh.ox.ac.uk/pdf/crisewps/workingpaper42.pdf>

This paper reviews the range of policies which could contribute to alleviating the impact of horizontal inequalities on conflict likelihood and its recurrence. The relationship between objective HIs and conflict is complex and mediated by at least two intervening factors – the perceptions of HIs and the political salience of group identities. While there may need to be trade-offs with other policy objectives, there is no evidence that reducing HIs needs to reduce growth.

UNDP. (2009). *Envisioning Empowerment: A Portfolio of Initiatives for Achieving Inclusion and Development*. United Nations Development Programme http://content.undp.org/go/cms-service/download/asset/?asset_id=2107095

Donor approaches

There is a growing recognition amongst donors that social exclusion is a key obstacle to development. DFID's 2005 policy paper on social exclusion emphasises that donors, governments and civil society can play an important role in reducing social exclusion. There is increasing understanding among donors of the need to embed sensitivity to social exclusion in all aspects of their programming, including social analysis, organisational and institutional analysis, planning, implementation, monitoring and reporting.

DFID. (2005). *Reducing Poverty by Tackling Social Exclusion: A DFID Policy Paper*. London: DFID. <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/development/docs/socialexclusion.pdf>

Who is socially excluded and how is social exclusion (SE) related to poverty, conflict and insecurity? How can governments, civil society and donors reduce SE? This paper explores the causes, effects and solutions to SE worldwide. Governments, civil society and donors should tackle the challenges posed by SE. Not only for reasons of equality, but also to reduce poverty, improve the productive capacity of societies and reduce conflict and insecurity.

Maier, C., Schulze, B., & Sprenger, S. (2008). *Methodfinder Practitioner's Guide: Social Inclusion*. Kathmandu: German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) Food Security and Rehabilitation Project. <http://www.methodfinder.net/briefdescription84.html>

How can social inclusion be embedded in development programmes? This handbook from GTZ suggests that social exclusion can best be addressed through integrated approaches and collaborations between different stakeholders to produce interventions at different levels. As a cross-cutting issue, inclusion requires awareness raising and a change of consciousness. It also requires a long-term strategic response.

Cross-cutting processes

Social policies can enhance or moderate group consciousness and can exacerbate or reduce exclusion. Most states now have legislation to ban overt discrimination. In some countries, governments have introduced targeting through various forms of affirmative action.

Tackling social exclusion at a national level requires a concerted and long-term effort, which addresses issues of legal rights, political representation, economic resources, access to key services and attitudes and perceptions. Measures can range from implementing legal frameworks, which ensure the basic rights of all groups to access the institutions and resources of society, to affirmative action policies (within, for example, employment, education and political representation). Governments may even attempt to identify forms of exclusion at all levels of government action. Governments must be careful, however, not to confuse inclusion with cultural assimilation; cultural inclusion should mean that excluded and minority group cultures are accorded space and respect by a country's dominant national culture. In addition, policies must be designed with the specific context in mind, as those which are appropriate to one country may not necessarily fit in another.

Cultural and social psychological factors can also make discrimination particularly hard to eradicate. Challenges to discriminatory beliefs or processes threaten not only existing economic arrangements which benefit those who discriminate, but also their world-view and social identity.

Inclusive institutions

There is substantial evidence that social exclusion and inequality exacerbate poverty, a rapid review of evidence shows (Carter, 2014). Inclusive institutions are widely presented by international development agencies as a means to promote social inclusion and tackle inequality. Institutions are formal and informal rules and norms which structure the positions and interactions of individuals, groups and societies, including in families, communities, politics and economy. *Inclusive* institutions 'bestow equal rights and entitlements, and enable equal opportunities, voice and access to resources and services' (Carter, 2014: 8). They are typically based on universality, non-discrimination, or targeted action.

Institutions can have either positive or negative effects on inclusion and development outcomes (Carter, 2014). Power holders can shape institutions so that assets and resources are distributed in exclusionary ways. Institutions can enable discrimination through exclusion or adverse incorporation. Commonly, those most disadvantaged are women, people with disabilities, religious minorities, 'lower castes', ethnic minorities, and recent migrants. There are multiple entry points to strengthen inclusion in institutions.

Carter, B. (2014). *Inclusive Institutions: Topic Guide*. Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham.

<http://www.gsdr.org/docs/open/InclusiveInstitutionsTG.pdf>

What does recent evidence show about inclusive institutions in low- and middle-income countries? This topic guide synthesises evidence about the key concepts, debates and development outcomes in relation to inclusive institutions (including their connection to social exclusion). It also identifies lessons for aid organisations to analyse institutions, use rights-based legal frameworks, tackle public sector workings, support voice, empowerment and accountability, and prevent harmful practices against women and girls. Cross-cutting lessons include a need to: analyse institutions through the lens of inclusion; understand power relations and incentives; understand social norms and behavioural change; work with existing institutions and local change; and work coherently and flexibly.

Supporting inclusive institutions can also be connected to tackling state fragility. See:

McLoughlin, C. (2012). *Topic Guide on Fragile States* (pp. 65-66, 84). Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. <http://www.gsdr.org/docs/open/CON86.pdf>

Anti-discrimination legislation

In some contexts, excluded groups can be subject to formal discrimination. In these situations constitutional provisions, laws, regulations and policies either explicitly further discriminatory practices, or fail to provide legal protection of, and redress for, the right to non-discrimination.

Tomasevski, K. (2005). *Strengthening Pro-Poor Law: Legal Enforcement of Economic and Social Rights. Human Rights and Poverty Reduction Background Paper.* London: ODI.

<http://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/4355.pdf>

How can human rights legislation expose and oppose violations of economic and social rights? This paper looks at the key lessons that can be learnt from the relatively recent processes of human rights litigation worldwide. It explores the application of human rights legislation in case studies from all over the world. Importantly, the legal enforcement of human rights can support anti-poverty policies, since the poor are more victimised by violations of rights than the rich.

Gallardo, G. R. (2004). *Anti-Discrimination Legislation and Policies in Mexico.* In Buvinic, M. et al., *Social Inclusion and Economic Development in Latin America.* Inter-American Development Bank

<http://idbdocs.iadb.org/wsdocs/getdocument.aspx?docnum=419947>

Human rights

For a synthesis of evidence-based lessons on human rights in aid approaches, see the following GSDRC topic guide:

Chrichton, J., Haider, H., Chowns, E., & Browne, E. (2015). *Human rights: Topic guide.* Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. <http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/rights.pdf>

Sherlaw, W., & Hudebine, H. (2015). *The United Nations Convention on the rights of persons with disabilities: Opportunities and tensions within the social inclusion and participation of persons with disabilities.* ALTER - European Journal of Disability Research / Revue Européenne de Recherche Sur Le Handicap, 9(1), 9–21.

<http://doi.org/10.1016/j.alter.2014.08.001>

How can the 2006 UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (PWDs) support social inclusion? Drawing from academic literature on disability, this article argues that the Convention can advance inclusive policies for PWDs and serve as a benchmark for policy evaluation. However, different organisations may have contradictory goals and diverging emphasis on redistribution versus recognition. It is important to both find commonalities and allow for diverse approaches, where all participants have equal voice. PWDs, especially those who are hard to reach, must be the ones to set priorities for policy, evaluation and choices for action. Participatory action research can inform this.

Affirmative action

Affirmative action has taken various forms, which include providing preferred admissions and subsidies for education and employment and providing mandatory political representation for marginalised groups. These programmes have had some success, notably in terms of increasing minority group representation in government employment. However, in India, for example, these policies have not had a significant impact on the poverty of these groups relative to the rest of Indian society. In addition these policies have sometimes been implemented in a context of profound social resistance, and there has been a failure to transform the attitudes and perceptions of the majority of the population. While efforts to increase the political representation of minority groups have had some limited success in altering the priorities of local government, social and cultural norms continue to present a significant barrier to greater equality for excluded groups. Efforts to foster empowerment and inclusion via affirmative action tend to focus on developing legislation and institutions. There should be greater focus on implementation and creating an enabling environment for change that addresses deeper power relations.

Heyer, J., & Jayal, N. G. (2009). *Challenge of Positive Discrimination in India.* Oxford: Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity. <http://www3.qeh.ox.ac.uk/pdf/crisewps/workingpaper55.pdf>

Despite mixed results, India's positive discrimination (PD) programme ensures a minimum level of inclusiveness for disadvantaged groups and keeps discrimination issues in public view. This paper reviews achievements, political and economic outcomes and challenges of the PD programme. Despite its achievements, the PD programme is insufficient: disadvantaged groups need to build stronger political movements in order to demand more from the majority.

Dos Santos, S. A. (2006). Who is Black in Brazil? A Timely or a False Question in Brazilian Race Relations in the Era of Affirmative Action? *Latin American Perspectives*, 33(4), 30-48.

<http://lap.sagepub.com/content/33/4/30.abstract>

Who is black in Brazil? This article examines racial discrimination in Brazil. It argues that Brazil's myth of racial democracy limits realistic discussion of racism and racial identity because it prevents the identification of dysfunctional race relations. The important question with regard to affirmative action is not who is black, but rather what sort of society do Brazilians want to build.

Corwall, A., & Edwards, J. (2010). Introduction: Negotiating Empowerment. *IDS Bulletin*, 41(2), 1-9.

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1759-5436.2010.00117.x/abstract>

Why are conventional interventions that seek to promote women's empowerment insufficient? This article highlights the choices, negotiations, narratives, and context of women's lived experience. It finds that empowerment is a complex process of negotiation rather than a linear sequence of inputs and outcomes. Governments and development agencies need to give more consideration to the structures perpetuating gender inequality. They should invest in creating an enabling environment for women's empowerment, and should support those who are tackling deeply rooted issues of power impeding transformative change.

Tadros, M. (2010). Introduction: Quotas - Add Women and Stir? *IDS Bulletin*, 41(5), 1-10.

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1759-5436.2010.00160.x/abstract>

Is women's empowerment directly related to the proportion of women in parliament? Have various forms of quota been successful in transforming gender relations? This article examines different pathways to women's empowerment and the assumptions about gender, power, and politics that underlie quotas. It concludes that the focus on women's representation in parliament is too narrow; gender hierarchies that have remained unchallenged in other key power bases (such as key ministries) must be identified and targeted. Further, women's representation must be viewed in terms of the agendas pursued and their influence.

Voice, empowerment and accountability

There are various strategies aimed at enhancing citizens' voice and empowerment and increasing the accountability of power-holders. For example, in formal politics, these include increasing electoral turnout, informing decision-makers of citizens' views and bringing citizens and decision-makers together in dialogue on policy issues.

Underlying these strategies is the notion that the creation of new spaces for public participation will enable more direct forms of citizen engagement in policy making. However, simply creating new spaces for participation does not guarantee greater inclusion or enable the most marginalised sections of the population to articulate their voices and demand accountability. The outcomes of participatory approaches are affected by power relations, which can result in inequality. Even within social movements that aim to benefit the poor, uneven power relations can be replicated at the local level, resulting in the exclusion of the most marginalised. These power relations need to be understood in relation to how spaces of engagement are created, the levels of power within them and the different forms of power across them. It is also essential to consider who participates, on what basis and whose interests they represent.

For a synthesis of evidence-based lessons on voice, empowerment and accountability, see the following GSDRC topic guide:

Combaz, E., & Mcloughlin, C., (2014). *Voice, empowerment and accountability: Topic guide*. Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/GSDRC_VEA_topic_guide.pdf

Evidence on the impact of interventions for voice, empowerment and accountability is limited, and identifies both positive and negative effects. Impact depends on 'power relations, social norms, levels of equity or exclusion, leadership, and the capacity and will of both state and civil society actors' (p. 1). Supporting women's political inclusion requires understanding women's networks and their own capacity to empower themselves. Overall, more strategic, long-term interventions that tackle blockages within both state and society may be useful. Aid actors need to think and work politically, adapt to local incentives and power dynamics, and be realistic about possibilities. They could adopt an enabling and brokering role. In some fragile and conflict-

affected contexts, a non-confrontational emphasis on all parties' collective responsibility to support development has achieved positive results.

Cornwall, A., & Coelho, V. S. (Eds.). *Spaces for Change? The Politics of Participation in New Democratic Arenas*. London: Zed Books. http://www.drc-citizenship.org/system/assets/1052734500/original/1052734500-cornwall_etal.2007-spaces.pdf?1289508570

How can participation offer real prospects for change in the status quo for historically marginalised social groups? This introductory chapter brings together case studies that examine the democratic potential of a diversity of participatory sphere institutions. A gap remains between the legal and technical apparatus that has been created to institutionalise participation and the reality of the effective exclusion of poorer and more marginalised citizens.

Development Research Centre on Citizenship, Participation and Accountability. (2011). *Blurring the Boundaries: Citizen Action across States and Societies*. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies. <http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/PDF/Outputs/CentreOnCitizenship/cdrc.2011-blurring.pdf>

This report synthesises the findings of ten years of research from the Development Resource Centre on Citizenship, Participation and Accountability. Findings suggest that governments often become more capable, accountable and responsive when state-led reform to strengthen institutions of accountability and social mobilisation occur simultaneously. Further, change happens not just through strategies that work on both sides of the governance supply and demand equation, but also through strategies that work across them: it is important to link champions of change from both state and society.

Narayana, D. (2005). *Institutional Change and its Impact on the Poor and Excluded: The Indian Decentralisation Experience*. Paris/Geneva: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development and International Labour Office. http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/development/institutional-change-and-its-impact-on-the-poor-and-excluded_855711082322

Does democratic decentralisation improve the ability of the previously socially excluded to participate in local governance? This study examines newly created local governance institutions in three states in India. It finds significant variation in the outcomes of decentralisation on participation across states and between different groups. The success of institutional reforms in increasing participation is influenced by how well their designs fit the local context, the extent to which power and resources are actually devolved to local institutions, and the degree of local political mobilisation.

Castillejo, C. (2009). *Strengthening Women's Citizenship in the Context of State Building*. Madrid: Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior (FRIDE). <http://fride.org/publication/558/strengthening-womens-citizenship-seminar>

How can state-building strengthen women's citizenship in fragile states? This seminar report explores the opportunities offered by state building processes to enhance women's political participation, rights and ability to hold the state to account. State building strategies must: include strengthening women's citizenship as an explicit aim; engage with the informal institutions that have most influence over women's lives; address economic and social barriers to women's substantive citizenship; and support the participation of women's organisations.

Haider, H. (2008). *Participation of Excluded Groups in Local Governance (GSDRC Helpdesk Research Report)*. Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. <http://www.gsdr.org/docs/open/HD555.pdf>

There are various methods of ensuring and allowing the participation of excluded groups in local governance. They fall under two broad categories: 1) promoting the representation of excluded groups in local government, including in leadership positions, and 2) promoting the participation of excluded groups in local meetings to discuss planning, budgeting and development projects. Within these categories, a range of formal and informal mechanisms and strategies have been attempted in various countries. This helpdesk research report focuses on examples from India, Uganda, Indonesia and Bangladesh.

Further resources on participation are available in other GSDRC guides:

- Participation and accountability (Human Rights): <http://www.gsdr.org/go/topic-guides/human-rights/rights-based-approaches>

- Strengthening citizen engagement in fragile states (Fragile States): <http://www.gsdrc.org/topic-guides/fragile-states/>

Inclusion for specific excluded groups

For syntheses of evidence-based lessons on gender, social exclusion and aid, see the following GSDRC topic guide:

Kangas, A., Haider, H., & Fraser, E. (2014). *Gender: Topic Guide* (Revised edition with E. Browne). Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. <http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/gender.pdf>

See in particular the section on donor approaches: <http://www.gsdrc.org/go/topic-guides/gender/donor-approaches-to-gender>

Simplican, S. C., Leader, G., Kosciulek, J., & Leahy, M. (2015). *Defining Social Inclusion of People with Intellectual and Developmental Disabilities: An Ecological Model of Social Networks and Community Participation. Research in Developmental Disabilities, 38, 18–29.*

<http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.1016/j.ridd.2014.10.008>

What does social inclusion mean for persons with intellectual and developmental disabilities (PWIDDs), their families and service providers? What are the policy implications? Drawing from academic literature, this theoretical article presents an ecological model of social inclusion for PWIDDs, which brings together individual, interpersonal, organisational, community, and socio-political factors. The authors show how this model can shed light on the enabling conditions for systemic social inclusion, and on the role of self-advocacy organisations. It can also inform social inclusion for PWIDDs living with their families, and for people along a broader spectrum of disability.

Violent conflict and peacebuilding

The following GSDRC topic guides synthesise recent evidence and practical lessons for aid practitioners on preventing and responding to violent conflicts, and building peace. The approaches presented take into account social exclusion:

Haider, H. (2014). *Conflict: Topic Guide* (Revised edition with B. Rohwerder). Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham, chapters 3-5. <http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/CON69.pdf>

Haider, H. (2014). *Statebuilding and Peacebuilding in Situations of Conflict and Fragility* (Topic Guide Supplement, Revised edition with A. Strachan). Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. <http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/CON87.pdf>

Haider, H. (2011). *State-Society Relations and Citizenship in Situations of Conflict and Fragility* (Topic Guide Supplement). Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. <http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/CON88.pdf>

Haider, H. (2014). *Conflict Sensitivity: Topic Guide*. Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/GSDRC_CS_topic_guide.pdf

Strachan, A. L., & Haider, H. (2015). *Gender and Conflict: Topic Guide*. Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/gender_conflict.pdf

Sectoral issues

There is increasing recognition that inclusive growth, universal service provision and social protection initiatives can alleviate the negative effects of exclusion on certain groups over the long term. For example, education has been found to have positive effects on income, and it is argued that reducing the gap in years of schooling could reduce inter-ethnic inequality in a significant way.

Inclusive growth

The 2009 DFID White Paper 'Building Our Common Future'⁵ emphasises the importance of inclusive growth for sustainable poverty reduction. The World Bank defines inclusive growth as being about 'raising the pace of growth and enlarging the size of the economy, while levelling the playing field for investment and increasing productive employment opportunities.'⁶ Thus, inclusive growth includes the idea of equality of opportunity in terms of access to markets, resources and productive employment, as well as an unbiased regulatory framework for businesses and individuals.

Inclusive growth can thus be both an outcome and a process. On the one hand, it ensures that everyone participates in the growth process, both in terms of decision-making on the growth progression itself, as well as in participating in the growth itself. On the other hand, it makes sure that everyone equitably shares the benefits of growth.

Alexander, K. (2015). *Inclusive growth: Topic guide*. Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham.

<http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/InclusiveGrowth.pdf>

What does recent evidence show about inclusive growth? This topic guide, commissioned by DFID, synthesises evidence about the key concepts of inclusive growth, its components and measurements, and the linkages between growth, poverty and inequality. It finds that three strands of policies must be combined: economic growth that generates structural transformation and productive employment for poor people; equal opportunities, including equal access to jobs; and social protection for the most vulnerable, complemented by investments in human development that support social inclusion. Governments must also widen their tax base, to spend on inclusive growth sustainably.

Ali, I., & Zhuang, J. (2007). *Inclusive Growth Toward a Prosperous Asia: Policy Implications*. Manila: Asian Development Bank (ADB).

<http://www.adb.org/publications/inclusive-growth-toward-prosperous-asia-policy-implications>

How can a development strategy based on inclusive growth help developing Asia eradicate extreme poverty and tackle inequality? This paper argues that inclusive growth emphasises creation of, and equal access to opportunities; and that unequal opportunities arise from social exclusion associated with market, institutional, and policy failures. Thus, the ADB should modify its vision, mission and operational priorities to make inclusive growth its overarching goal.

Hatlebakk, M. (2008). *Inclusive Growth in Nepal*. Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute.

<http://www.cmi.no/publications/file/3068-inclusive-growth-in-nepal.pdf>

How can inclusive growth be promoted in Nepal? This paper examines pathways out of poverty in Nepal between 1995 and 2003 and proposes ways in which the government, non-governmental organisations and international donors can help foster future inclusive growth. Targeted education and training schemes for the poor and for excluded groups, subsidised health care and investment in infrastructure are key areas of intervention.

Scott, Z. (2009). *Gender and Growth in China* (GSDRC Helpdesk Research Report). Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham.

<http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/HD615.pdf>

The first half of this helpdesk research report provides case studies examining the links between economic growth and gender equality in China. Most resources focus on the economic reforms associated with WTO accession and examine their gendered impacts. They all find that China's impressive economic growth has failed to benefit men and women proportionately. Several authors argue that growth has actually increased inequality, or has created new gender inequalities. Women now generally occupy lower paid and lower status jobs than men. The second half of this report highlights resources on growth and gender in other countries, predominantly in Sub-Saharan Africa, this time focussing on the impact of gender inequality on growth. The resources on Africa offer more of a consensus in arguing that gender inequality has a negative effect on growth. The following are identified as particular barriers to African women fully participating in economic activity:

⁵ DFID. (2009). *Eliminating World Poverty: Building our Common Future*. London: DFID.

⁶ World Bank. (2009). *What is Inclusive Growth?* Washington, DC: World Bank.

- high fertility rates
- gender gaps in education
- lack of access to formal employment
- gender gaps in access to assets and inputs in agriculture.

Littlewood, D., & Holt, D. (2014). Addressing Rural Social Exclusion in the Developing World: Exploring the Role of African Social Purpose Ventures. In Henry, C., & Mcelwee, G. (Eds.), *Exploring Rural Enterprise: New Perspectives on Research, Policy & Practice* (pp. 105–131). Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

<http://www.emeraldinsight.com/doi/full/10.1108/S2040-724620140000004005>

What role can social entrepreneurship and innovation play in tackling social exclusion among the poor? This book chapter offers eight qualitative case studies from Kenya, Mozambique and Zambia. The research shows that social purpose ventures can partner with the rural poor as: employees; consumers; producers; entrepreneurs; service users (where ventures contribute to service provision); and shareholders. Successful ventures have integrated environmental sustainability, participation by the poor, and local capacities and embeddedness. They have also had sound business fundamentals and strategies – typically, an outward orientation, linkages with larger businesses, and the goal of self-sufficiency. Better policies, laws and support could help such ventures contribute to inclusive rural development.

Service provision

Excluded groups often lack access to services entirely and or only have access to lower-quality services. This can limit their capacity to benefit from opportunities available to other members of society. Access to education is a particularly important service because of its effect on the earning capacity of an individual, as well as on his/her ability to participate in their social and political environment. Early intervention in the field of education can play a critical role in reducing inequalities, but relies upon strong policy engagement, strategic planning and investment.

Institutional factors are extremely important in determining equitable access to services. These factors include the processes by which decisions are made on the allocation of resources, the incentives given to service providers to serve specific groups, and the ability of different groups of users to demand specific services. Depending on these factors, institutions (both formal and informal) can be inclusive – in that they promote the participation of the weak – or they can be exclusionary.

For a synthesis of recent evidence on service delivery and its practical implications for aid, including for social exclusion, see the following GSDRC topic guide:

Mcloughlin, C., & Scott, Z. (2014). *Service Delivery: Topic Guide*. Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. <http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/ServiceDelivery.pdf>

Evidence shows that ‘equitable access to essential public services is vital for human development, inclusive growth, and tackling persistent inequality’ (p. 2). Key factors that can enable or impede inclusive delivery are political and institutional. Evidence remains patchy and mixed on the impact of common interventions to ensure inclusive service delivery (e.g. informing users about their rights, involving them in decision-making, strengthening accountability, decentralisation, or vouchers). Whilst there are many challenges, there are documented success stories for aid, including in very difficult environments. Lessons include the usefulness of engaging communities on social norms around access, understanding incentives, providing flexible and adaptable aid, and building trust between different actors.

The resources below outline various projects aimed at increasing excluded groups’ access to services, and highlight best practice and lessons learned.

Gardener, J., & Subrahmanian, R. (2006). *Tackling Social Exclusion in Health and Education: Case Studies from South Asia*. London: DFID. <http://www.eldis.org/fulltext/tackling-social-exclusion.pdf>

In many Asian countries, poverty reduction is undermined by inequality and insecurity. Achieving the Millennium Development Goals in these countries requires effort from governments and development agencies to help excluded groups access health and education services. This paper from GHK International and the Institute of Development Studies uses examples from across Asia to identify ways of tackling social

exclusion. Case studies from India, Nepal and Bangladesh show how ethnic minorities, disadvantaged castes, the ultra-poor, women and migrants are excluded from education and health provision. Projects across Asia have sought to understand processes of exclusion and find ways of including these groups.

Moreno-Torres, M. (2005). *Service Delivery in a Difficult Environment: the Child-friendly Community Initiative in Sudan*. London: DFID. <http://www.eldis.org/fulltext/CFCI-Sudan-casestudy.pdf>

The UNICEF-sponsored Child-Friendly Community Initiative (CFCI) represents an integrated, multi-sectoral and community-driven approach for the delivery of basic services to poor and vulnerable people in Sudan. What are the main achievements of CFCI? How does it differ from other donor interventions aiming to enhance service delivery? This case study examines the effectiveness of the CFCI approach in Sudan and attempts to draw lessons for donors on service delivery in other fragile states.

Save the Children. (2008). *Making Schools Inclusive: How Change Can Happen*. London: Save the Children UK. <http://www.savethechildren.org.uk/resources/online-library/making-schools-inclusive-how-change-can-happen-save-the-childrens-experience>

What can NGOs do to promote inclusiveness in the school systems of developing countries? This book uses the experience of Save the Children UK and its partners to identify what changes are needed for school systems to become inclusive of all children, and how these can be leveraged. The experience of national education teams working for Save the Children provides insight into the approaches that have worked best.

Carneiro, P. M., Galasso, E., & Ginja, R. (2014). *Tackling social exclusion: evidence from Chile* (Discussion Paper No. 8209). Institute for the Study of Labor / IZA. <http://ftp.iza.org/dp8209.pdf>

In Chile, an innovative welfare programme has provided the 5 per cent of poorest households with frequent home visits and guaranteed access to social services. A statistical analysis on the 2002-2006 period shows it made a strong and lasting impact: participants' take-up of family allowances for children was 11 per cent higher than in comparable households, and use of employment services 5-6 per cent higher. However, employment outcomes or housing conditions did not improve. In addition, impact was important only for families who had little access to welfare before (30 percentage point increase in take-up of the child allowance for those families).

Samuels, F., James, V., & Sylvester K. (2009). *Beyond Basic Needs: Programming for Marginalised and Vulnerable Groups – The Australian Partnerships with African Communities (APAC) Programme*. London: Overseas Development Institute <http://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/4172.pdf>

Woodhead, M., Ames, P., Vennam, U., Abebe, W., & Streuli, N. (2009). *Equity and Quality? Challenges for Early Childhood and Primary Education in Ethiopia, India and Peru* (Working Paper 55). The Hague: Studies in Early Childhood Transitions, Bernard van Leer Foundation http://www.bernardvanleer.org/Equity_and_quality_Challenges_for_early_childhood_and_primary_education_in_Ethiopia_India_and_Peru

The following paper highlights the disparities between men and women in their access to agricultural resources (such as land, technology and equipment, credit, and markets), and explores intervention strategies needed to address the constraints in accessing such resources.

Quisumbing, A., & Pandolfelli, L. (2009). *Promising Approaches to Address the Needs of Poor Female Farmers*. Washington, DC: International Food Policy Research Institute. <http://ebrary.ifpri.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15738coll2/id/12394>

What are the key strategies for closing the gender gap in agricultural production? This paper reviews attempts to increase poor female farmers' access to, and control of, productive resources in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia. Consideration of the literature of the past decade indicates that while promising new approaches to meeting the needs of female farmers are emerging, few have been rigorously evaluated. Future interventions need to consider, among other factors: interactions among resource inputs; the trade-offs between practical and strategic gender needs; and the culture and context specificity of gender roles.

Social protection

Social assistance has come to be seen as an important tool for reducing poverty and social exclusion. In developing countries, new social assistance programmes aim to invest in the productivity and resilience of poor and vulnerable households with children, particularly those left outside of traditional social insurance assistance programmes. For example, governments in a number of Latin American middle-income states have adopted conditional cash transfers to encourage poor families to send their children to school, and ensure that they access healthcare services. These programmes aim to reduce vulnerability in the short term and, in the long term, to contribute to disrupting the intergenerational cycle of poverty by enabling children to become full and productive members of society.

However, many social protection programmes have not been in existence long enough to enable evaluation of their success in achieving long-term poverty alleviation goals. The few evaluations that have taken place have highlighted the limited scope of many of these programmes, and the potential for badly-designed programmes to reinforce rather than overcome societal divisions. As a result, there remains some debate about the potential contribution of social protection to addressing social exclusion.

Browne, E. (2015). *Social protection: Topic guide*. Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham.

<http://www.gsdr.org/docs/open/SocialProtection.pdf>

The evidence base on the relationship between social protection and social exclusion is small (pp. 27-28). Some studies identify positive effects from social protection, such as improving human development, livelihoods, legal rights, and access to services. But interventions have generally not been transformative, and have had less success working for the most excluded. Options to address this diverge, from removing costs to access, to making trade-offs between coverage and cost-effectiveness. Further, many studies recommend tailoring social protection to the needs and experiences of people who are most excluded. This includes women and girls, children, the elderly, persons with disabilities, and those who are hard to reach due to migration, extreme poverty, informal work or self-employment (pp. 30-33).

Babajanian, B., & Hagen-Zanker, J. (2012). *Social protection and social exclusion: an analytical framework to assess the links* (Background Note). London: ODI.

<http://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/7864.pdf>

How can social protection address the outcomes and drivers of social exclusion in low- and middle-income countries? This paper draws on different strands of literature and examples to construct a framework. Social protection can address life course vulnerabilities (e.g. parenting, disability, illness, old age) through legal rights, income security, and services. Minimum labour rights and affirmative action can institute and enforce citizenship rights and entitlements. Access to education, skills and healthcare can be improved through cash transfers, affordable services, and inclusive and equitable policies. Livelihoods support on agricultural assets inputs and social cash transfers can enhance people's productive capacity.

Carroll, K. (2011). *Addressing Inequality: Framing Social Protection in National Development Strategies*. *IDS Bulletin*, 42(6), 89-95. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1759-5436.2011.00279.x/abstract>

How can social protection reduce inequalities? This paper suggests that social protection should be integrated in a coherent national development strategy (NDS), which provides a framework for policy formulation and linkages. Policies should be rooted in solid analysis to enable them to target specific inequalities. ActionAid's NDS project is provided as an example of how to advance redistributive and transformative social protection.

De la Briere, B. & Rawlings L. B. (2006). *Examining Conditional Cash Transfer Programmes: A Role for Increased Social Inclusion?* (SP Discussion Paper no. 0603). Washington, DC: World Bank.

<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/SOCIALPROTECTION/Resources/SP-Discussion-papers/Safety-Nets-DP/0603.pdf>

Conditional Cash Transfer programmes (CCTs) provide money to poor families, contingent on specific verifiable actions such as children's school attendance or preventative health care. How successful are CCTs in addressing social inclusion and inter-generational poverty? What is their impact on social accountability relationships between beneficiaries, service providers and governments? This summary focuses on the Social Inclusion section in a World Bank paper. While CCTs hold promise, they are not a panacea against social exclusion. They should form part of comprehensive social and economic policy strategies and be applied carefully in different policy contexts.

Olivier, M. (2011). Political and Regulatory Dimensions of Access, Portability and Exclusion: Social Security for Migrants, with an Emphasis on Migrants in Southern Africa. In Sabates-Wheeler, R., & Feldman, R. *Migration and Social Protection: Claiming social rights beyond borders* (pp. 117-139). Palgrave Macmillan. How can southern African SADC countries best provide social protection to migrants within the region? Using a qualitative analysis of policies and laws, this chapter shows how states have effectively used limitations in social security laws and regulations about migrants to restrict migrants' access to, and portability of, entitlements. This has particularly affected asylum-seekers and undocumented migrants. The author recommends using a rights-based and regulatory approach to align international, regional, constitutional, statutory and judicial norms. States must also base their immigration policies on rights, put an end to anti-migrant hostility, and adopt bilateral and multilateral social security agreements. An adapted 2012 version of this chapter, by M. Olivier and O. Dupper, is available online: <http://ilera2012.wharton.upenn.edu/RefereedPapers/DupperOckert.pdf>

Parmar, D., Williams, G., Dkhimi, F., Ndiaye, A., Asante, F. A., Arhinful, D. K., & Mladovsky, P. (2014). Enrolment of Older People in Social Health Protection Programs in West Africa – Does Social Exclusion Play a Part? *Social Science & Medicine*, 119, 36–44. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2014.08.011> What are the effects of social exclusion on social protection for older people in the health sector? The authors of this study conducted cross-sectional household surveys in Senegal and Ghana, and analysed the data statistically. They found that addressing financial barriers is not enough: older persons' vulnerabilities to sociocultural, political and economic exclusion reduce enrolment levels. The authors recommend special efforts to enrol the elderly in rural areas, ethnic minorities, women, and those who are isolated due to a lack of social support. They also recommend eliminating registration fees and providing identification documents in remote communities.

Kabeer, N., Mumtaz, K., & Sayeed, A. (2010). Beyond Risk Management: Vulnerability, Social Protection and Citizenship in Pakistan. *Journal of International Development*, 22, 1-19 <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/jid.1538/abstract>

The paper below highlights rights-based approaches to social protection. According to this conceptualisation, citizenship gives all people the right to a minimum income, and access to enough resources to allow them to live their lives in dignity. Therefore, it argues, the role of social protection is not to provide relief, but redistribution. Given that poverty and inequality result partly from lack of access to secure and adequately-paid employment, it becomes the responsibility of the state to alleviate the social consequences of market failures by providing social services, and thus to ensure the right to inclusion.

CIARIS Learning and Resources Centre on Social Inclusion. (n.d). *Social Assistance as an Instrument of Social Inclusion: Practices and Policy Choices*. International Labour Organization. <http://www.ciaris.org/community/library/show/190>

This paper outlines the growing importance of social assistance, and reviews its place within wider social protection, labour and poverty reduction strategies. Social assistance is not a panacea against social exclusion; its limitations should be recognised and addressed through links with more comprehensive social and labour market policies.

Social assistance schemes such as pensions can, if designed correctly, be effective in addressing the exclusion of older people.

Cristina, M., & da Coneicao, G. (2002). Households and Income: Ageing and Gender Inequalities in Urban Brazil and Colombia. *Journal of Developing Societies*, 18(2-3), 149-168. <http://jds.sagepub.com/content/18/2-3/149.abstract>

This paper discusses the ageing process in Brazil and Colombia according to gender and socioeconomic inequalities. The ageing process is related to reforms in social policies in each country. Reforms in the pension systems show contrasting results for the family structure and income. In Brazil, the extension of pensions to rural and informal workers leads to empowering poorer elderly women and men in economic and domestic relationships. Universalising pensions allows the elderly to choose to live alone or to support adult children. On the other hand, in Colombia the reform created the individual saving system, reinforcing social exclusion and inequalities at the end of the life course. At the same time, the structural adjustments of the economy have

generated new social contracts and economic order, but in different ways. The universal or individual character of the new pension system redefines in each country the profile of gender, generations, and socioeconomic inequalities. The universal reform can mitigate the economic and domestic exclusion of poorer and rural elderly people, as in Brazil; and the individual reform can reinforce inequalities and, as a result, reproduce gender roles of domestic submission and dependence for poorer elderly women.

Further resources on social protection and preventing exclusion are available in the Social Protection guide: <http://www.gsdc.org/go/topic-guides/social-protection>

Information and communication technologies (ICTs)

ICTs have the potential to foster either inclusion or exclusion. Around the world, exclusion from ICTs has been widely shown to stem from structural socio-economic inequalities, and to reinforce them if no action is taken. ICTs can generate different dynamics, depending on the characteristics of a technology, but also on the resources people need to access and use them, and on public and private policies. Inclusive policies can help remove barriers and encourage access. They can enable impact that is meaningful for users and contributes to inclusion. Analyses of experiences in Turkey and Venezuela, below, reveal a persistence of inequalities and policy gaps, but also identify promising policy options.

Polat, R. K. (2012). Digital exclusion in Turkey: A policy perspective. *Government Information Quarterly*, 29(4), 589–596. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.giq.2012.03.002>

This mixed-method article shows that digital disparities are closely connected to other social inequalities in Turkey. State policies on ICTs have allocated large budgets to solutions centred on technology. This has failed, quantitatively and qualitatively, in including those who are female, elderly, Kurdish, less educated, disabled, or in rural areas. The author notes that Turkey could leapfrog towards inclusion by simultaneously improving both access, and literacy and skills (in ICTs, basic education and English). Simple measures would include free or cheaper Internet access and building on mobiles use, though structural inequalities would need to be tackled too.

Mercado, A. (2012). Social inclusion or social illusion: The challenges of social inclusion, social participation and social cohesion in Venezuelan S&T policy. *Science and Public Policy*, 39(5), 592–601.

<http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.1093/scipol/scs064>

This qualitative and quantitative review examines participatory policies and programmes on science and technology in Venezuela between 1999 and 2011. It finds that successes included popular input into decision-making, and participants' autonomous role in design and implementation in some programmes. Success stemmed from widespread support for, and trust in, governmental responsiveness, and from high oil prices (funds enabled activities to work with broad participation and different forms of knowledge). However, the overall results were low-quality policies and frustration. This was caused by low institutional capacities and political conflict. In response, the government used more centralisation and vertical mechanisms, thus weakening local management capacities and community empowerment.

7.2 Challenges for international aid

Social exclusion presents various challenges for donors. There is considerable variation amongst developing countries in the availability of information, as well as important contextual differences in terms of the nature of exclusion and if/ how the concept is understood. National level census and survey data and poverty monitoring often fail to provide much information on excluded groups. Donor organisations are also usually large and dispersed, and need time to embed social exclusion approaches across their work. Developing indicators for and monitoring and evaluating programmes is also a challenge.

Gaynor, C., & Watson, S. (2007). *Evaluating DFID's Policy on Tackling Social Exclusion: Baseline, Framework and Indicators*. London: DFID. <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/evaluating-dfid-s-policy-on-tackling-social-exclusion-baseline-framework-and-indicators>

How can DFID improve its strategy to address social exclusion in its planning, partnerships and programmes? This paper develops a framework for assessing progress on social exclusion against planned commitments, and lays the foundations for a fuller evaluation of the results of DFID's work.

Betts, J., Watson, S., & Gaynor, C. (2010). *DFID Global Social Exclusion Stocktake Report (Evaluation Report EV707)*. London: DFID.

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/67710/glob-soc-excl-stcktkerpt.pdf

This stocktake, conducted in 2008-2009 by external evaluators, explored how DFID had acted on its 2005 policy to tackle social exclusion. It found very poor take-up and traction of the policy. There was a growth in quality activity on exclusion (e.g. in analysis, research, and funding for civil society). But this emerged in response to development contexts and discourses, rather than from DFID's policy, systems and incentives. Activity on exclusion was neither comprehensive nor part of a strategy. The evaluators suggest options for improvement, to mitigate risks to DFID's reputation, efficiency and accountability.

Geiser, U., Bottazzi, P., Epprecht, M., Fokou, G., Fritschi, A., Ramakumar, R., ... Strasser, B. (2011). *Access to Livelihood Assets: Inclusion, Exclusion, and the Reality of Development Interventions*. In Wiesmann, U., & Hurni, H. (Eds.), *Research for Sustainable Development: Foundations, Experiences, and Perspectives*. Bern: Geographica Bernensia.

http://www.researchgate.net/profile/Patrick_Bottazzi/publication/255716732_Access_to_livelihood_assets_Inclusion_exclusion_and_the_reality_of_development_interventions/links/0deec5205f8a7e79d6000000.pdf

Does gaining access to assets such as land, water or education, in itself improve poor people's livelihoods? This summary paper from a North-South research network presents findings about rural land issues from West Africa, Latin America, and South, Southeast and Central Asia. It shows there has been a disconnect between development interventions and the social and political dimension of livelihoods. Rural incomes stem from a variety of complex livelihoods, so people aspire to an array of assets. Assets and access are embedded in everyday practices, and in unequal social structures, power and agency. The interplay of markets, state regulations, and local relations are key factors. But local structures of inequality (such as ethnicity, income groups, and caste) largely determine access to assets and their use.

In addition to developing programming that directly targets social exclusion, donors must ensure that their general interventions do not serve to exacerbate processes of social exclusion. The article below argues that the donor-supported state reform programme in Sri Lanka, which focussed on promoting a market economy and the devolution of power, did not adequately consider the impact of these reforms on socially excluded groups.

De Roldán, K. S. (2012). *Social Exclusion, Social Cohesion: Defining Narratives for Development in Latin America*. *Journal of International Development*, 24(6), 728–744. <http://doi.org/10.1002/jid.2864>

International aid agencies' focus on economics has sometimes contradicted and superseded their support for social inclusion, as shown by this mixed-method content analysis of an annual report by the UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). Between 1999 and 2010, in *The Social Panorama of Latin America*, the social narrative on development ended up being subordinate. The focus was on quantitative, top-down, technocratic and homogenizing economic performance and growth. At the same time, there were qualitative gaps and silences on income concentration, social fragmentation, heterogeneity and local contexts. The author calls for renewed attention to quality of life and to social dimensions.

Bastian, S. (2009). *Politics of Social Exclusion, State Reform and Security in Sri Lanka*. *IDS Bulletin*, 40(2), 88-95. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1759-5436.2009.00027.x/abstract>

How can the interests of the socially excluded be better addressed through state reforms in Sri Lanka? Making use of the two dimensions of capital and coercion, this article analyses the processes of state reform that have ensured the social exclusion of large sections of the population and set the stage for conflict. It argues that the current orthodoxies of state reform – supported by the international community – do not address issues of social exclusion and need to be rethought in order to avert violence and ensure long-term stability and security.

Nadiruzzaman, M., & Wrathall, D. (2014). *Participatory Exclusion – Elite capture of participatory approaches in the aftermath of Cyclone Sidr* (UNU-EHS Working Paper Series No. 3). UNU.

http://www.microinsuranceconference2010.org/de/dms/MRS/Documents/Resilience-Academy/2014_resilience_academy_wp4.pdf

This ethnographic analysis looks at the political economy of aid distribution in a locality in Bangladesh after a cyclone in 2007. It finds that humanitarian interventions channelled resources through established power networks that were based on kinship, wealth, social networks, and political affiliations. These networks favoured 'the relatively well-off over the structurally poor' (p. 3). Elite capture of community participation thus led to exclusion, affecting access to relief, rehabilitation, and development opportunities. Aid reinforced power structures, and produced marginality and unequal resilience.

The following paper analyses the experience of an aid agency staff member and a national consultant involved in designing a project to tackle social exclusion. It argues that donors failed to create meaningful space for civil society to influence emerging relationships between government and development aid. As a result, the architecture of participatory institutions and institutional norms that emerged could not overcome the deficiencies of many social services, nor could it tackle the social exclusion that is reproduced through the administrative management of the state, the instruments of politics and its styles of implementation.

Eyben, R., & Leon, R. (2003). *Who Owns the Gift: Donor-Recipient Relations and the National Elections in Bolivia*. London: DFID.

<http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/Output/175806/>

Similar concerns are noted in the following volume. It finds that success in reducing embedded horizontal inequalities in seven post-conflict countries has been limited, patchy and inconsistent. Further, progress towards redressing horizontal inequality in post-conflict countries may in fact be 'offset' by new forms of inequality generated by the introduction of economic and neoliberal reforms.

Langer, A., Stewart, F., & Venugopal, R. (Eds.). (2011). *Horizontal Inequalities and Post-Conflict Development*.

Palgrave Macmillan. <http://www.palgrave.com/page/detail/horizontal-inequalities-and-post-conflict-development-arnim-langer/?sf1=barcode&st1=9780230348622>

See the editors' four-page CRISE 'In Brief' version: *Have post-conflict development policies addressed horizontal inequalities?* <http://www.qeh.ox.ac.uk/pdf/pdf-research/crise-ib9>

Minoia, P. (2012). *Included or excluded? Civil society, local agency and the support given by European aid programmes*. *Fennia*, 190(2), 77–89. <http://ojs.tsv.fi/index.php/fennia/article/view/7394>

This article evaluates an EU programme to support local non-state actors in Cameroon, Georgia, Palestine, Rwanda and Zimbabwe (including two qualitative case studies on Rwanda). It finds that partnerships favoured already strong NGOs. This reproduced North-South, top-down, and urban-rural power inequalities, thereby marginalising the capacities and assets of community-based organisations. EU structures created bureaucratic or thematic biases in funding and project formats, and paid insufficient attention to local participation, impact and sustainability. The author recommends that donors operate and learn in a more tailored way, starting from local priorities and agency rather than the aid industry.

Zahid, F., Rohain, S., Maâni, K., Mohamed, S., Fernandez, M., & Aw-Hassan, A. (2014). *Exclusion of Women from Local Development Initiative Doomed to Failure: The Case of the Middle Atlas Community of Maâmar in Morocco*. In *Gender Research in Natural Resource Management: Building Capacities in the Middle East and North Africa* (pp. 205–228). Routledge <https://www.routledge.com/products/9780415728522>

Development actors themselves can produce and reinforce social exclusion, as shown in this qualitative study about a rural development project in a Moroccan village. Women had a role and voice in traditional structures, though in subordinate positions. However, the project created organisations with mixed membership. This shift away from women-only spaces dispossessed women of individual and collective agency, pushing them to spaces and processes where they had little voice, symbolic status, and capacity. The project failed to include women *in empowering ways*. The authors recommend working from the specific contexts of women's inclusion in social cohesion, networks and institutions.

Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRSPs)

The extent to which excluded groups have been included in Poverty Reduction Strategy consultation processes has been heavily scrutinised, particularly by civil society organisations. So too has the inclusion of issues

relating to excluded groups in PRSP documents. Questions have been raised about whether inclusive consultation processes are enough to ensure that excluded groups' interests are adequately represented. In some cases, donor support has helped governments build measures for social inclusion into their PRSPs. In the case of Nepal, for example, preliminary work by DFID and the World Bank helped identify the excluded through a national Gender and Social Exclusion Assessment (GSEA). In other cases, attention to issues of exclusion has been the direct result of lobbying by civil society organisations representing excluded groups.

Booth, D., & Curran, Z. (2005). *Aid Instruments and Exclusion*. London: Overseas Development Institute. <http://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/2305.pdf>

To what extent have Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) addressed exclusion issues? How can the new aid modalities be used to encourage anti-exclusion policies in the developing world? This paper surveys PRSPs worldwide to ascertain the responsiveness of the new aid modalities to excluded groups. It argues that donor countries should promote participatory consultations and national ownership of anti-exclusion policies in PRSPs, while monitoring the use of new funding instruments to encourage action on exclusion.

Dube, A. K. (2005). *Participation of Disabled People in the PRSP/PEAP Process in Uganda*. London: Disability Knowledge and Research Programme.

http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/PDF/Outputs/Disability/PolicyProject_uganda_prsp.pdf

What are the lessons learnt from disabled people's participation in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) process in Uganda? This paper finds that time constraints, among other things, limited the involvement of Disabled People's Organisations (DPO) in the PRSP process. Sustaining a policy environment conducive to disabled people's involvement requires substantial capacity building of DPOs, including recruitment of skilled staff to implement strategic programmes.

Tomei, M. (2005). *Indigenous and Tribal Peoples: An Ethnic Audit of Selected Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers*. Geneva: International Labour Office. http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---normes/documents/publication/wcms_100602.pdf

How effectively have Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) addressed the needs of indigenous and tribal peoples (ITPs)? This paper surveys 14 PRSPs from countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America to evaluate the extent to which they address the varieties of economic, social and political exclusion faced by these communities. It argues that improved targeting, data-collection and ITP participation in PRSPs are required if they are to tackle poverty more successfully.

7.3 The role of civil society and social movements

Civil society organisations (CSOs) can provide both immediate relief and longer-term transformative change – by defending collective interests and increasing accountability; providing solidarity mechanisms and promoting participation; influencing decision making; directly engaging in service delivery; and challenging prejudice. In this way, excluded groups can be effective drivers of their own change by forming or participating in organisations that represent group interests. CSOs also play an important role in conducting research to raise the profile of excluded groups.

However, these activities can be constrained by institutional factors, such as the type of regime they are operating in, the level of decentralisation of state institutions and various other aspects of governance. New research is recognising the importance of building alliances and platforms across the state and civil society, to connect champions of change.

Houtzager, P. P. (2003). Introduction: From Polycentrism to the Polity. In Houtzager, P. P., & Moore, M. (Eds.), *Changing Paths: International Development and the New Politics of Inclusion*. University of Michigan Press. <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=r8H5TnTOqrsC&pg=PP1>

What is the nature of the new politics of inclusion? This chapter challenges the perception that supporting uncoordinated and decentralised actions in civil society and the market is sufficient to produce improved governance outcomes. Greater inclusion will emerge instead from representative and deliberative institutions through which societal and state actors can negotiate collective solutions across the public-private divide.

Development Research Centre on Citizenship, Participation and Accountability. (2011). *Blurring the Boundaries: Citizen Action across States and Societies*. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies. <http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/PDF/Outputs/CentreOnCitizenship/cdrc.2011-blurring.pdf>

This report synthesises the findings of ten years of research from the Development Resource Centre on Citizenship, Participation and Accountability. Findings suggest that governments often become more capable, accountable and responsive when state-led reform to strengthen institutions of accountability and social mobilisation occur simultaneously. Further, change happens not just through strategies that work on both sides of the governance supply and demand equation, but also through strategies that work across them: it is important to link champions of change from both state and society.

Case studies have shown that social movements can act as the first steps towards developing a sense of self-identity and citizenship, which does not necessarily emerge initially through engagement with the state. They allow individuals to turn grievances into a sense of collective injustice, and then action. The paper below argues: 'A sense of citizenship normally starts with people's own agendas – they create a political identity around a matter that immediately affects their lives... Group membership amongst those who are marginalized and the sense of dignity and solidarity that comes with this can stimulate people to aspire as a precursor to political engagement.' (2006: 19)

Eyben, R., & Ladbury, S. (2006). *Building Effective States: Taking a Citizen's Perspective*. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.. <http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/PDF/Outputs/CentreOnCitizenship/drccitizensperspective.pdf>

How can a citizen-centred approach to development build effective states by improving relations between state and society? This paper gives an overview of current debates and analyses citizens' own views on these issues. It argues that a state's legitimacy is strengthened by civic participation, which often grows up around local issues, and can be empowered through donor support.

Social movements have been particularly active in Latin America, where they have worked for inclusion of a wide range of marginalised groups.

Earle, L. (2008). *Social Movements and Citizenship: Some Challenges for INGOs*. Oxford: International Training and Research Centre (INTRAC). <http://www.intrac.org/data/files/resources/121/Briefing-Paper-20-Social-movements-and-citizenship.pdf>

How can social movements in developing countries use concepts of citizenship to demand basic rights from the state? This report examines a social movement focusing on low-income housing in São Paulo. In Brazil, the concept of citizenship is linked to service provision. Lack of access to basic services is regarded as having 'limited citizenship'. Framing basic rights as 'citizenship rights' is a powerful weapon in social movements' state-focused campaigning. International donors can best support social movements through flexible approaches that fund communications and training.

Jacobi, P. (2006). *Public and Private Responses to Social Exclusion among Youth in Sao Paulo*. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 606, 216-230.

<http://ann.sagepub.com/content/606/1/216.abstract>

What can be done to address problems of social exclusion? This article examines programmes of inclusion in São Paulo. The dynamic practices highlighted here – such as digital inclusion and social entrepreneurship – offer different ways of reducing social exclusion. All depend significantly on local organisational capacities and potential individual mobilisation. Important changes occur when practices are implemented cooperatively by local actors, government officials, and professionals within civil society.

7.4 Useful websites

Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing
www.wiego.org

UN Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) programme on Social Policies for Inclusive and Sustainable Development
[www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BB128/\(httpProgrammeAreas\)/76B6CE6A525FA46E8025790C005C4A4E?OpenDocument&Count=1000](http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BB128/(httpProgrammeAreas)/76B6CE6A525FA46E8025790C005C4A4E?OpenDocument&Count=1000)