PROMOTING SOCIAL INTEGRATION

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Background Paper for Discussion[1]

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[1] Dr. Clare Ferguson is an independent consultant (clare.ferguson@gmail.com). The paper was commissioned by UN DSPD/DESA for the Expert Group Meeting on Social Integration in Helsinki, July 2008. All rights reserved. The purpose of the paper was to provide background material to facilitate discussion.

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Background Paper for Discussion

1. Introduction

The World Summit for Social Development (WSSD) convened in Copenhagen in 1995 defined the objective of social development as the creation of a society for all. Social integration is the process of building the values, relations and institutions necessary to achieve that society. Post Copenhagen, the term social integration fell out of use. It too easily conjured up images of reluctant minority groups and disaffected youth being forced into citizenship classes and dead-end employment schemes. Social integration, however, can be looked at from a different angle. The focus of research into disadvantage is increasingly on the power relations, politics, institutions and values that enable elites and the well-off to maintain their exclusive position. From this perspective, the disadvantaged are not simply excluded from mainstream society, but are included in households, communities and markets on unequal terms, often through relations of discrimination, abuse, violence and exploitation. Social integration, then, requires the transformation of social values and institutions that perpetuate unequal relations rather than simply help for the disadvantaged to gain access to mainstream society.

Social integration is about making societies more equitable. It requires actions to renegotiate and redefine existing social contracts which define the rights and responsibilities of citizens, states and the private sector. Social integration can be 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 and opportunity, equity and dignity. Social integration describes the process of building institutions that promote a society for all on the principles of social justice.

The WSSD provides a broad cross-sectoral platform on which to build policies to promote social integration. Prior to the WSSD, social policy was primarily concerned with provision of basic services and social protection (Moser 1992). The WSSD broadened this agenda to highlight the importance of employment and freedom from violence.

In addition, the WSSD identified key principles that should be applied to all sectors in order to promote social integration. These principles can be defined as redistribution of socio-economic resources, representation of political voice and recognition of cultural and social identities (Fraser 2005). In relation to redistribution, the WSSD outlined the need for public action to address

inequalities in income and wealth as well as other well-being outcomes. In terms of representation, the WSSD committed governments to an agenda that supported increased participation of people in all levels of decision making as well as greater transparency and accountability of governments. The WSSD also acknowledged the need for policy responses to the strengthened demands for recognition of the identities of minorities and other social groups and action to address discrimination and violence against those groups.

The key challenge for policy makers promoting this agenda of social integration is ensuring cross-sectoral coherence and a set of policies that are mutually compatible in terms of promoting equality and well-being for disadvantaged groups. In practice, recognition of identities and cultural practices does not always lead to greater access to labour markets and increased income. Supporting increased participation and representation of disadvantaged groups in political processes does not automatically translate into greater equality of public resources. Targeting resources at disadvantaged groups can exacerbate social discrimination and does not always generate the necessary cross-group mobilization to gain political support.

This paper reviews policy instruments that have supported elements of the social integration agenda in order to identify those that provide a coherent and consistent cross-sectoral approach to social integration. In particular, it highlights the human rights framework as a basis for developing policies to promote social integration and resolve some of the tensions between conflicting processes. Prior to the WSSD, human rights and development policy were generally seen as belonging to separate domains, with development addressing social and economic needs while the human rights framework provided tools for strengthening civil and political rights (UNDESA 2006). The WSSD brought these two streams together, recognizing that the human rights framework incorporates economic, social and cultural rights. In so doing, it acknowledged the obligations of governments to ensure that the basic needs of all people are met and facilitated the use of human rights norms, legislation, processes and institutions in social policy to enable citizens to voice their needs, mobilize and hold governments to account for meeting them (Ferguson 1999).

Policy instruments to promote social integration are reviewed in the context of the nation state. Globalization has highlighted the fact that issues of fair process and outcomes are dependent upon politics and decisions taken by transnational corporations, multilateral organizations and other governments. Climate change has emphasized the importance of taking the rights of future generations into account in present-day decision making. The geographical and temporal boundaries of the social could, and should, be extended to consider international relations, global social justice and recognition, representation and redistribution for future generations[2]. These dimensions of social integration, however, are not systematically reviewed here.

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[2] See Simon Maxwell www.odi.org.uk for a discussion of these issues.

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Section two of this paper sets out key concepts, including different definitions of equality. Section three addresses the question of why social integration matters. It provides a brief outline of issues of inequality in relation to poverty, employment and conflict. Section four reviews the international framework for addressing social integration that has developed since Copenhagen. It covers Copenhagen itself, the Beijing declaration on gender equality as well as the Madrid platform for action on ageing and international agreements on youth and disability. The fifth section identifies key policy instruments for promoting recognition, redistribution and representation and reviews the application of these principles to service provision, social protection, employment and the prevention of violent conflict. Section six reviews approaches for establishing public sector institutions for promoting social integration. Section seven provides a summary of key policy recommendations.

2. Concepts and definitions

Social integration
Social integration is defined here 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. This definition excludes process of social integration based on force or that attempt to impose unitary identities on reluctant populations. Promoting social integration requires attention to three different, but inter-linked, processes that shape the extent to which people are able to live and work together on an equal basis:

Recognition of diverse social groups, cultures and identity in order to promote respect, dignity and co-operation.

Representation of political voice in order to ensure that the interests of different groups are taken into account in decision-making and resource allocation.

Redistribution of socio-economic resources between individuals and groups in order to prevent deep disparities and fragmentation on the basis of wealth, ethnicity, region, gender, age or other social identity.

Social justice
Social justice, the creation of a society for all, is the over-arching goal of social integration. Social justice refers to the principles, values and institutions that need to be in place to enable each person to get a fair share of the benefits, and carry a fair share of the responsibilities, of living together in a community (Miller 2005). Concepts of social justice differ from understandings of poverty because they focus on issues of distribution and process rather than absolute levels of well-being. While debates about what constitutes social justice have a long and unresolved history in political philosophy, all definitions assume that a fair society is desirable and only achievable if rights and responsibilities are distributed according to agreed principles of equality. Here, as indicated in the definition of social integration, social justice is defined as the achievement of a society in which all people are able to participate in social, economic and political life on the basis of equality of rights and opportunity, equity and dignity.

Human rights
Human rights are the internationally agreed norms and legal standards that set out the rights and entitlements belonging to all individuals and specific groups with the corresponding obligations of governments and other individuals and organizations to fulfill those rights. The human rights framework incorporates the economic, civil, cultural, political and social rights identified in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and subsequent conventions as well as ILO conventions covering core labour standards and rights of indigenous people. Conventions, including the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women and the

Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination, outline how the application of universal rights should be applied to take into account issues of difference between particular social groups.

Human rights, then, relate to the range of economic, social, cultural, civil and political needs that are generally understood as being relevant to a multi-dimensional understanding of poverty. In defining these needs as rights, the human rights framework enables individuals and groups to make a claim on duty-bearers who have an obligation to fulfill that right. In an increasing number of cases, those claims are being made by civil society through judicial processes or through quasi-judicial accountability mechanisms (Gauri and Brinks 2008). Where those channels are not accessible to people who are disadvantaged, the human rights framework still provides a normative basis for formulating claims and mobilizing around them. Human rights create a link between people's needs and the political processes and levers necessary to ensure that policies and resources are in place to meet those needs (Ferguson, Moser and Norton 2007).

Minority Rights
Minority rights refer to public policies, legal rights, and constitutional provisions sought by ethnic groups for the accommodations of their cultural differences. Minority rights are protected under international human rights law by provisions for religious and cultural freedoms as well as by specific conventions relating to minority rights, such as ILO Convention 169 concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples. The term minorities is used to refer to a wide range of groups including:
A. National minorities
        Stateless nations
        Indigenous peoples
B. Immigrant minorities
        With citizenship or rights to become citizens
        Without rights to become citizens
        Refugees
C. Religious groups
        Isolationist
        Non-isolationist
D. *Sui generis* groups
        African Americans
        Roma (gypsies) etc…

(Kymlicka and Norman 2000).

Citizenship
Theories of citizenship look at ideas and practices relating to rights, status, values, identity and activities that are attached to membership of political communities. Country specific legal, political and administrative systems result in inequalities in the legal recognition and realization of citizenship. The concept of citizenship is used to analyze those differences and to assess, for example, the

extent to which human rights standards are incorporated and addressed by different states.

Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism has become the accepted European model for addressing cultural and ethnic differences, but is relatively new to development debates (Marc 2008). Multiculturalism promotes the rights of minority groups defined by their culture and ethnicity. It is associated with the idea of celebrating diversity (Percival 2007).Multiculturalism preserves a central core of common human rights valid to all citizens but complements these with specific rights for minority groups (Marc 2008).

Equality and difference

As defined above, equality is intrinsic to approaches to social integration. However, the concept of equality is open to a number of different interpretations. Definitions of equality vary in the extent to which they take into account issues of difference between social groups. The classic liberal concept of justice defines equality in relation to the concept of difference-blind rules and institutions which applied the same rules to all people, regardless of their identity. However, feminist theorists and advocates of minority and other group rights have demonstrated that difference-blind rules are not neutral. Difference-blind non-discrimination favours the majority because it fails to take into account existing differences and disparities between social groups (Kymlicka and Norman 2000). Current definitions of equality, then, are the product of attempts to grapple with the equality/difference conundrum.

Disparities in outcomes

The default meaning of equality relates to disparities in outcomes. The economic definition of inequality usually refers to inequalities in income and wealth. However, descriptions of disparities may also include dimensions of social and economic well-being, such as health and education. Achieving equality in terms of eradicating disparities in income, wealth and other socio-economic outcomes is generally not seen as either a desirable or achievable goal. Other definitions of equality, then, have evolved to describe a range of normative objectives in relation to disparity.

Horizontal and vertical inequalities

Disparities, or outcome inequalities, are increasingly debated in terms of vertical and horizontal inequalities. Standard definitions of inequality refer to disparities measured between individuals and households ordered in a vertical line from richest to poorest. While vertical inequality refers to disparities in well-being, it is most commonly expressed in terms of income or wealth. Horizontal inequality describes disparities between culturally defined groups and is most often expressed in multidimensional terms, with political, social and economic elements (Stewart 2002).

There are important differences in which groups are included in discussions about horizontal inequality and which are left out. The definition could include groups that are defined on the basis of their socio-economic position, ie groups identified in terms of class, employment status or even 'the poor' (Stewart 2002). However, most definitions do not include these groups and refer only to identity groups based on, for example, gender, race, ethnicity and HIV/AIDS status. Under this definition, discussions of horizontal inequalities do not include everyone who is income-poor (and also include those people who belong to a disadvantaged social category but are not income poor).

Equality of rights
This term is often used to mean equality of civil and political rights (UNDESA 2006). From a human rights perspective, this definition is inadequate. The Vienna Conference on Human Rights asserted the equal status of economic, social and cultural rights with civil and political rights. It helped to interpret the human rights principle of indivisibility, and the related principles of interdependence and interrelatedness, as meaning that the international community must treat human rights globally in a fair and equal manner, on the same footing, and with the same emphasis (UN 1993). Equality of rights, from a human rights perspective, means equality of all rights.

Moreover, a human rights definition of equality of rights incorporates both formal and substantive equality. Formal equality prohibits the use of distinctions, or discrimination, in law and policy. Substantive equality considers laws and policies discriminatory if they have a disproportionate negative impact on any group of people (Elson 2006). For example, a tax on bread, from a human rights perspective, is discriminatory because it would have a disproportionate impact on the poorest people who spend a larger percentage of their income on staple foods than those who have more income.

Equality of opportunity
Equality of opportunity is the preferred goal of mainstream development organizations. It is often defined in terms of the metaphor of the creation of a level-playing field. Writing about citizenship and social class in Britain in the 1950s, T.H. Marshall describes equality of opportunity as the right of the citizen to enter into employment on a basis of equality, without the influence of hereditary privilege, in order to engage in processes of market selection, capital accumulation and social mobility (Marshall and Bottomore 1992).

Since the 1950s, the concept of equality of opportunity has been elevated while the value of concrete interventions to support it has been eroded. The World Bank defines equality of opportunity as enabling individuals "to pursue a life of their choosing" (World Bank 2006: 2). Sen's work highlights the problem with this definition. Sen argues that what people choose or want is, itself, limited by their experience and the opportunities available to them. The capabilities approach aims to address this by looking at the choices people would make if they were

able to make choices without restriction (Sen 1999). Appadurai argues that in order to make choices, people have to have the capacity to aspire, to visualize the future and mark out a path for achieving it. People who are poor have less practice at this and, consequently, less capacity to aspire (Appadurai 2002).

In practice, changes in labour markets as a consequence of globalization have meant that policies to promote equality of opportunity do not support Marshall's goal of social mobility let alone a life of people's choosing. Equality of opportunity is generally associated with state action through public policies, particularly in health, education and housing, to offset inequalities separating individuals from different socio-cultural backgrounds (UNDESA 2006).   The assumption is that the provision of an initial bundle of minimum services is sufficient to ensure a degree of life-time equality in relation to livelihood opportunities. While this assumption may have had some relevance in 1950s Britain of long-term employment paths, it is not sufficient in labour markets where employment for the majority is short-term, insecure, and employers have no incentive to support training or ensure any form of progression (Haagh 2007).

Equality of opportunity has to be redefined to make the concept and practice meaningful to the operation of globalized labour markets. Here it is defined as equality of opportunity to enter, and remain in, decent work. Equality of opportunity consequently requires action to support acquisition of skills over a life-time as well as policies to promote decent employment and ensure respect for core labour standards.

Equity
Equity is a concept which refers to a contextually determined 'acceptable' range of disparities, or outcomes, in terms of income, wealth and other aspects of life in society (UNDESA 2006). The concept is used as a means of signaling that while equality of outcomes is not desirable, some levels of inequality in outcomes are not acceptable. However, the definition of "acceptable" is open to a wide range of interpretations. The World Bank, for example, defines equity as equality of opportunity and being "spared from extreme deprivations in outcomes". The idea that it is only the most extreme deprivations of outcome that are unacceptable provides a minimal understanding of equity.

Human rights advocates criticize the term equity precisely because it is so open to different interpretations. Nonetheless, it embodies ideas about fairness of distribution that go beyond issues of non-discrimination. It allows for the fact that different social arrangements and values that shape, for example, taxation and public spending, can produce a range of distributional outcomes. While these different arrangements may not necessarily be discriminatory, they can be distinguished in terms of the different levels of disparities they produce. Equity is used here, then, as a term that denotes distributional fairness beyond issues of non-discrimination. It complements, rather than replaces, the human rights definition of equality of rights.

Social capital
Social capital refers to the rules, norms, obligations, reciprocity and trust embedded in the social relations, social structures and societies' institutional arrangements that enable its members to achieve their individual and community objectives (Narayan cited in Moser and Clark 2001). The concept has been thoroughly criticized because the term capital is not an appropriate way of describing social relations and implies that the links between people can be stored up or spent like money. It has become discredited by reductionist attempts to equate social development with the number of organizations in a given community. Yet it embodies a set of ideas about the values and bonds which shape the relations between people that are not adequately captured by other concepts or readily addressed in mainstream social policy. Building social capital, in this sense, is integral to the process of social integration and implies those processes, including network building, that promote relations of trust rather than fear and loathing, and enable conflicts of interest to be resolved without violence.

Solidarity
Solidarity refers the idea that we are bound together as citizens by a willingness to support each other in times of hardship. The concept of solidarity is often linked to debates about the willingness of people to contribute to social welfare through higher levels of taxation. Motivations for solidarity can be instrumental, arising from a view that unequal societies do not function effectively, or ethical, arising from a view that inequalities are morally unacceptable. Processes of social integration depend upon the existence of values of solidarity which encourage individuals to support the actions necessary to allow some degree of redistribution of resources. Without solidarity, governments cannot address the dilemma of providing for those in need while securing the compliance of those with wealth.

Social exclusion and disadvantage
The concept of social exclusion derives from European policy debates about immigration and unemployment. It describes "the process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from the society in which they live" (Hickey and du Toit 2007). Analyses of social exclusion tend to focus on groups that are discriminated against on the basis of their social identity and do not always address disadvantage on the basis of class or other identities associated with employment status (DFID 2005).

The concept has been criticized because it fails to capture the relations of power through which individuals are bound in kinship networks and communities as well as in patron-client, employer-employee and other unequal relations (du Toit 2005). Feminist analysis has long recognized that women have not been totally excluded from engagement with society, but have generally been incorporated on a differential basis as mothers and subordinates (Pateman 1992). While theories of social exclusion address this issue through the concept of adverse

incorporation, the terms disadvantaged or discriminated-against are used here to capture the unequal relations that drive impoverishment and disempowerment. The terms inclusive states and inclusive citizenship are used to describe institutions that are based on principles of non-discrimination and equality of rights.

3. Why does social integration matter? Poverty, employment and conflict

There are both intrinsic and instrumental reasons for promoting social integration. From an ethical standpoint, the creation of a society for all is a self-evident goal in itself. But there are also strong instrumental reasons for promoting social integration. Deep disparities, based on wealth, region, gender, age or ethnicity reduce social mobility. This, in turn, leads to de facto fragmentation of society and has negative impacts on growth, poverty reduction, democracy and conflict avoidance (Watkins 2007).

3.1 Poverty
Vertical and horizontal inequalities are bad for poverty reduction. The impact of the same amount of growth on poverty reduction is significantly greater when initial income inequality is lower (World BanK 2006). Latin America would have half as many people living in poverty today if it had enjoyed East Asia's more equal distribution of assets in the 1960s (DFID 2005).

Horizontal inequalities also make poverty reduction more difficult. Horizonal disparities are linked to the cultural devaluation of particular social groups. Culturally defined, or social, groups may emerge from self-identification, legislation or as a result of categorization by others (Stewart 2007). Social identities are overlapping and individuals may choose to recognize, or may be categorized by others in, a number of different groups.

Cultural devaluation of specific identities is rooted in social patterns of representation and communication which can be hard to identify, acknowledge and unpick (Fraser 1997). Cultural devaluation leads to discrimination and inequality when negative ideas about groups become institutionalized, or embedded in accepted social, political and economic norms, official practices, policies and legislation. These institutionalized systems of rules and norms, or rights regimes, allocate different and unequal rights to particular social groups. (Moser and Norton 2001).

Identity, and the values and rights associated with it, is the link between structure and agency. Unequal rights regimes impact on agency, not only in terms of the structural constraints to action and choices, but in terms of internalization of negative social values about identities, which can lead to a loss of confidence, self-esteem and ambition and any sense of entitlement to fair treatment.

Institutionalized inequalities in rights and responsibilities mean that individuals from particular social groups are more likely to be poor. Groups that are discriminated against, either in legislation and policies or through service provider practices and self-exclusion, are unable to access services and resources on the same terms as others. This leaves them disadvantaged in relation to economic opportunities and consequent income.

Gender discrimination is the most pervasive and prevalent form of institutionalized inequality. Gender cuts across all other social categories and is a marker of identity and inequalities between men and women in all societies. Gender discrimination in national and customary laws prevents women from owning and inheriting property, accessing credit in their own name or making decisions about their own sexuality, fertility and health. Norms about the gendered division of labour and gender roles result in women undertaking a disproportionate amount of unpaid, unrecognized household labour. Gender norms also mean that, in many societies, parents are less likely to invest in girls' nutrition, health or education.

The relevance of other social categories, and the links between those identities and disparities, varies between different societies. In Latin America and the Caribbean increasing attention is being paid to issues of race and ethnicity, as indigenous people and Afro-descendants are the poorest in the region. The difference in poverty incidence between ethnic and racial minorities and the rest of the population varies from being 1.6 times higher in Colombia to 7.9 times higher in Paraguay. Although the threshold of educational achievement has risen in indigenous and non-indigenous populations in the region, the gap between these two groups persists in most countries. These disparities are reflected in higher illiteracy rates. In Brazil, in the early 1990s, illiteracy rates for the black population were more than double those of the white population, reaching three times the whites' illiteracy rates for people aged 15-24 (Hopenhayn 2008).

In South Asia, issues of caste as well as ethnicity have been highlighted. In Nepal, the poverty headcount dropped 11 points between 1996 and 2004, from 42 percent to 31 percent. Poverty has dropped across regions, quintiles, rural and urban populations and caste and ethnic groups. However, there are major differences by caste and ethnic group. The result is a caste penalty: per capita household consumption in Brahaman and Chhetri households is 42 percent higher than in Dalit households. Controlling for differences in background variables, including location, education, occupation, dependency ratio, alndholdings and remittance income, still leaves per capita income 15 percent lower in Dalit households than in Brahmin and Chhetri households. Muslim and Janajati households face penalties of 13 percent and 14 percent respectively (Bennett 2008).

In Sub Saharan Africa, while disparities on the basis of race and ethnicity continue to be relevant, HIV/AIDS has led to new forms of stigma and discrimination which have overlapped with inequalities based on gender and age. In Uganda, the HIV/AIDS epidemic has caused over 800,000 estimated deaths and created over two million single or double-parent orphans. Approximately 25 percent of Ugandan households now include one or more orphans. Many of these are elderly or widow-headed households, with the burden of care tending

to fall on women. Orphans who are not located in extended families or supportive communities often become street children, surviving by begging or petty crime. The ability of these children, and the people who are trying to support them, to ensure their livelihood is hampered by negative perceptions about HIV/AIDS as well as stereotypes about age and gender (Sabates-Wheeler and Devereux 2008).

World-wide, life-cycle identities and disparities cut across other inequalities and deepen them through transmission of poverty across generations, leading to low social mobility among disadvantaged groups. The UK Children's Commissioner's Report to the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child shows that child poverty is a major issue across the United Kingdom, with 3.8 million children (one in three) living in relative poverty. Groups of children at greatest risk of poverty are those from black and minority ethnic families, those in large families, lone parent families, children with disabilities and with disabled parents, Gypsy and Traveller children, children leaving care and asylum seekers. It is these groups which are, in turn, more likely to face inequalities in access to education and formal exclusions from school, decreasing their chances of finding secure or well-paid employment.

Institutionalized inequalities support and are perpetuated by unequal power relations between social elites and people from culturally devalued groups. People living in poverty are often described as lacking in social networks and capital. In reality, people who are poor are not disconnected from social relationships and networks, but are connected to them through relations of abuse or exploitation (du Toit and Neves 2007). Within the household, gender violence and abuse of older people and children is common. In many societies, it is seen as the husbands right to hit or beat their wife.

 Outside the household, poor people are often locked into patron-client relations and other forms of exploitation and abuse. New forms of dependency relations are emerging as patterns of production break down ties based on agriculture and access to land. In poor urban areas of India, it is increasingly common for brokers (mastaans) to manage shelter and key services, charging rents for water, electricity or protection. These patrons also mediate the links to jobs for captive networks of migrants and urban poor. The goal, for many poor people, is autonomy and escaping from these binding and oppressive social relations (Mosse 2007).

Lack of power and control over immediate social relations is manifested in the political sphere through lack of voice and authority in decision-making processes. People from discriminated against groups and those who live in poverty over extended periods of time are the least likely to gain political representation and have few immediate allies in either civil or political society (Hickey and Bracking 2005). In some contexts, political processes replicate broader processes of domination, allowing existing elites to set the agenda and make decisions that

further their own interests. These processes block or subvert democratic politics because they give members of dominant elites both the incentive and the means to evade the demands of disadvantaged groups and results of participatory consultation processes when those outcomes counter their interests (Tilly 2007). Political processes and policy implementation at all levels then reinforce and replicate existing power relations and inequalities.

Social and political mobilization provides the key lever for pushing the interests of the poor onto national political agendas. Members of some socially devalued groups have been able to transform their negative label into a positive affirmation of their identification as the basis for a politics of the recognition of their own difference (Young 1990). Identity group mobilization has, to a certain extent, overshadowed organization around, and attention to, issues of class (UNDESA 2006). The poorest, however, are neither a class nor an identity grouping and do not easily gain representation within either old or new social movements (Hickey and Bracking 2005).

3.2 Employment
Inequalities and discrimination that impact on access to services also effect the operation of labour markets. While individuals from disadvantaged groups are less likely to have the recognized qualifications and experience required to secure better paid employment, discrimination also shapes the operation of labour markets and practices of hiring employees as well as determining access to credit for microenterprises (UNDESA 2005). Social norms shape employers' perceptions and they may unquestioningly assume that women, migrant workers, people from minority groups, people with disabilities or older persons and children should be in the lowest paid, most insecure positions (Mosse 2007). Discrimination, in turn, impacts on efficiency and growth. Discrimination and horizontal disparities mean that talented people will be held back while resources and high positions go to less talented people in advantaged groups (Stewart 2006).

Labour markets and paid work are widely recognized as central mechanism through which the working poor contribute to, and benefit from economic growth Movement out of poverty tends to be associated with changes in employment status or rewards. However, improvements in labour market position do not necessarily spell a permanent escape from poverty with people frequently moving out of poverty when they are employed and then being pulled back in a 'rubber band' trajectory (Lister 2004).

These constrictions in movement out of poverty are linked, in part, to the changing nature of employment as the result of globalization of production and markets. While globalization has led to rising levels of labour force participation, it has also meant that the majority of the workforce in developing counties is found in informal, part-time, irregular unstable and badly-paid forms of work

without any form of social insurance or benefits (Kabeer 2008; Cook, Heintz and Kabeer 2008). Increased labour force participation has come at the cost of increasing vulnerability.

The size of the informal economy has grown worldwide, particularly in developing regions with low economic growth rates. Informal work currently makes up between half and three-quarters of employment in the non-agricultural sector in developing and transition countries. In 2000, it accounted for around 51 per cent of employment in Latin America, 65 per cent in Asia and 72 per cent in sub-Saharan Africa (ILO 2000 cited in Kabeer 2008). The informal economy is sometimes characterized as a persisting pre-capitalist form of production or the product of resistance to capitalist markets and formal labour. In reality, the informal economy in many societies consists of small firms or individuals tied into larger, formal sector producers through processes of outsourcing and home-working (Mosse 2007).

The operation of markets in the mainstream economy is, in many societies, increasing both vertical and horizontal inequalities. In contradiction to the predictions of neoclassical theory, labour force participation has increased while average real earnings have fallen suggesting that faced with lower earnings, household members have to increase their labour supply in order to make ends meet (Heintz 2008). In some contexts, this has meant the greater involvement of children as well as women in work and, in most societies, the greater dependence on female labour for survival.

Official statistics show a steady rise in female labour force participation rates in recent decades in almost every region of the world. While women have increased their share of the world's labour force and are more evenly distributed across sectors than they were in the past, gender hierarchies in the labour market have proved resilient. Women continue to be crowded into a far more limited range of occupations than men in both advanced industrial and developing countries. Women are still likely to earn less than their male counterparts in both the formal and informal economies. Women do not monopolize the worst paid jobs in the economy, but they are over-represented in them. Moreover, the gender division of domestic labour has also persisted. This has meant that even though women have taken up a larger share of breadwinning responsibilities, men have not increased their share of domestic responsibilities, leaving women working longer hours both inside and outside the household (Kabeer 2008).

Discrimination on the basis of race and ethnicity impacts on labor markets, employment rates and income. In Brazil, for example, the percentage of Afro-descendant workers in precarious employment was much higher than that of white workers for every year from 1992 to 2001. In Bolivia, indigenous workers account for 67 percent of precarious jobs and 28 percent of semi-skilled jobs. Only 4 percent of indigenous workers are employed in jobs that require greater skills (Hopenhayn 2008).

In South Africa, control of industry remains largely concentrated in the hands of a small, white elite. The fruit industry, for example, has seen an uneven but significant trend towards casualization and externalization. Black workers who used to live on the farms are now living in towns and combining casual, seasonal labour on fruit farms with the search for other forms of urban employment. Increased insecurity of income and need for credit makes them vulnerable to further exploitation by gangsters, labour brokers and credit racketeers (du Toit 2005).

Migrant workers are particularly vulnerable. They may be isolated by their language and culture. Even where they have legal status, their access to services and support may be limited. Non-legal migrant workers face the additional insecurities of their status.

Youth account for a quarter of the world's working-age population, but almost half of its unemployed. Across all countries, the unemployment rate is two to three times higher for young people than for adults. Their limited experience and skills, as well as stereotypes about their suitability for employment, make it hard for youth to enter the labour market. This, in turn, means that young people are unable to acquire on-the-job skills and the experience necessary to obtain work (Green 2008).

These patterns of inequality and insecurity are also apparent in employment in advanced industrialized countries. In the UK, one in five workers, in particular agency workers, migrant workers, informal workers and home workers, is estimated to be in a 'vulnerable' situation and denied basic employment rights. Pakistani, Bangladeshi and African-Caribbean women are particularly likely to experience unemployment, low pay and poorer promotion prospects (Carpenter and Speeden 2007).

3.3 Conflict
Conflict and struggle are part and parcel of everyday social and political relations. Conflict can be good when it leads to more equal redistribution of resources and power. Conflict is harmful when it involves violence or other forms of mental and physical abuse. In some countries, such as South Africa, violent conflict has been necessary to overthrow violence-based regimes.

Forms of violence include:
- social violence - gender violence, sexual abuse, child abuse and inter-generational conflict
- community social and economic violence- gangs, street children and ethnic violence
- economic violence - organized crime, delinquents, robbers
- institutional violence - violence of state and other informal institutions

- political violence - state an non-state violence (Moser 2004).

A society characterized by extreme disparities in income and well-being and lack of opportunities can be marked by increases in inter-personal violence, crime and ultimately inter-group violent conflicts. There is no simple causal relationship between poverty, inequality and violent crime. However, there is evidence to suggest a correlation between crime levels and inequality, particularly during periods of economic volatility and recession (UNDESA 2006).

People from disadvantaged groups or areas are more likely to experience violence and violent crime. In the United Kingdom, those living in economically deprived areas report a significantly higher level of fear of crime, including racial harassment and vandalism, than those in more affluent areas. Twice as many Asians and black people as whites say that they are afraid of becoming victims of violent crime. Women are more likely to experience inter-personal violence than men and very much more likely to be victims of sexual assault, including rape (Pearce and Paxton 2005).

Growing evidence from around the world has shown that a large proportion of women and girls are subjected to violence by family members, acquaintances and strangers. Reports from a range of nations, including Thailand, South Africa and New Zealand indicate that between 20 and 44 per cent of men admit that they are violent towards their wives or intimate partners. Violence and the threat of violence dramatically increase the vulnerability of women and girls to HIV by making it difficult of impossible for women to abstain from sex, to get their partners to be faithful or to use a condom (Global Coalition on Women and AIDS).

Young people, particularly young men, are often the victims of violence. Data from El Salvador, for example, indicates that a young man is ten times more likely to be murdered than a young woman (Winton 2004). Young men, however, are also more likely to become perpetrators of violence. When young people feel they have no place in society, poor future prospects and no real voice in politics, they may turn to violence and crime as a way to make a living and to feel more powerful. Territorial and identity-based gangs are common in Central America and Jamaica. The presence and actions of youth gangs and gun crimes have created urban no-go zones in some countries (DFID 2005).

The increase in urban violence has, in turn, resulted in alarming, violent responses from the police which include social cleansing and targeting groups of 'undesirables' such as suspected criminals, youth gang members, street children and homosexuals (Winton 2004).

Violent conflict is a major source of poverty in the developing world. Overall GDP per capita typically falls during a conflict. The shifting nature of conflict has meant that the costs of conflict are disproportionately borne by the poor and

disadvantaged. Most conflicts today do not occur between sovereign state but are internalized or regional. At the beginning of the twentieth century, 90 per cent of the casualties of conflict were combatants. The majority of casualties are now inflicted on civilians. Violent conflict has fuelled a rapid rise in the global numbers of refugees and internally displaced from 22 million in 1985 to current levels of around 40 million (Goodhand 2003). In addition to the direct costs of conflict in terms of fatalities, injuries and displacement, indirect costs, such as the destruction of infrastructure, rising costs of basic foods and degradation of agricultural land, are more likely to affect the poor sections of the population (Brown 2006).

There is no simple reverse causal link between poverty, vertical inequality and violent conflict. Poor countries are clearly at greater risk of falling into no-exit cycles of violent conflict. More than half the countries in Africa are affected by conflict (Goodhand 2003). However, there is contradictory evidence on the link between vertical inequality and the likelihood of conflict (Brown 2006).

Ethnic, racial and other group differences have been a cause of conflict in numerous countries including Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia. Evidence from a range of countries, including Cote D'Ivoire, Indonesia and Nepal, suggests that the causes of these conflicts can be linked to horizontal inequalities in income and well-being. Inter-group disparities provide powerful grievances that leaders can use to mobilize people to political protest (Stewart 2006).

In Indonesia, district-level analysis found a strong link between horizontal inequalities and communal conflict to be in terms of infant mortality - a reflection of broader health and well-being disparities. Inequalities in the distribution of land are a common cause of conflict. In Northern Ireland, Catholic-Protestant disparities in housing and educational standards were a catalyst for conflict (Brown 2006). Where individuals from, or organizations representing, disadvantaged groups have no chance of gaining influence in existing political systems, they may resort to violent methods and experience violent repression. In these contexts, horizontal inequalities may exacerbate the risk of civil conflict (Stewart 2007).

Where horizontal inequalities are high, action to redress those disparities can also be an inflammatory process. In Sri Lanka, political disputes over policies to improve Sinhalese educational performance in relation to the Tamil minority were one of the major factors in the emergence of the Tamil rebellion. (Brown 2006). Approaches to addressing disparities, then, can also create and deepen structural inequalities, poverty and conflict if they are not handled in a sensitive and even-handed way.

4. The international framework for promoting social integration

UN international conferences, policy documents and commitments provide a broad normative platform for promoting social integration and a society for all. This platform, however, has not been systematically incorporated into international development debates and processes for achieving poverty reduction. Poverty reduction has become the overarching goal of international development. But the MDG dollar a day target, along with the other MDG targets, is distribution neutral (Watkins 2007). Strategies to achieve the MDGs need to be based on the human rights framework and draw on the commitments agreed at the WSSD and subsequent conferences in order to achieve the vision of a society for all, based on the principles of social justice (UNDESA 2005, Nelson 2007).

Copenhagen - social integration
The WSSD defined the aim of social integration as "to create a society for all". Social integration, along with poverty reduction and employment, were defined as the key means for achieving this goal. Social integration was defined as the process of "fostering societies that are stable, safe and just and that are based on the promotion and protection of all human rights, as well as on non-discrimination, tolerance, respect for diversity, equality of opportunity, solidarity, security and participation of all people, including disadvantaged and vulnerable groups and persons."

Poverty was defined as multi-dimensional and in relative terms, recognizing horizontal and vertical inequalities. Copenhagen, then, was the battleground in which Keynesian economists attempted to usurp neo-liberalism (Eyben 2004). While the Keynesians may have won on paper in terms of a broad range of commitments to social provision, in practice it has been neo-liberal values and concepts that have shaped mainstream understandings of poverty. Poverty reduction was the only Copenhagen conference commitment taken up by development agencies, while commitments to social integration and employment were quickly forgotten (UNDESA 2006). Poverty, however, was understood in a limited form, without commitment to the broader dimensions outlined in the WSSD or the overarching commitment to equality and equity. Consequently, poverty reduction has become synonymous with the income - related dollar-a-day Millennium Development Goal and delinked from the concept of equality (UNDESA 2006).

While explicit commitments to social integration were dropped, the concepts and values that informed the social integration pillar provided a platform for subsequent conferences, commitments and initiatives to address a range of specific identities and horizontal inequalities, set out below:

Beijing - gender equality
The WSSD addressed gender equality separately from social integration. The Beijing Fourth Conference on Women addressed gender equality separately from considerations set out in the WSSD (Eyben 2004). The Beijing Women's Conference was a culmination and celebration of the women's movement. The participation of NGO representatives in official delegations, as well as the size and spirit of the parallel NGO site and conference, provided an inspiring glimpse of what the principle of participation applied to the international arena might look like.

While the Beijing Platform for Action did not use the concept of social integration, its agenda covered a range of issues that are pertinent to it. The goal of Beijing was defined as women's empowerment. Areas that were discussed included violence against women, women and the media and women in power and decision-making.

Indigenous People
In April 2000, The Commission on Human Rights recommended the Establishment of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues during the International Decade of the World's Indigenous Peoples (1995 - 2004). The Permanent Forum is now an advisory body to the Economic and Social Council with a mandate to discuss indigenous issues related to economic and social development, culture, the environment, education, health and human rights. Since its establishment the Forum has held four annual sessions. The last three have focused on Indigenous Youth, Indigenous Women, and the first two Millennium Goals.

Youth
The Youth Employment Network was established in 2001 to facilitate implementation of the global commitment to "develop and implement strategies that give young people everywhere a real chance to find decent and productive work" as contained in the United Nations Millennium Declaration of 2000. The Network is a partnership formed by the Secretary-General and the heads of the International Labour Organization and the World Bank that underpins and supports all the Millennium Development Goals.

The Network promotes a comprehensive approach to youth employment, which integrates macro and microeconomic policy interventions, addresses both labour supply and demand dimensions and underlines the quality and quantity of employment. The process for developing national action plans provides a framework for national consultations on youth employment and for setting priorities that have broad-based ownership. These national action plans on youth employment also provide a delivery vehicle for developing and implementing strategies that give young people a real and equal opportunity to find full and productive employment and decent work. By 2004, 39 member states had drafted and submitted national action plans and a number of other Member

States have since prepared or are in the process of preparing national action plans or other strategic documents that address youth employment (UNGA 2006)

Aging
The Second World Assembly on Aging in Madrid 2002 explicitly reaffirmed the principle of social integration. The idea behind a "society for all ages' emphasized on the Madrid International Plan of Action on Aging, is that all age groups are equally worthy, and that equality of opportunity and equity in the distribution of the benefits of social and economic development should be ensured across generations. To achieve that goal, policies were identified that would not only strengthen individual development into late life, but would also create enabling environments including families, neighbourhoods, communities of interest and broad societal institutions based on principles of reciprocity and interdependence between generations.

One of the key achievements of Madrid has been to highlight the importance of issues of social protection and pensions. In March 2006, the African Union and the Government of Zambia, assisted by Help Age International, organized a regional conference for East and Southern Africa on cash transfers as a social protection instrument. The resulting Livingstone Declaration, endorsed by 13 countries, called for African Governments to put together, within three years, costed national cash transfer plans that were integrated into national development plans and within national budgets, and that development partners could supplement.

Disability
The Convention on Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was adopted by the UN in 2006. The purpose of the convention is to promote, protect and ensure the full and equal enjoyment of all human rights by persons with disabilities. It covers a number of key areas including accessibility, personal mobility, health, education, employment, habilitation and rehabilitation, participation in political life, and equality and non-discrimination. The convention marks a shift in thinking about disability from a social welfare concern to a human rights issue, acknowledging that societal barriers and prejudices are themselves disabling.

5 Policy instruments for promoting social integration.

Post WSSD, the international framework for promoting social integration has been developed primarily in terms of the rights and concerns of particular disadvantaged groups. Policies to promote social integration have to address these issues of difference within an overarching framework for addressing horizontal and vertical inequalities, as outlined in the WSSD. Social integration requires attention to three cross-cutting processes:

- **Recognition of diversity**
- **Redistribution of socio-economic resources**
- **Representation of political voice**

Drawing on Copenhagen and subsequent international commitments, the following key sectoral issues can be identified:

- **Universal basic services**
- **Social protection, including pension provision**
- **Employment and decent work for all**
- **Personal security and freedom from violence**

Policy instruments for addressing first, the cross-cutting processes and second, the key sectoral issues will be discussed below. This section does not provide a comprehensive review of policy instruments in any one sector, but identifies the debates that are most relevant to social integration and highlights innovative practices.

As identified in the introduction, one of the key challenges for policy makers is to identify a coherent set of policy instruments that can take into account processes of recognition, redistribution and representation across different sectors. Policies need to increase access to services without undermining recognition, support forms of participation that lead to redistribution of socio-economic resources, and identify redistribution policies that are likely to gain broad support and, consequently, political commitment for implementation. There is no simple formula or technical solution for achieving these objectives. The importance of the human rights framework is highlighted here, however, as a basis for addressing tensions between different processes and for governments to develop policies and programmes to promote social integration and a society for all.

5.1 Cross-cutting processes
Recognition
Anti-discrimination measures
Removal of discriminatory legislation is a starting point for action to promote the equal rights and identities of disadvantaged groups. Legislative review and reform can be complex and lengthy process but, in the long term, may be necessary to ensure a coherent legal framework that protects the rights of different groups. Legal discrimination may not be obvious but, for example, embedded in customary law or definitions of the legal age of majority which prevent adolescents from accessing reproductive and sexual health services without the permission of their parents. In some countries, governments have enacted new anti-discrimination legislation to protect, for example, the rights of people who have HIV and AIDS, including clauses to prevent labour market discrimination against HIV positive people.

Without efforts to address bigotry and discriminatory social norms and practices, other anti-discrimination measures can reinforce a devalued difference rather than promoting positive changes in cultural status. The media is an important tool in addressing discrimination. Examples of large scale media campaigns include posters in the football stadiums hosting the European and World Cups proclaiming "No to racism" as well as the establishment of regulatory bodies to monitor the use of racial stereotypes in advertising. Anti - discrimination campaigns have been an important tool in addressing other identity issues, such as stigmatization related to HIV/AIDS. In July 2002, for example, the Uganda Red Cross Society launched a two-year campaign aimed at eliminating stigma and discrimination against Ugandans living with HIV/AIDS. The primary message of the campaign was "AIDS is a disease and not a disgrace". Programmes to address stigma were an important part of the package of approaches and policies that contributed to the reduction of HIV infection rates in Uganda (Sabates-Wheeler and Devereux).

Political and public recognition of the dimensions and impact of discrimination can be the biggest barrier to developing comprehensive social programmes to address disadvantage (Dani and De Haan 2008). Political leaders, however, who have been prepared to publicly acknowledge discrimination issues can have national impact. President Museveni's public interventions in HIV/AIDS campaigns, for example, have been seen as critical in helping Uganda acknowledge and address the issue. The impact of public engagement of political, traditional, community and other leaders in anti-discrimination efforts depends, in part, on their own standing in their communities.

Legal and symbolic recognition of minority rights and diversity
Legal recognition of cultural practices, and exemption from laws and regulations that penalize or burden cultural practices are often used mechanisms as a means of recognizing minorities. Exemptions, such as special consideration for

Jewish shopkeepers in countries where there are Sunday-closing laws, are common-place in many countries (Kymlicka and Norman 2000).

The introduction of new laws which impact on cultural and religious practices can be highly controversial and reach to the heart of debates about diversity, difference, equality and citizenship. As the French conflict over headscarves in schools demonstrates, recognition of the signs and symbols of different cultures is intrinsic to people's sense of identity. In 2004, the French National Assembly voted to adopt a law banning "symbols and clothing that ostentatiously show students' religious membership". This was presented as an even-handed law to promote the idea of a secular, equal citizenship. On the ground, the law was seen as a reaction to concerns about Muslim girls wearing headscarves in school and was perceived as an attack on Muslim identity.

From a human rights perspective, the ban was discriminatory because it had a disproportionate impact on Muslim girls. It also violated international human rights standards on religious freedom which only allows states to limit religious practices when there is a compelling public safety reason, or when the manifestation of religious beliefs impinge on the rights of others, or when it serves a legitimate educational function. Protecting the right of all students to religious freedom does not undermine secularism in schools, but highlights respect for religious diversity, which is fully consistent with the separation of public institutions from any religious message (Human Rights Watch 2004).

Multicultural and human rights education
Education and the promotion of bilingualism and literacy are core tools in multiculturalism. The implementation of linguistic policies that enable training of indigenous groups without requiring them to relinquish their ethnic identity, language and culture are increasingly being implemented, for example, in countries including Bolivia, Guatemala, Mexico, Paraguay and Peru.

Multicultural education has been introduced in some countries with the aim of promoting and conveying respect for cultural differences. It requires school texts and syllabi that eradicate prejudice and racial stereotypes as well as validating indigenous and ethnic cultures. The objective is to open a space for cultural pluralism and tolerance that respects and preserves existing cultures (Hopenhayn 2008). However, these objectives are not necessarily easy to achieve in societies where there is, or has been, conflict between different groups (Marc 2008).

Human rights education initiatives provide examples of approaches that attempt to address a broad range of issues of difference and diversity. Human rights education has largely been the preserve of NGOs and community based action rather than being incorporated into education curricula. In order to have an impact, human rights education needs to go beyond issues of legislation and the content of human rights treaties to enable people to address issues of respect,

diversity, entitlement and accountability in everyday encounters between citizens themselves as well as between citizens and public agents.

Redistribution
Taxation and public spending
Legal and symbolic recognition of minority rights and cultural practices is central to questions of identity and diversity. It does not, however, always lead to a reduction in inequalities in access to services or well-being outcomes (Hopenhayn 2008). Promoting equality of rights and opportunities for disadvantaged groups requires redistribution of resources as well as legal and symbolic recognition of difference.

Issues of redistribution hinge on debates about levels of taxation and public spending. While it is generally acknowledged that large disparities in income and wealth are bad for poverty reduction, the acceptable level of income disparities is a contested issue. The WSSD supported Keynesian policies of income redistribution in order to support public services. The neoliberal consensus of the last decade has emphasized low taxation and social spending low in order, it is argued, to support growth. The neo-liberal argument is that taxing some people to pay others who earn little will reduce national output and cause "deadweight" losses of net national well-being (Jorgensen and Serrano 2008). From the neoliberal perspective, income disparity provides incentives for effort and risk-taking and raises efficiency (Wade 2004).

This position is now being increasingly challenged. Differences between countries in terms of taxation and income redistribution illustrate that higher levels of tax and public expenditure do not necessarily lead to lower growth (Social Watch 2007). Recent reviews of OECD experience indicate that high expenditures on well designed social protection systems have not been negatively correlated with either the level or the growth of GDP per capita. Review of experience of EU accession countries has also demonstrated that the greater social spending requirements of the EU have not harmed growth. Poland, with one of the highest levels of public pension spending of the accession countries, has the strongest growth performance over the period since 1989; Slovenia, with the highest pension spending, is the next best growth performer (Jorgensen and Serrano 2008).

Arguments about the trade-off between equity and efficiency, then, have often been overstated. First, models used to describe the labour and incentive reducing effects of tax and transfer policies have often been too simplistic and too extreme. Second, the assessments of the costs of the welfare state have focused on the costs in terms of growth but have not calculated the benefits that may be derived from such programs, and are consequently mis-specified (Jorgensen and Serrano 2008).

While recent research demonstrates that increased taxation and public expenditure to support the disadvantaged does not necessarily undermine growth, it is also highlights the fact that national decisions about levels of taxation and public expenditure are variable and the result of specific social and political values and processes. This, in turn, raises questions about solidarity, and the political levers and incentives for supporting policies of increased public expenditure in contexts where the disadvantaged do not have a strong political voice. The primary barrier to increasing social expenditure on the disadvantaged, in many countries, is lack of solidarity and political commitment to redistribution rather than concerns about GDP (Hickey 2008)

Representation
Participation in decision-making
Participation in decision-making is a human right and of value in itself, whatever the outcomes. It has also been supported as a means of ensuring redistribution of public resources to disadvantaged groups. Support for participatory processes has focused on both formal political representation and broader consultative processes.

Instruments for increasing political representation of minority groups include spatial devolution to enable a degree of autonomy where cultural identities are linked to a particular territory (eg federalism) or reserving seats for particular groups in existing governance institutions.

Where these policies are systematic at all levels and take place in a context where local governance institutions have resources and legally defined authority, they can greatly strengthen the representation and voice of minority groups. In India, for example, the constitution provides for effective decentralization of authority to raise taxes and oversee economic and social planning under the Panchayat Raj system of local governance. The constitution also mandates reservation of seats for groups classified as belonging to a Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribes, as well as women, in central and state legislatures and local bodies at district, taluk, and village levels. Reservation is proportional to population shares and statutory provisions to enhance political participation, such as smaller election deposits, complement the constitutional provision. These processes have made the democratic process a messier one, but have given more voice to previously deprived groups in decision making (de Haan 2008).

Increasing representation of disadvantaged groups in formal democratic processes, however, does not lead to decisions that favour the interests of disadvantaged groups where those groups and their representatives still form a numerical minority. Outcomes of vote-centric systems tend to represent winners and not a common will and can permanently exclude ethnic minorities and other disadvantaged groups from real power within the system (Kymlicka and Norman 2000).

Concerns about the representation of disadvantaged groups have led to a focus on deliberative democracy and the deepening of democracy in the search for forms of participation that are more open to all. Inclusive and meaningful participation in policy processes has been supported as a means of ensuring that the interests of disadvantaged groups are taken into account in policy design and implementation. Approaches have included support for the engagement of civil society organizations representing excluded groups in consultations around poverty reduction strategies, as well as the use of participatory methods, such as report cards and citizens' juries, to ascertain people's views on service provision and other policy concerns. Key issues include ensuring that the most disadvantaged are represented and that information about the process itself, as well as the issues being debated, is shared in a timely manner.

While these processes have opened up new spaces for civil society participation, it is not always evident that they are having a systematic impact in terms of policy change and resource distribution. Reviews of poverty reduction strategies, for example, regularly note the lack of attention to issues of inequality and discrimination against disadvantaged groups. Where issues of inequality and disadvantaged are acknowledged in policy commitments, they have not always been translated into resource allocations and implementation. In fact, the observed spread and deepening of democracy in many countries has happened simultaneously with rises in economic inequality both within and between countries (Gaventa 2006).

Participation in budget processes
Lack of impact on resources has led to a focus on participation in those fora where economic decisions are made and, in particular, civil society engagement in budget processes. Civil society involvement in budget monitoring has highlighted the fact that budget processes are a matter of political negotiation rather than technical planning (Norton and Elson 2002). Civil society and government have worked together, in some countries to monitor and address budget allocations and expenditure by gender and on children. These techniques have been widely taken up and used by civil society organizations to assess budgets from a range of perspectives. The human rights framework has been a valuable tool in these exercises, providing a normative basis for assessing budgets and advocating for reallocation of resources (Fundar 2004).

In Brazil, citizen engagement in budget processes has been taken a stage further to support citizen participation in overall decisions about budget allocation. Participatory budgeting in Porto Allegre provides one of the few examples of participatory processes that have directly produced redistributive results (Gaventa 2006). The Porto Allegre experience suggests that when systems of deliberation are seen as shaping real outcomes, ordinary citizens tolerate their messiness and invest the time and energy required to make them work (Evans, 2004). Participatory budgeting was introduced in the Brazilian city of Porto Allegre in 1989. It established an annual process of deliberation and decision-

making which allows city residents to decide how to allocate part of the municipal budget. In a series of neighbourhood, regional and citywide assemblies, residents and elected budget delegates identify spending priorities and vote on which priorities to implement. Over successive budgets there has been a trend towards spending more in less favoured neighbourhoods, inhabited by lower income families.

Rights-based approaches
The need to build domestic political support for redistribution of resources has also led to a focus on processes of social and political mobilization of disadvantaged groups and linkages to political processes. The political impetus for creating enduring changes in priorities, policies and institutions largely depends on the mobilization of domestic political support (Nelson 2007). Successful action to challenge the interests of dominant elites requires broad - based mobilization across disadvantaged groups and alliances between disadvantaged groups and elite factions (Mosse 2007). Action around rights and rights-based approaches is increasingly being seen as an effective mechanism for encouraging mobilization and for identifying and opening up institutional spaces for translating rights claims into resources (Moser and Norton 2001, Hickey and Bracking 2005).

The Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme in India, for example, provides a legally based guarantee of employment to anyone over eighteen who applies. The success and continuation of the scheme has been attributed to the fact that people have been prepared to claim and defend their right and has had the secondary benefit of strengthening the bargaining position of workers. Enshrining entitlements in legislation, then, can facilitate social and political mobilization (Moser and Norton 2001).

Mobilization around rights also helps to build the individual and collective political capabilities necessary to engage in negotiations over resources. Nijera Kori, an NGO working in Bangladesh works with poor rural women who often have a deep sense of powerlessness and do not know or believe that they have any rights. The organization provides women with information about their rights, enshrined in international and national legislation, and helps them to reflect on what this means for their own lives. Personal change within family and community relationships is seen as a first step toward collective action. Nijeri Kori groups have mobilized around a range of issues from establishment of rights over local resources, including land and water reservoirs, to local government decisions that undermine the interests of the landless (Kabeer 2005a).

As the right to food campaign in India and the Treatment Action Campaign in South Africa demonstrate, effective action to establish claims on political agendas requires a combination of bottom-up participation and more formal accountability processes. Human rights and rights-based organizations have linked the use of social accountability and mobilization methods, including report

cards, citizen surveillance of services, media campaigns and demonstrations with formal accountability procedures, such as ombudspersons and, in some cases, judicial action (Ferguson 2008).

Policy instruments, then, for enabling mobilization of disadvantaged people to claim their rights include the definition of entitlements to services and resources in legislation and supporting for the establishment of a range of accountability mechanisms, including parliamentary commissions with a remit to investigate social agendas, independent institutions such as human rights commissions and administrative monitoring and complaints procedures. Strengthening access to judicial systems and enabling public interest litigation are also key policy mechanisms.

5.2 Sectoral issues
Universal service provision
Targeting versus universal provision of services
Targeting, making access to resources or services dependent on a particular identity or characteristic, such as age, employment status or income levels, is often promoted as a means of ensuring that scarce resources reach disadvantaged populations. Some forms of targeting used in particular contexts can help to achieve this end and are an important tool for addressing disadvantage. Targeting resources on disadvantaged social identity groups, such as women and children, can help to ensure that they are able to access universal entitlements to services.

When targeting becomes a primary policy tool, however, and takes place in the context of large-scale disadvantage, it ceases to be precise and fair but becomes an arbitrary stab into poverty. Targeting on the basis of income, or means testing, is administratively difficult, costly, and open to corruption and bias. In the context of insecurity of employment, targeting can rule out the near poor, or those who are not poor at the time of assessment but will be poor in a week when their source of income disappears. Targeting can reinforce stigmatization of people classified as poor as well as creating resentment among others who are not targeted. It is not evident that tackling poverty through targeted transfers promotes social mobility or tackles the causes of inequality preventing social mobility (Haagh 2002).

Targeting does not generate the support and cross-group mobilization necessary to ensure political commitment and allocation of resources. Policies and proposals that support universal entitlements are more likely to win the support of non-poor groups because they will also have something to gain from implementation. In developing and middle-income countries, universal access is the best way to ensure political support of middle-class tax-based financing of welfare programs. Targeting tends to lead to reduced budgets devoted to poverty and welfare, so that more for the poor means less for the poor (Mkandawire 2005).

Social guarantees

A number of developing countries, then, have adopted or readopted universal approaches to social provision. The term 'social guarantees' has been used to describe a range of policy approaches that set out the definition and provision of minimum levels of services that will be provided to all. The concept and practice of social guarantees largely draws on legislation and policies to deliver social services in Latin America and, in particular, Chile's Regime of Explicit Guarantees in Health or Plan Auge, established in 2004. Other similar examples can be found in India, Jamaica and South Africa in different sectors.

Social guarantees can be understood as a means of operationalizing human rights commitments at the national level. The aim of social guarantees is to translate abstract social rights into concrete entitlements. In order to realize rights effectively, policy makers need to determine the operational scope of each right and the necessary actions to fulfill it. Social guarantees aim to fulfill this role by defining the minimum content of the right as well as the legal, administrative and financial mechanisms necessary to deliver that minimum. The approach does not imply that the state itself will deliver the entitlement, but that the state will regulate and guarantee the provision of the entitlement, whether by public agencies or a combination of public and private agencies.

Generally social guarantees require the following elements:
- The definition and widespread communication of rights, entitlements and standards which enable citizens to hold public policy makers and providers to account for the delivery of social policy.
- The availability of mechanisms of redress for citizens who are unable to enjoy specified entitlements or minimums.
- A universal commitment to the equitable delivery of the specified rights, entitlements and standards.

Chile's Plan Auge was built on a detailed consideration of the following areas of action :
- Legal - the laws and regulations that establish the obligation of states and citizens' duties related to their entitlements.
- Institutional - the identification of the state institutions responsible for the fulfillment of the guarantee and providing redress.
- Instrumental - the policies and programmes, including public-private programmes that ensure the practical implementation of the guarantee in question.
- Financial - economic resources allocated to and invested in the realization of the guarantee.

While the principles underlying the approach have universal application, democratic processes of debate are necessary in each country to achieve consensus on the areas where guarantees should be established and the

minimum level of services that can be guaranteed (World Bank 2008; World Bank 2008a). The social minimum can be understood as a core entitlement that is immediately deliverable and context specific. It is important, however, that the level of this core should be regularly reviewed and revised, in line with the human rights principle of progressive realization.

As already outlined, universal provision and social guarantees do not rule out targeting as a means of ensuring that resource do reach the most disadvantaged. In the context of universal entitlements, however, targeting becomes a means of 'fine-tuning' the delivery of resources, rather than a primary instrument for resource allocation (Jorgensen and Serrano 2008). Equally important, are processes of tailoring and enabling, outlined below, to ensure that individuals from disadvantaged groups are able to access services on an equal basis with advantaged populations

Tailoring service provision
Tailoring service provision to ensure recognition of cultural practices enables equality of access for minority groups. In Peru, for example, legislation has been introduced to enable women to give birth standing up, in accordance with the practices of indigenous populations (Ferguson 2008). Health services in New Zealand have been tailored to Maori through the growth of alternative Maori providers, as well as through efforts to improve health services for Maori within mainstream services. Maori providers focus on Maori concepts of health and wellbeing. Tailoring mainstream service delivery includes use of Maori language in consultation and for health promotion materials (Ringold 2008).

Some forms of tailoring are particularly supportive of equal opportunities. Teaching in a mother tongue at primary level increases interest in school participation and enrollment, helps cognitive learning in general and can consequently facilitate access to labour markets. However, quality of education is critical. In the absence of well trained teachers in the relevant language and adequate finances to support the extra staff required, bilingual education can lead to low levels of achievement and reinforce negative cultural stereotypes and disadvantage (Marc 2008).

Enabling access
Enabling access to services requires actions to address the external barriers that are faced by disadvantaged groups. The issue of citizenship identity itself is critical to access. Rights-based approaches have supported campaigns to enable people from disadvantaged minority groups to register themselves and their children as citizens, enabling them to obtain the identity papers they need to be able to access services. These approaches have also helped to redress practices that prevent particular groups from registering their children. In Peru, for example, legislation has been recently established which bans the administrative practice of fining families when they come to register their child if they have given birth at home (Ferguson 2008).

Reviewing and reforming administrative requirements attached to access to services is a relatively inexpensive way of enabling access to disadvantaged groups. Removing requirements to produce birth certificates, parental signatures and other papers is critical, for example, to enabling orphans to access health and education services.

Indirect costs can also create barriers of access for disadvantaged groups. Participatory consultation exercises managed by ActionAid in Nepal, as part of the Equity and Access Programme for maternal health services, showed that financial issues were a primary reason for high rates of home births among lower caste and ethnic minority women. The Equity and Access Programme has subsequently facilitated the introduction of an incentive scheme which provides women from excluded groups with finances for transport and other costs to enable them to attend health centres and hospitals when they give birth. It also provides information about services available and addresses cultural concerns and practices which may prevent women from attending health services.

Disaggregated data
The collection and analysis of disaggregated data is critical for the promotion of social integration, in order to assess the extent to which public resources and services are reaching disadvantaged groups. Research and action on social exclusion in Nepal supported by the World Bank and DFID, for example, has focused on strengthening the collection of disaggregated data. The production of convincing data has been critical in persuading politicians and planners to address issues of discrimination. Field research provided the basis for identification of six categories which could be used for monitoring purposes: Brahman/Chhetri; Tarai/Madhesi other castes; Dalits; Newar; Janajati; Muslims. Gender is monitored as a cross-cutting category. These categories are seen as capturing the key axes of differentiation in Nepal, without taking disaggregation to a level which would be impractical to implement. Some line ministries are now in the process of implementing this framework as a basis for monitoring across different sectors. In the health sector, the Ministry of Health and Population is in the process of piloting the collection of disaggregated data in three districts. Key challenges include difficulties of defining individuals against the categories identified and the lack of capacity at lower level health centres to collect and record the required data (Ferguson 2008).

Social protection
While the social guarantees approach has been applied primarily to the provision of health and education services, it has resonance with the campaigns and calls for a Basic Income Grant (BIG), a universal income supplement related to citizenship rather than employment (du Toit 2005). As with universal service provision, universal social protection packages are more likely to gain political support from the middle-classes than targeted, piecemeal packages.

A number of Latin American social protection programmes are making advances towards a Basic Income Grant though providing cash grants that are not conditional on non-earning. In Latin America, the reality of working poverty and informality has made it unrealistic to monitor whether people are working as a condition of receiving support. Non-employment related benefits avoid the 'unemployment trap' experienced by, for example, income supplement recipients in the UK, which prevents unemployed people from obtaining any form of job because they fear losing their benefits. The Latin American example demonstrates that entitlements delinked from employment status act as a baseline of security which enables people to enter into labour markets or invest in other forms of livelihood activities, rather than creating dependencies.

A number of countries are also introducing universal pension provisions. Where the majority of people are working in the informal economy, maintaining traditional contributory pension programmes is untenable and likely to perpetuate existing inequalities. Non-contributory, or social, pensions are consequently emerging as a key instrument of social protection (UNESC 2006). Bolivia has introduced a universal non-contributory pension (BONOSOL) and Brazil has a similar system for rural workers (FUNRURAL). Chile is in the process of introducing a non-contributory pillar that guarantees a solidarity pension to all citizens over 65 years old (Tokman 2008). In 2004, Lesotho introduced a universal old-age pension for citizens over the age of 70. Other countries undertaking initiatives to establish universal social pension plans include Botswana, Mauritius, Nepal and South Africa (UNESC 2006).

Cost is obviously an issue in the provision of universal social benefits. Research by the ILO demonstrates the affordability of providing social protection in low-income countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. Microsimulations have shown that a combination of a universal old age and disability pension and child benefit would cut poverty rates by 40 percent in the cases of Senegal and Tanzania. The ILO study focused on the financial and fiscal feasibility of a basic social protection benefit package consisting of a universal old-age pension provided to individuals over 65 years of age; a universal pension paid to the disabled; universal access to basic education; universal access to basic health care; and a specific child benefit to all children. Levels of benefits were set in relation to the MDG poverty targets of a dollar a day.

The affordability of the package was tested against the economic and demographic parameters of 7 countries: Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Guinea, Kenya, Senegal and Tanzania. The results showed that Ethiopia was the only country where levels of expenditure would rise above 20 percent of GDP. The share of government expenditure allocated to the package determines the level of external financing required. Under the assumption that countries allocate 33 percent of government expenditure to the financing of the package, the introduction of the benefits in 20005 would have required external financing for

75 percent of the cost in Ethiopia in 2005 and 15 percent of the total cost in Kenya. Taking into account projections for levels of economic growth, this amount reduces over time. The cost of a basic social benefit package, then, is within reasonable and affordable limits if countries and donors make a strong commitment to basic social protection as an essential tool of poverty reduction (Behrendt 2008).

Decent work

Universal access to services, including education and health, as well as social protection packages are critical elements of policies to promote social integration. However, in the absence of measures to support equal opportunities to decent work, actions to promote social integration will only focus on reallocations of public funds to compensate for lack of dynamism, inequalities and discrimination in labour markets. Social integration and social justice are not achievable if the cost of the provision of material minimums is the deregulation of production and working (Haagh 2007).

Supporting the expansion of decent work opportunities for people who are poor requires a macro-economic environment that enables enterprise development and productivity growth. The macro-economic framework is not reviewed here, but key interventions to support equality of opportunities to decent work are identified[3].

Polices to ensure expansion of decent work opportunities for people who are poor and disadvantaged requires a focus on the markets in which poor people operate. In rural areas, control over assets and land reform are critical. Redistributive reforms in agriculture have been shown to have a positive impact on poverty reduction. In West Bengal, India, for example, agricultural output and incomes rose following tenancy reform and recognition of the land rights of the poor (Watkins 2007). Support to rural smallholders further requires investments in infrastructure for irrigation, transport and electrification. These investments can increase farm productivity, facilitate enterprise creation and open employment opportunities (UNESC 2007).

Universal entitlements to primary or secondary education are not sufficient to ensure continuing access to the labour market in a globalized economy. Short term contracts and increases in casual labour mean that employers do not have incentives to invest in their employees' training and have undermined the idea of progression along a smooth employment path with the accumulation of skills and experience.

Promoting equality of opportunity now requires governments to work with the private sector to support the skills acquisition and training that individuals need to compete in the labour market. Vocational skills, important for carrying out specific tasks in particular workplaces, have to be supplemented by core works skills

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[3] See UNESC 2007 for a comprehensive discussion of policies to promote decent work for all.

development and lifelong learning for all. A combination of literacy and vocational training or retraining is necessary, particularly for the working poor, who often do not have access to formal education, and to enable those not currently employed to engage with the labour market (UNESC 2007).

National governments have the primary legal responsibility for enforcing core labour standards, including abolition of forced or compulsory labour, elimination of child labour and freedom from discrimination as well as freedom of association and the right to collective bargaining. The adoption of voluntary codes of conduct by multinational corporations can help to spread awareness of workers' rights. Codes of conduct, however, rarely apply throughout the supply chain to cover homeworkers and outsourced labour. Government promotion and enforcement of labour standards requires appropriate legislation and the mechanisms for monitoring their implementation.

Legislation to support freedom of association and collective bargaining is the foundation for ensuring that labour standards are met in rural and informal enterprises as well as in the formal sector. In many countries, the size of the informal economy, as well as restrictions on union activity, has inhibited the organization of the labour force to combat vulnerability, discrimination and exploitation in employment. Where trade unions do exist, they do not always represent the interests of the poorest or, for example, the rural poor (Hickey and Bracking 2005).

There are an increasing number of examples, however, of traditional unions rethinking their approach to previously unprotected sectors of the workforce. In South Africa, for example, unions played the lead role in a campaign to extend the provisions of the basic Conditions of Employment Act and the Unemployment Insurance Fund to domestic workers. The Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) has supported activities to strengthen the organization and representation of informal economy workers. This led to the formation of the Alliance of Zambian Informal Economy Associations in 2002, which now works closely with the ZCTU to represent more than two million informal economy workers (DFID 2004).

In many developing countries, informal labour movements, including community organizations, producer or trader associations, women's associations and NGOs, have been the main champions of the rights of the poorest. The Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) is one of the best known examples of this kind of organization. With over 950,000 members in 2006, SEWA is now the largest trade union in India. It pursues a mix of activities to improve pay and working conditions as well as supporting investments to provide services and support alternative economic opportunities. Since its foundation in 1972, it has built a network of institutions in both rural and urban areas, including a bank that provides both credit and saving services and a trust that provides housing services (Green 2008).

Personal security

Personal security and freedom from violence are often cited by people who are disadvantaged as one of their primary concerns. Nonetheless, issues of violence are rarely addressed through social policy and poverty reduction instruments outside a limited range of countries where violence has been identified as potentially destabilizing.

There is, however, a growing body of research on the causes and consequences of violence, and appropriate responses to it. Responses include approaches that aim to prevent violence as well as those that aim to control different forms of violence or resolve and address its consequences. Approaches that aim to prevent violence generally focus on specific groups and the underlying socio-economic causes of violence and crime through, for example, programmes to support youth employment. Strengthening social capital, through support to informal networks and organizations in conflict or high-violence areas can help both to prevent violence and to assist people who experience violence deal with the consequences (Moser 2004).

Rights -based approaches have focused on a range of interventions relating to violence including increasing access to justice, police service reform and training on social violence issues, as well as monitoring of human rights standards in broader conflicts and reconciliation processes. The human rights framework and rights-based approaches, for example, provide a strong framework for addressing gender violence, enabling women to challenge the acceptability of violence, supporting the provision of entitlements necessary to empower women within the household and wider communities and strengthening the mechanism of protection and redress when violence occurs. The well-documented links between gender violence and the spread of HIV/AIDS has led to increasing attention to this issue.

While violence is an issue that is receiving more mainstream attention, it is still rarely integrated into broader social policies. Exceptions include Jamaica where addressing violence and security has become one of the overarching goals of national social policy, leading to cross-sectoral efforts and institutional change to address it (Bonner et al 2008). Including analysis of violence, its causes and consequences, into broader social policies and poverty reduction strategies is an important means of promoting social integration and preventing the development of broader conflicts.

6 . Establishing government institutions for promoting social integration

Countries that can be seen as aiming to promote social integration have tended to adopt this approach after deep political and social changes. The introduction of new laws and institutions has been part of the process of rebuilding and renegotiating the nature of the social contract between states and citizens.

In South Africa, a key feature of the post 1994 Government of National Unity's response to apartheid was the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996. This includes a comprehensive list of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights drawn from international human rights treaties. The Constitution also defined and established the institutions to oversee and implement the Bill of Rights. The Constitutional Court was established as the highest court in all decisions relating to constitutional matters. The first judges appointed to the Constitutional Court were drawn from the human rights activists and legal practitioners who had played a critical role in the liberation and human rights struggle. The Constitution also established the South African Human Rights Commission to monitor the observance and respect for human rights and to monitor progress in the realization of socio-economic rights.

In Chile, the introduction of the Plan Auge was seen as part of post Pinochet reconstruction and reshaping of the social contract in the context of increased private service provision. It helped to clarify the role of the state and thereby increased transparency and accountability. The social guarantees programme was introduced and debated at the beginning of the electoral cycle in order to establish the minimum standards it introduced as being fundamental to relations between citizens and the state, and beyond the reach of political competition.

Nonetheless, more gradual approaches are also possible. Drawing on policy instruments reviewed, as well as the experiences of promoting gender equality, a range of institutions can be identified that enable the state to promote social integration and fulfill its roles as regulator and guarantor of service provision by both the public and private sector, as well as its roles to protect and promote the human rights of all citizens. These institutions can be broadly categorized as follows:

- Mainstreaming mechanisms
- Institutions to support participation.
- Institutions for accountability

6.1 Mainstreaming mechanisms
Mainstreaming describes the process of ensuring that all parts of government are able to deliver on a particular agenda. Achieving the delivery of policies that promote social integration requires effective institutions and capacity building for

government and line ministries. The leadership, analytical and planning skills, commitment and ability to deliver at all levels of government are essential for ensuring that national level policy objectives are translated into action and do not evaporate.

In most countries, it is unlikely that existing government capacity will be sufficient to implement policies to promote social integration without extra resources. Attempts to deliver agreed programmes, that prioritize inclusive, redistributive and participatory approaches, without the commitment of extra government resources tend to rapidly founder when abstract commitments have to be translated into operational plans and targets.

Additional staff and new institutions, or national machineries, are generally necessary for mainstreaming. Experiences of gender mainstreaming provide useful lessons about effective institutional forms and functions.

In some organizations, gender mainstreaming has been supported by the appointment of additional staff members into existing institutional structures and departments. These individuals work as gender focal points linked to existing staff that have had gender training creating networks of support at different levels of the organization.

A more common approach is the creation of an agency, office or council devoted exclusively to the task of agenda implementation and mainstreaming. The functions of these offices generally include:
- Facilitating the formulation and implementation of government policies on equality, developing appropriate strategies and co-ordinating different parts of government.
- Establishing co-operative relationships with the private sector, academic institutions, the media, NGOs and all other civil society actors.
- Undertaking activities focusing on legal reform to promote equality.
- Promoting the increased participation of disadvantaged groups in decision making.
- Establishing direct links with national, regional and international bodies dealing with the advancement of women.
- Providing training and advisory assistance to government agencies in order to support mainstreaming of equality objectives (UNESCAP 2008).

Government agencies to promote gender mainstreaming demonstrate the range of forms that the agency can take. Offices to support gender mainstreaming are generally established through legislation or an executive or ministerial decree. In some countries, offices have ministerial ranking. A number of countries have also established parliamentary commissions devoted to women's issues.

Similar institutions have already been established in some regions to address different forms of disadvantage and discrimination In the Latin America and

Caribbean region, countries that have sizeable indigenous population, such as Bolivia, Ecuador and Mexico, have agencies to protect the rights of indigenous peoples. Brazil recently established the Ministry for the Promotion of Racial Equality and Mexico established the National Council to Prevent Discrimination (Buvinic and Mazza 2008).

Review of experience with national machineries for promoting gender equality indicates that they are often marginalized from key decision-making and resource distribution processes, under-resourced and vulnerable to changing political fortunes (Bell et al 2002).

Location is a key issue. Where national institutions to promote equality are located within a single ministry, they may become marginalized, face severe competition for resources within the ministry and lack connections across sectors. National institutions are more likely to be effective if they are constituted as a central advisory body, usually within the President's or Prime Minister's office or in the central planning or policy coordination of government.

Links with sectors need to be created. Networks of 'focal points' have been used to promote gender equality. In order to be effective, however, this approach needs to ensure that focal points are of sufficient seniority and well resourced enough to have authority in their departments. Clarity of function of focal points is also essential.

Links with civil society need to be established and maintained. Building linkages between NGOs and national institutions for promoting equality is central to the effectiveness of both sets of actors. National institutions require links to national and community level organizations to ensure they are responding effectively to context specific issues of disadvantage and to demonstrate their legitimacy and domestic support. NGOs need to make linkages to those parts of government which are likely to represent their interests.

The primary challenge for national institutions promoting issues related to social integration is often lack of high-level commitment and a clear mandate. There is little point in building national institutions in a vacuum. Support within government and civil society is a pre-requisite for the success of national institutions (Bell et al 2002).

6.2 Participatory institutions
Promoting social integration requires government institutions that support citizen participation and are responsive to bottom-up participatory demands. Yet, in many countries government bureaucracies are hierarchical and run on a top-down basis. The idea and practice of participation can be challenging for individuals as well as institutional procedures and practices. The establishment of participatory consultation processes in, for example, the development of poverty

reduction strategies, provides opportunities for government officials to become more familiar with participatory process and to create more permanent institutions for supporting citizen participation in decision making.

Participatory Poverty Assessments (PPAs) offer administrators and public officials the opportunity to engage with local communities, reality-check their own perspectives and priorities and become more familiar and comfortable with participatory processes. PPAs have been supported in a number of countries, including Uganda, as a means of assessing local level views, priorities and perceptions. PPAs are structured research processes that include group discussions in villages and the use of peer group interviews, ranking and mapping techniques to explore people's own views of their situation.

In countries where there is not much experience of policy engagement with civil society, consultation by government ministries of NGOs has tended to be minimal in poverty reduction strategy processes. Nonetheless, over subsequent PRS cycles, with the accumulation of experience and trust, some governments have moved towards joint decision making. This process has been aided by the establishment of civil society and government working groups or other institutions such as standing committees in line ministries.

Codes of conduct provide a means of formalizing relationships between governments, development partners and civil society. In Kenya, for example, a code of conduct underpinning health sector reform establishes the principle of co-operation between all partners. Civil society organizations have agreed to establish an umbrella organization for engagement with the government. The government has, in turn, agreed to include this organization in the sector working group and other committees related to the health sector (Ferguson 2008).

There is increasing interest in the possibility of participatory processes as a means of driving public sector reforms and democratizing the public sector itself. Innovative approaches draw on new public management theory, with its emphasis on results based management and demand-led institutional transformation, as well as the development emphasis on community participation.

In Jamaica, this approach led to the establishment of the Jamaica Social Policy Evaluation (Jaspev) under the Jamaican Cabinet Office. Jaspev promoted a system of locally generated but nationally comparable benchmark indicators designed to encourage mutual learning and institutional change. In partnership with the national Social Development Commission, the Jaspev team established local level fora for measurement, reflection and action on the theme of youth inclusion. The use of community scorecards sparked interest and demand from within the Ministry of National Security on issues of police-youth relations (Bonner et al 2008).

A key objective of the Jaspev process on youth inclusion was to generate collaborative action across different public and private sector institutions. Finding means of getting officials to work across institutional boundaries to achieve goals of social integration is a key challenge for effective social policy. The Jaspev process offers an innovative model for doing this through the participatory negotiation and agreement of shared outcome goals, which in turn can drive a search for solutions which engages a range of stakeholders in communities, public sector agencies and the private and voluntary sectors.

As reviewed in section five, processes of deliberative democracy, which give citizens a direct voice in policy design and resource allocation, are a critical part of the social integration agenda. These institutions are often established as part of a broader programme of decentralization. In order to be effective, participatory governance institutions need to have a clear, legally defined mandate, mechanisms for ensuring representation of disadvantaged groups and authority over financial resources.

6.3 Accountability institutions
Section five further outlined the range of institutions necessary for ensuring that rights are respected and promoting public sector accountability. In addition to the judiciary, these include quasi judicial institutions, such as human rights commissions and ombudspersons, administrative mechanisms and institutions such as official complaints procedures and political institutions, such as parliamentary standing committees as well as institutions for monitoring labour standards. Planners often overlook the necessity for these institutions to be established, or their mandates extended, in the process of policy design and implementation.

In some cases, an institution may combine a mainstreaming and an accountability function, for example when a mainstreaming initiative is located in the ombudsperson's office. While the mainstreaming function may eventually become unnecessary, accountability and redress requires the establishment of permanent institutions.

National institutions to support the rights of disadvantaged groups can be separate with, for example, a children's ombudsperson and an ombudsperson for ethnic minorities. In some countries these functions are combined in one institution, such as the United Kingdom's Human Rights and Equality Commission.

A number of innovations have been introduced in developing countries to improve access to these organizations. In South Africa, the Human Rights Commission holds public hearing in different provinces to address particular socio-economic issues. In Peru, women from ethnic minorities have formed citizen surveillance groups which monitor the provision of maternal health services and report to the regional human rights ombudsperson on a regular

basis. These approaches provide a potential model, for example, for expanding the reach of organizations to monitor labour standards.

A key agenda for these institutions is monitoring diversity in the public sector itself. Research by UNRISD suggests that it is difficult to achieve ethnic proportionality in the public sector if policies do not address this issue (UNRISD 2004). In India, affirmative action, the reservation of positions in public service for people from particular social groups, is used to support diversity. In the UK, publicly monitored targets are used as a means of promoting diversity in the civil service. In general, however, public sector reform processes have not taken diversity issues into account.

7 Conclusion

Drawing on the above review of policy instruments and institutions for promoting social integration, a limited number of key recommendations can be identified:

1. Establish social justice as the principle under-pinning social provision. This involves identifying groups or categories of people that face major systemic barriers in participating as equal citizens in the social, economic, cultural and political life of their societies. Urgent priorities in building equal citizenship may be ensuring full registration of all populations in order to be able to claim economic, social and political entitlements and addressing discriminatory legislation.

2. Use inclusive, democratic, processes to build consensus about minimum levels of social provision (including guarantees of realization of minimum standards in health, education, shelter, income and personal safety). To agree a sustainable social contract between citizens and state may require extensive dialogue across major social, political and cultural divisions and will involve the private sector as well as civil society. It will require attention to means of ensuring political representation of the most disadvantaged in national debates and political processes.

3. Ensure that established standards address a number of dimensions of delivery of social provision, including access, quality and financial support for those who cannot pay where services are commercialized. Systems of redress for use when guaranteed standards are not met, including ombudspersons and administrative complaints procedures, should be accessible and effective. Agreement should be reached about the provisions for updating minimum standards.

4. Support the delivery of universal entitlements with: a) appropriate and sufficient fiscal provision; b) targeted, tailored and enabling programs to ensure access of disadvantaged groups; c) necessary normative/legal guidelines; d) appropriate institutional structures.

5. Guaranteed social protections packages should include universal entitlements to basic income grant, without conditions attached to employment status, universal entitlements to pension for those over 65, and appropriate disability and child allowances for the social and cultural environment.

6. Establish the institutional base for an equitable, dynamic labour market capable of providing decent work and livelihoods for all. This will include appropriate support and enabling structures for workers' organizations in rural and urban settings, institutions to monitor and enforce core labour

standards, and institutions to ensure access to on-going skills training and education, dispute arbitration and the combating of discrimination.

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