

Chapter III

Who is being left behind? Patterns of social exclusion

Key messages

- *Factors beyond an individual's skill and effort, such as ethnicity, age, disability status, place of residence or gender, affect access to opportunities, resources and participation in political, civil and cultural life. However, the effect of these characteristics is not uniform across countries. Much depends on the norms, institutions and policies in place.*
- *The disadvantages some groups experience reinforce one another; lower levels of health and education go hand in hand with higher levels of poverty and unemployment, as well as less voice in political and civic life.*
- *The inequalities observed are often rooted in historical circumstances but tend to persist after the structural conditions that created them change.*
- *The degree to which development is leaving some people behind and, consequently, whether development is promoting social inclusion, depends on context as well as on the indicators used to assess progress.*

As is recognized in the 2030 Agenda, attributes such as age, gender, ethnicity, race, and migration and disability status continue to affect the risk of being left behind in both rich and poor countries and preclude the full participation of some groups in society. Yet the risks each of these groups faces does not result in uniform disadvantages across countries: the extent of exclusion and its outcomes depend on the economic, social, political and environmental context, including national and local institutions, norms and attitudes as well as laws and policies in place.

In this chapter, the outcomes of exclusion across countries are examined in respect of the three domains described in chapter I: (a) denial of opportunities, with a focus on disparities in access to education, health care and other basic services; (b) limited access to employment and income; and (c) uneven participation in political and civic life. Owing to data availability issues, cross-country comparisons are often based on data for a limited number of countries and are meant to illustrate concrete aspects of exclusion, as explained in chapter I. Where possible, the analysis highlights examples from both developed and developing countries. It should be noted that lagging behind in education or in access to health services or facing barriers to political

participation, alone, cannot be equated with social exclusion. Disadvantages in each of these domains, however, generally reinforce one another: lower levels of health and education go hand in hand with higher levels of poverty and unemployment, as well as less voice in political and civic life. In this report, it is the accumulation of disadvantage across multiple domains among certain social groups that is taken as a symptom of their exclusion.

While the analysis is centred mainly on the disadvantages – or advantages – experienced by youth, older persons, indigenous peoples, ethnic and racial minorities, persons with disabilities and migrants, it is important to recognize that these groups are not homogeneous. In this chapter, it is considered how gender, place of residence and wealth intersect with other group attributes as a way to illustrate heterogeneity. It is also important to note that many other social groups are at risk of exclusion. Those groups that are statistically invisible – that is, omitted from the sample design of household surveys and population censuses – are frequently those at the highest risk of being left behind. It is often when groups gain political recognition and social movements promote the fulfilment of their rights that countries begin to identify them in censuses and surveys.

Based on the data available, the analysis in this chapter shows that, overall, development is not giving all individuals and groups equal opportunities to participate meaningfully in economic, social or political life. Development is leaving some people behind. Unequal access to health, education and other markers of opportunity feeds the vicious cycle of disadvantage and exclusion in which some groups find themselves. The analysis suggests, however, that not all observed disparities in income or participation in the labour market and in political processes can be explained by differences in access to good-quality education or other markers of opportunity across social groups. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the dynamics of disadvantage.

A. Denial of opportunities

Education, health care and access to other basic services give people, particularly children, the opportunity to reach their human potential and realize their life goals. Whereas many aspects of high and persistent inequalities polarize political debates across countries, there is clear consensus on the need for education and health care to benefit all people, regardless of their circumstances, that is, for these services to be universally accessible. Health care and education are protected as fundamental human rights and have been reflected in Sustainable Development Goals 3 and 4, which stress the need for universal health coverage and equitable access to good-quality education. Notable improvements in access to these key dimensions of inclusion over the past 20 years have opened avenues for addressing new challenges, such as the quality of education and the transition to secondary school, the increased incidence of years lived with a disability and gaps in access to ICT,

particularly broadband Internet. In this section, disparities are described in these key dimensions of opportunity – education, health and access to other basic services – and some of the factors are discussed that have contributed to the exclusion of vulnerable groups from the general improvements seen over the last few decades. Exclusion is reflected both in lack of access to these markers of opportunity as well as in the quality of services received.

1. Education

Access to good-quality education provides individuals with opportunities to learn and to realize their potential, building capacity to participate in social, economic, political and cultural life. The adult skills survey of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) found that adults with high proficiency in literacy are more likely than those with low proficiency to report being in good health, to believe that they can influence the political process, to participate in volunteer or associative activities and to have high levels of trust in others (OECD, 2013a). The educational system as an institution that imparts norms, values and accepted behaviours to the next generation, however, can also act to reinforce discrimination and perpetuate social exclusion. Even where there are no formal barriers to access or where special measures are in place to foster learning outcomes among disadvantaged groups, educational curricula, school policies and the overall school environment, including interactions among students, teachers, parents and school management staff, can subtly exclude some learners and reproduce existing power structures.

Worldwide, progress in improving school attendance has been notable. The primary school net enrolment ratio is estimated to have reached 93 per cent in 2015, up from 84 per cent in 1999, while the gross secondary school enrolment ratio increased from 71 per cent to 85 per cent between 1995 and 2012, with the vast majority of the gains occurring in developing countries (UNESCO, 2015a).

Despite such progress, 124 million children and young adolescents were estimated to have been out of school worldwide in 2013, including more than 59 million children of primary school age (UNESCO, 2015b). More than half of all out-of-school children live in 19 developing countries, including several countries affected by conflict, according to UNESCO. In addition, there are enduring disparities within both developed and developing countries in school enrolment, completion and learning outcomes based on factors external to a student's inherent capacity to learn. Children with disabilities and those belonging to ethnic or linguistic minorities face unique barriers to accessing opportunities through the educational system. In Europe, for example, at least 10 per cent of Roma children aged 7-15 were not in school in Bulgaria, France, Greece, Italy and Romania in 2011, as compared with less than 5 per cent of non-Roma children (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights,

2012). Gaps across groups are observed also in early childhood education (see box III.1). Poor-quality education contributes to higher drop-out rates among poor children and those in other disadvantaged minority groups. Even where school fees have been withdrawn and enrolment has increased, drop-out rates have often risen, partly because of increases in average class sizes and pressure on limited school resources (Sabates and others, 2010).

With notable success achieved at the global level in the provision of universal primary education, gaps in school enrolment and completion in secondary school have received increased attention, including in the Sustainable Development Goals. Lower secondary education is part of basic education, widely acknowledged as a minimum requirement for personal and professional development. Upper secondary education is becoming increasingly important for the development of job skills and other attributes necessary to function productively in today's global economy. Yet the barriers to accessing primary education are magnified at secondary school levels. In most countries, disparities in secondary school attendance based on household income and other characteristics are larger than those observed in primary school (United Nations, 2013a), with lower rates of transitioning from primary school to secondary school among certain groups and individuals, as well as higher rates of dropping out and repeating grades at older ages.

Data from eight countries show, for instance, that attendance rates of children with disabilities dropped from primary education to secondary

Box III.1

Early childhood education

The provision of early childhood education (ECE) is widely recognized to contribute substantially to better educational and wider societal outcomes, especially among the most disadvantaged children and communities (OECD, 2013b). Since 2000, considerable progress has been made in increasing the number of children enrolled in pre-primary schools worldwide. However, children living in poverty and in rural areas – who could benefit most from ECE – are systematically less likely to participate in ECE programmes, even in countries where most children attend an early learning programme (UNICEF, 2016; UNESCO, 2015a).

Important disparities in ECE access by ethnicity, race, indigenous status and immigrant status are also present in both developed and developing regions. In Europe, the proportions of children aged 3–4 years who attended ECE programmes were 6–8 times higher nationally than among Roma groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (UNICEF, 2014). Similarly, in the late 2000s in Ecuador, the enrolment rate in pre-primary schools was only 50 per cent for indigenous children compared with close to 70 per cent for children of African descent and close to 80 per cent for children who were not of indigenous or of African descent (Vegas and Santibáñez, 2010).

A key factor driving these disparities is that many countries have not yet incorporated early childhood education into public school systems. As a result, nearly a third of all children enrolled at the pre-primary level attended private institutions; thus, the expansion of ECE has been driven in part by those families and households that can afford it (UNESCO, 2015a).

education by 8-10 percentage points (Filmer, 2008).⁴⁰ Similarly, children and youth from indigenous and other ethnic minority groups are less likely than their non-indigenous and ethnic majority peers to complete lower secondary school. Children from linguistic minorities frequently face the challenge of instruction in a language that is not their own. It is estimated that as much as 40 per cent of the world's population does not have access to education in a language they speak or understand (UNESCO, 2016).

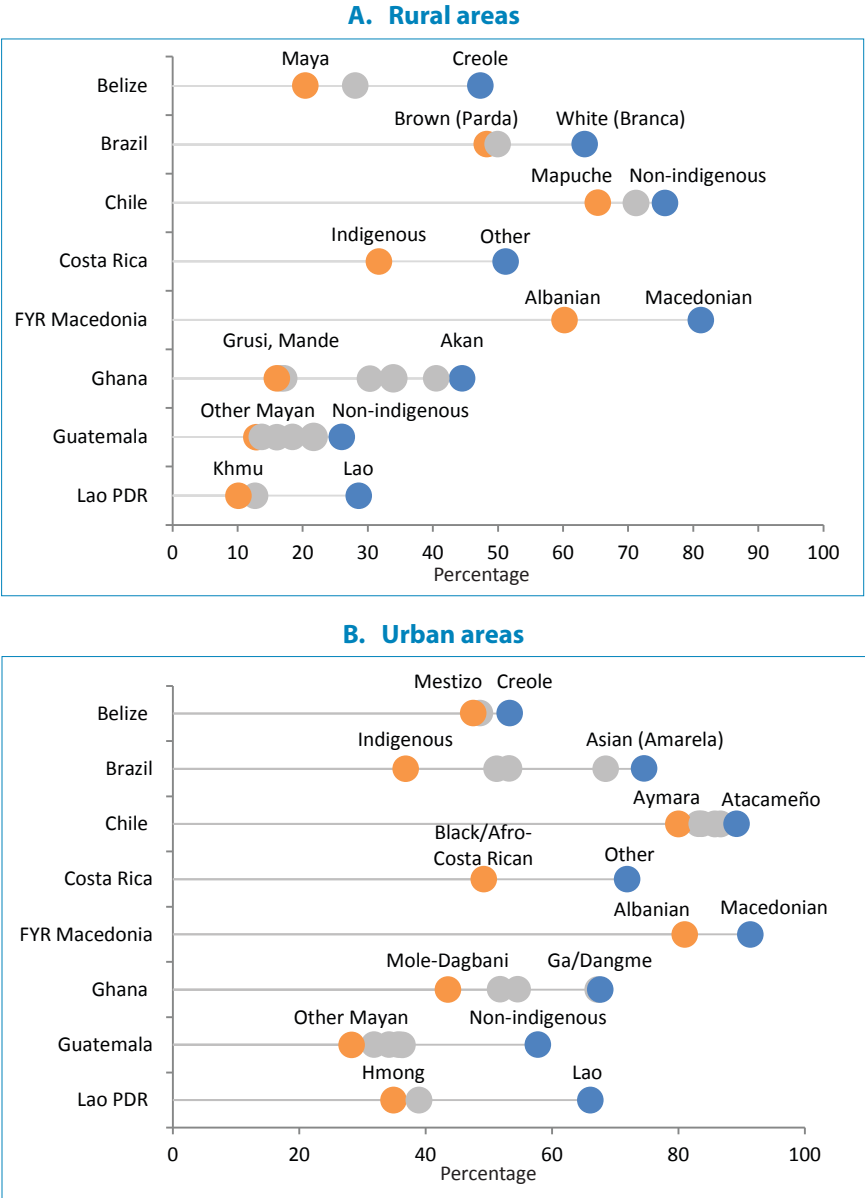
Children in these groups also often suffer from multiple disadvantages that are mutually reinforcing: for instance, living in rural areas continues to have a negative impact on school enrolment and educational achievement, and indigenous peoples as well as other ethnic minorities in many developing countries live predominantly in rural areas (Hall and Patrinos, 2012; UNESCO, 2015a). According to figure III.1, not only do children in rural areas fare worse than those in urban areas in terms of school completion, but the educational disadvantage suffered by indigenous children and children in ethnic minority groups is also at times larger in rural than in urban areas. In Belize, for instance, the percentage of *mestizo* children completing lower secondary school is two-thirds that of Creole children in rural areas, as compared with nearly 90 per cent in urban areas. In the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the percentage of Albanian children completing this level of schooling is less than 75 per cent that of Macedonian children in rural areas but close to 90 per cent in rural areas. Thus, the interaction of ethnicity and rural residence can produce a stronger effect on lower secondary school completion than each factor separately. In contrast, in Guatemala disparities between non-indigenous and the most disadvantaged indigenous children are larger in urban than in rural areas.

Research in Latin America indicates that the leading reasons for lower participation of indigenous peoples in secondary and post-secondary education include high rates of poverty, child and adolescent labour, distance to schools, particularly in rural areas, the low quality of educational facilities to which they have access, and discrimination (ECLAC, 2015). However, a study of eight countries in the same region suggests significant progress in increasing the school attendance of indigenous children between 2000 and 2010, particularly among children of secondary school age (ECLAC, 2015, figure I.9).

Likewise, gender gaps in enrolment are wide and girls' dropout rates are high in secondary school despite the significant progress made in increasing girls' primary school education. In countries where gender disparities in educational attainment still exist, they usually intersect with other disparities in education, such as those based on wealth, place of residence and race or ethnicity. Data from the World Inequality Database on Education show that gender gaps in attainment are generally found among the poorest families, in

⁴⁰ The eight countries included in the study are Colombia, India, Indonesia, Jamaica, Mongolia, Mozambique, Romania and South Africa.

Figure III.1
Percentage of youth who completed lower secondary education, by ethnicity and area of residence in selected countries, latest available data since 2011



Source: World Inequality Database on Education, UNESCO. Available from www.education-inequalities.org (accessed on 21 September 2016)
Note: Data are displayed for countries with information from 2011 and later, and where samples of each racial and ethnic group numbered 100 or larger.

rural areas and among indigenous or ethnic minority groups.⁴¹ In Pakistan in 2012 for instance, the proportion of youth (15-24 years of age) who completed lower secondary school was slightly more than 80 per cent for both females and males in the richest families, but much lower among the poorest families, where just 4 per cent of females and 19 per cent of males completed lower secondary education. Similarly, based on data from DHS, the interaction between ethnicity and place of residence explains from 12 per cent (Zimbabwe) to 40 per cent (Plurinational State of Bolivia) of the total inequality in women's educational attainment (Lenhardt and Samman, 2015).

Beyond school enrolment and completion, the effective acquisition of relevant knowledge and skills – that is, the quality of education – is a key determinant of future opportunities. Research on OECD countries indicates that improvements in learning outcomes, as measured by the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) and other international tests, are associated with high economic returns (OECD, 2010). Across OECD countries, in 2012 students from an immigrant background on average scored 34 points lower in the PISA mathematics examination than students with a non-immigrant background.⁴² The educational achievement gap between immigrant and non-immigrant students is still significant when controlling for their families' socioeconomic status, although it declined to 21 points (OECD, 2013c).⁴³ In other words, immigrant children are penalized academically by their socioeconomic background, but migrant status also has a net effect on their achievement.

Despite persisting inequalities, the evidence available suggests some progress in ensuring equitable access to good-quality education. For instance, the variation in student performance in mathematics by socioeconomic status declined slightly, from 17 per cent in 2003 to 15 per cent in 2012, in the countries covered by the PISA programme, while the immigrant-non-immigrant gap narrowed by 10 percentage points during the same period (OECD, 2013c). In Latin America, periodic assessment studies indicate that the rural-urban gap in academic proficiency declined as mean achievement increased from 2006 to 2013 in all but three countries (UNESCO, 2015a).

⁴¹ UNESCO, World Inequality Database on Education. Available from www.education-inequalities.org (accessed on 21 September 2016).

⁴² PISA is an ongoing programme and tool of OECD that helps assess 15-year-old students' acquisition of knowledge and skills in mathematics, science and reading across high- and medium-income countries. In the PISA 2012 round, 65 countries and economies participated in the examination, including 34 OECD member countries and 31 partner countries and economies in Asia, Eastern Europe and Latin America.

⁴³ In the context of PISA assessments, OECD measures socioeconomic status (or social, economic and cultural status) on the basis of indicators of parental education and occupation, the number and type of home possessions that are considered proxies for wealth, and the educational resources available at home (OECD, 2013c, box II.2.1). See also <https://stats.oecd.org/glossary/detail.asp?ID=5401>.

Given the importance of a student's peers as well as the stigma associated with schools in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, more equitable learning opportunities may come about by reducing socioeconomic and other types of segregation in schools and neighbourhoods. Yet OECD data suggest little progress has been made from 2003 to 2012 in promoting greater integration in schools (OECD, 2013c). In box III.2, some of the research to date is discussed in terms of the effect of neighbourhood and school environments on educational outcomes.

The persistent exclusion of some children and youth from the educational system, combined with global trends in youth unemployment and changing labour markets due to technological advancement, highlight the importance of inclusive and equitable-quality education and lifelong learning opportunities for all. Such education is essential for ensuring that youth obtain not only basic skills, but also livelihood skills to support the transition from school to work. While there are limited comparable data on the role of technical and vocational education and training in supporting the transition from school to work, the existing data for low and middle-income countries show that few youth have participated in job-related skills training, and those who have are highly educated, suggesting that those who may need this type of training are least likely to participate in it (Valerio and others, 2014).⁴⁴

2. Health

Health is both an input to and a desirable outcome of sustainable development. Significant progress in health outcomes has been achieved in past decades in terms of both lowering illness and mortality levels. Worldwide, life expectancy at birth increased from 47 years in the period 1950-1955 to 65 years in that of 1990-1995, and reached 70 years in the period 2010-2015.⁴⁵ Additionally, under-five mortality rates fell rapidly, declining by 44 per cent at the global level from 2000 to 2015; nevertheless, an estimated 5.9 million children under the age of 5 died in 2015 (United Nations, 2016b).

Not all individuals and groups have benefited equally from advances in health care, however; the result has been large numbers of preventable deaths and illnesses. Health inequalities between social groups have evolved differently across countries, regions and by group. By way of example, figure III.2 shows recent trends in the proportion of children stunted (having low

⁴⁴ Findings in Valerio and others (2014) are from the World Bank's STEP Skills Measurement Program (STEP), an initiative to measure skills in low- and middle-income countries. The programme currently has data from Armenia, Azerbaijan, the Plurinational State of Bolivia, Colombia, Georgia, Ghana, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Sri Lanka, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Ukraine, Viet Nam and Yunnan Province of China.

⁴⁵ Data from the United Nations Population Division. Available from: <https://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/> (accessed on April 2016).

Box III.2

The geography of opportunities: residential segregation and educational outcomes

The social composition of the schools or neighbourhoods where children are raised has a significant impact on their development and livelihoods. Growing up in a disadvantaged neighbourhood has been shown to affect educational outcomes negatively because of social, cultural and linguistic isolation, scarce institutional resources – including poorly funded and often underperforming schools – environmental health hazards and stress as a result of violence and crime.

It has been found in a large body of literature that, while the socioeconomic characteristics of students and their families have a large impact on educational outcomes, the effect of neighbourhood and school characteristics cannot be ignored, particularly for children in poor households. Educational outcomes are often better in more well-off neighbourhoods and schools, independent of the socioeconomic status of a student's family.^a In Montevideo, improvements in the socioeconomic status of a neighbourhood resulted in corresponding improvements in public school students' composite scores on mathematics and native language examinations, even when holding constant socioeconomic characteristics of each student's household. Nearly a third of variability in test scores could be attributed to the socioeconomic composition of the school that children attended or the neighbourhood where they resided (Katzman and Retamoso, 2007).

In the United States, experimental groups of households with children living in poverty-stricken areas were randomly selected from five cities (Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles and New York) and assigned to a treatment group where families received counselling as well as public assistance to access housing in areas with less than 10 per cent of poverty. Evaluations of the programme have provided various insights into the interplay between individual characteristics and the characteristics of neighbourhoods, and how these interact to influence outcomes. Chetty, Hendren and Katz (2016) found that children younger than 13 whose families moved away from very low-income areas through participation in the experiment achieved better educational and economic outcomes in the long run than their peers who did not move. On average, these children were 16 per cent more likely to attend college or university, and as adults their incomes were 31 per cent higher than those children whose families were assigned to the control group (Chetty, Hendren and Katz, 2016). Children older than 13 actually fared slightly worse than the control group, however. Those researchers reasoned that the disruptive effects of the move among this group, such as a loss of social networks, outweighed the benefits of moving. Furthermore, the experiment not only reduced the effects of neighbourhood poverty on children in the treatment group but also led to an intergenerational reduction in the exposure to spatial concentrations of poverty. As adults, these children were more likely to live in areas with lower poverty rates, higher mean incomes, less racial segregation and a lower share of female-headed households.

While the mechanisms that create residential segregation are not entirely clear, the study of neighbourhood effects has provided evidence that the characteristics of where families live represent an important factor in the improvement or deterioration of their material conditions, in what can be referred to as the "geography of metropolitan opportunity" (Galster and Killen, 1998).

^a See, for instance, Brännström (2008) for Sweden; Chetty, Hendren and Katz (2016) and Jencks and Mayer (1990) for the United States; Katzman and Retamoso (2007) for Uruguay; Kauppinen (2007) for Finland; and Montgomery and Hewett (2005) for health outcomes in developing countries.

height for age) by ethnic group in three developing countries.⁴⁶ Slow growth in height in early life, a strong indicator of poor nutrition and reduced health, has long-term effects on cognitive development, educational performance and economic outcomes (Victora and others, 2008).

Ghana has made great strides in improving child health in the last two decades. The country has achieved improvements in health-care coverage and declines in socioeconomic disparities in access to key interventions along the continuum of care.⁴⁷ As shown in panel A of figure III.2, for children in the three ethnic groups that were lagging behind in terms of their stunting levels at the start of the period in 1998, their situation improved remarkably from 1998 to 2008 – stunting declined by 4.2 per cent annually among these groups but only by 0.9 per cent in total. Despite continued progress, however, those same three ethnic groups experienced little relative improvement from 2008 to 2014. In Mali (panel B), stunting declined more slowly among children in the three ethnic groups that were faring worse in the first year of observation than among the rest of the population, that is, children in these groups were relatively worse off at the end of the period – they were being left behind. In Peru, rapid progress in improving child health has masked significant variation across regions, socioeconomic groups and ethnic communities. The prevalence of stunting was more than twice as high among children in the poorest indigenous group, the Quechua people, compared with children in Spanish-speaking households in both 2000 and 2012 (panel C). However, for indigenous children their situation improved more than Spanish-speaking children on average from 2000 to 2012. The stunting rate fell by more than 20 percentage points among Quechua children during the period as well as among Aymara children from 2007/08 to 2012 alone, partly as a result of increased government and international efforts to reverse decades of marginalization of communities in remote Andean regions, particularly through increased spending on the quality and coverage of health services as well as through targeted anti-poverty initiatives (Huicho and others, 2016). Thus, on the basis of this indicator alone, development was inclusive of minority ethnic groups in Peru during this period.

As in education, persistent health disparities linked to income, ethnicity or race often intersect with exclusion based on area of residence or the sex of the persons concerned, even in countries with comprehensive health-care systems. While higher income often leads to higher life expectancy, Chetty

⁴⁶ These three countries were selected because data on ethnicity are available from three successive surveys and because inequality trends in stunting and other indicators differ across them. In all three cases, sample sizes for all ethnic groups shown number at least 200. These countries are highlighted for illustrative purposes only.

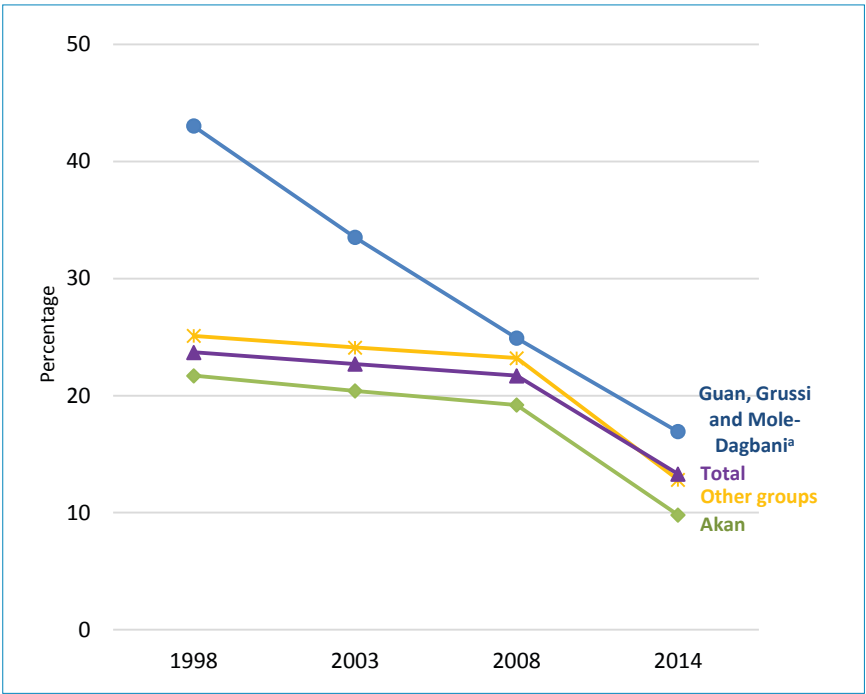
⁴⁷ See Countdown to 2030, Maternal, Newborn and Child Survival. Available from www.countdown2015mnch.org/country-profiles/ghana. In particular, see Ghana Health Data-2015 Equity Profile (accessed on 9 March 2016).

and others (2016) found that, in the United States, longevity varies much more geographically among individuals in the lowest income quartile, even when adjusting for race and ethnicity, than among individuals at the top of the income distribution. In other words, area of residence disproportionately affects individuals at the bottom of the income distribution.

Global decreases in premature mortality have been accompanied by an increase in the number of years a person lives with illness or disease, with a disproportionate share of years lived with a disability being found among disadvantaged individuals and social groups. Measures that take into account

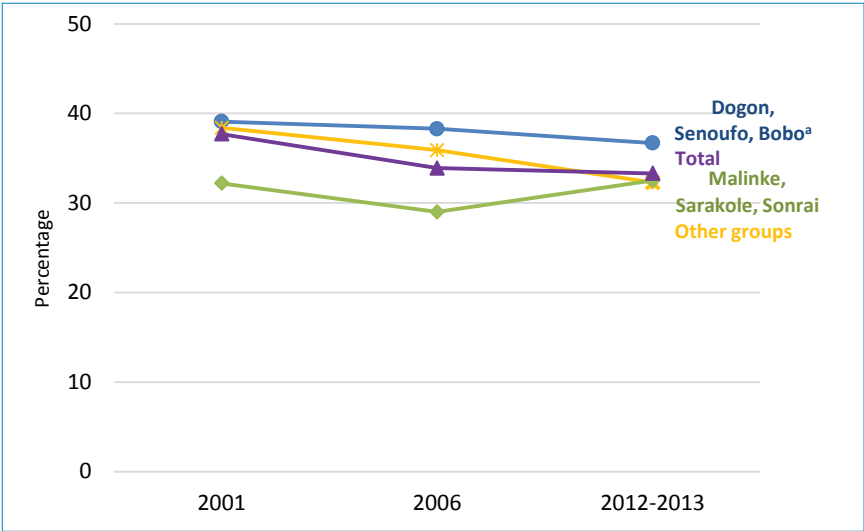
Figure III.2
Recent trends in the proportion of children stunted, by ethnic group in selected countries

A. Ghana, 1998-2014



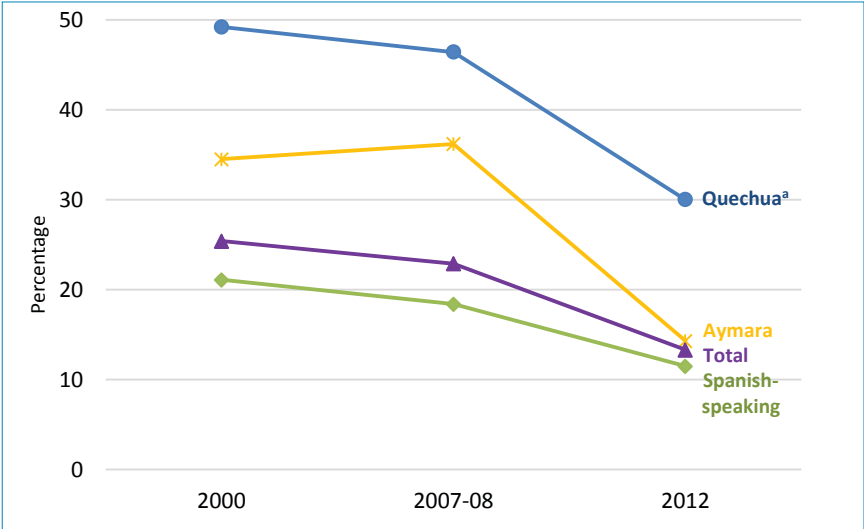
Source: Calculations are based on data from Demographic and Health Surveys (DHSs).
Note: Ethnic minorities have been grouped based exclusively on the prevalence of stunting in the starting year (1998), according to DHSs. Samples for all groupings number at least 200. A child is considered stunted if (s)he is below minus two standard deviations from the median height-for-age of the World Health Organization Child Growth Standards.
^a Annual change (1998-2008) among Guan, Grussi and and Mole-Dagbani groups combined: -4.2 per cent. Annual change (1998-2008) among the total population: -0.9 per cent. Annual change (2008-2014): Guan, Grussi and Mole-Dagbani: -3.2 per cent. Annual change (2008-2014) among the total population: -3.9 per cent.

B. Mali, 2001-2012/13



Source: Calculations are based on data from Demographic and Health Surveys (DHSs).
Note: Ethnic minorities have been grouped based exclusively on the prevalence of stunting in the starting year (2001), according to DHSs. Samples for all groupings number at least 200.
^a Annual change (2001-2012/13) among Dogon, Senoufo and Bobo groups combined: -0.5 per cent. Annual change (2001-2012/13) among the total population: -1.0 per cent.

C. Peru, 2000-2014



Source: Calculations are based on data from Demographic and Health Surveys (DHSs).
^a Annual change (2000-2012) among the Quechua people: -4.0 per cent; the Aymara people: -4.9 per cent; and the Spanish-speaking population: -3.8 per cent.

mortality, illness and functioning simultaneously, such as health-adjusted life expectancy (HALE), tend to show wider gaps based on socioeconomic status, race and ethnicity than life expectancy does (Crimmins and Hagedorn, 2010). In China, for instance, men of higher socioeconomic status can expect to live 20-37 per cent longer than men of lower socioeconomic status, whereas their healthy life expectancy ranges from 30 to 77 per cent longer than that of men of lower socioeconomic status (Kaneda, Zimmer and Tang, 2005). Similar results have been found in Brazil, where a 20-year-old woman residing in a Rio de Janeiro slum may expect to live a healthy life of 37.1 years, whereas a woman of the same age residing in a wealthy neighbourhood could expect to live 56.2 years in good health (Landmann and others, 2011). These inequalities are due to many factors, including the environment in which people live, individual lifestyles and behaviours and, most prominently, disparities in access to good-quality health-care services.

3. Other basic services

The improvements in health and mortality over the last century came about in large part thanks to improvements in basic infrastructure and services. Basic infrastructure – roads, water and sanitation, energy, broadband and other telecommunication infrastructure – facilitates access to health and education services, as well as to jobs, and is therefore essential for reducing poverty, inequality and exclusion. Investment in improved water supply and sanitation in particular can generate high returns, as it helps prevent malnutrition and disease and ultimately promotes productivity. Indeed, inadequate infrastructure and inequalities in access to water supply and sanitation lead to poor hygiene and preventable infectious diseases, such as diarrhoea, that cause the death of millions of people, mostly children, every year.

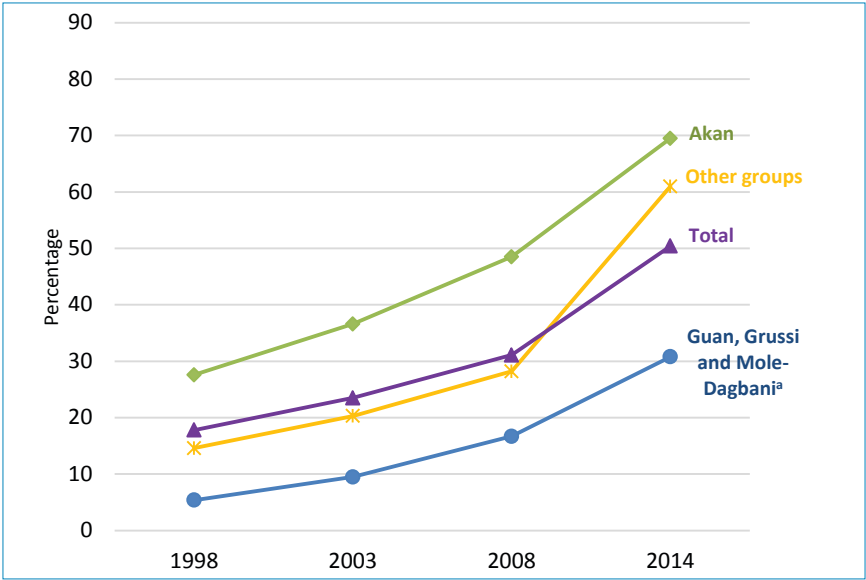
As in child health, progress in reducing inequalities in access to infrastructure across groups varies significantly across countries. Figure III.3 shows recent trends in the proportion of rural women in households with access to electricity – one of the indicators for target 7.1 of the Sustainable Development Goals on access to modern energy services – by ethnic group in the three developing countries highlighted in the previous section. In Ghana, rural women in the most deprived ethnic groups are being left behind in terms of access of electricity (panel A of figure III.3). Access increased by 1.6 per cent annually in the period 1998-2014 among the most deprived groups, while it grew by 2.6 per cent in 1998 among those who were already better off. Success in reducing disparities in child health in Ghana is not mirrored in inclusive improvements in access to electricity. In Mali, the same ethnic groups that lagged behind in child health at the national level are being left behind in rural areas in terms of access to electricity (panel B). In Peru (panel C), where levels of electrification are higher, indigenous women have benefited more than Spanish-speaking women from its expansion in rural areas since 2000, partly

an outcome of the Government’s efforts to promote inclusion (Ministerio de Energía y Minas, República del Perú, 2011).

Regarding access to ICTs, in recent years rapid technological innovation has allowed for a significant expansion of broadband connections and growth in the use of mobile communications to do business, create new livelihoods, improve productivity and promote development. It is estimated that the number of mobile phone owners now surpasses the number of those who have access to electricity or clean water (World Bank, 2016). Growing access to ICTs has also been crucial in enabling participation, giving individuals and groups the ability to voice their opinions and helping them organize around common causes and across geographical boundaries. The potential of ICTs is particularly broad for youth, who are already using social media in significant numbers to connect, share and inspire others.

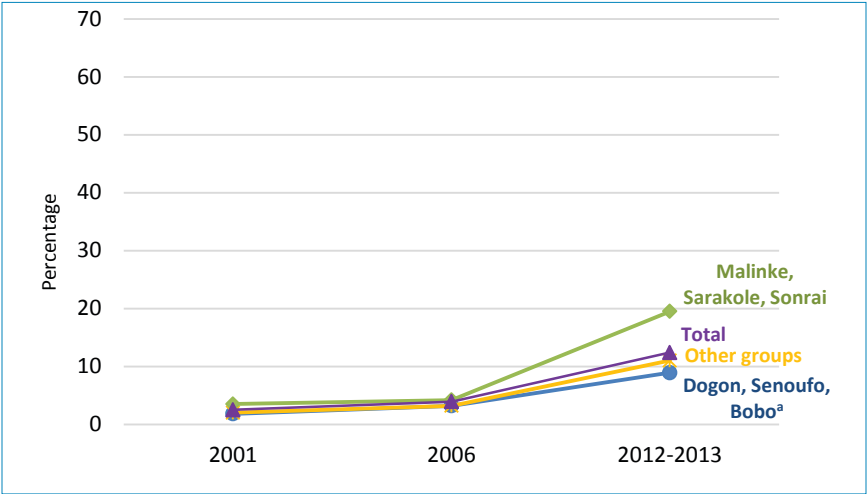
Figure III.3
Recent trends in the proportion of rural women in households with access to electricity, by ethnic group in selected countries

A. Ghana, 1998-2014



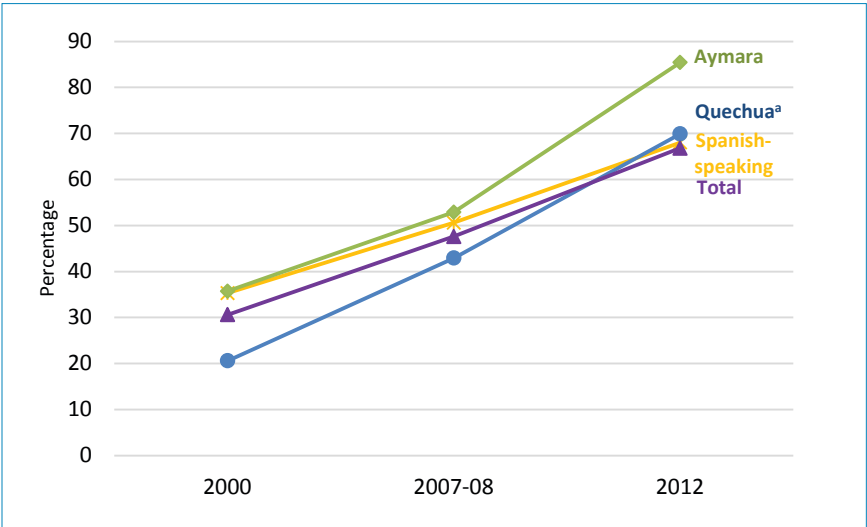
Source: Calculations are based on data from Demographic and Health Surveys (DHSs).
Note: The data cover women of reproductive age (15-49 years). Ethnic minorities have been grouped based exclusively on access to electricity in the starting year (1998), according to DHSs. Samples for all groupings number at least 200.
^aAnnual change (1998-2014) among Guan, Grussi and Mole-Dagbani groups combined: 1.6 per cent. Annual change (1998-2014) among the Akan group: 2.6 per cent. Annual change (1998-2014) among the total population: 2.0 per cent.

B. Mali, 2001-2012/13



Source: Calculations are based on data from Demographic and Health Surveys (DHSs).
Note: Ethnic minorities have been grouped based exclusively on access to electricity in the starting year (2001), according to DHSs. Samples for all groupings number at least 200.
^a Annual change (2001-2012/13) among Dogon, Senoufo and Bobo groups combined: 0.6 per cent. Annual change (2001-2012/13) among Malinke, Sarakole and Sonrai groups combined: 1.4 per cent. Annual change (2001-2012/13) among the total population: 0.9 per cent.

C. Peru, 2000-2012



Source: Calculations are based on data from Demographic and Health Surveys (DHSs).
^a Annual change (2000-2012) among the Quechua people: 4.1 per cent; the Aymara people: 4.1 per cent; and Spanish-speaking population: 2.7 per cent.

Yet significant disparities in ICT access and skills limit the benefits ICTs offer certain groups. In Africa for instance, the percentage of individuals who use the Internet differs significantly by household wealth, age, area of residence and sex (World Bank, 2016). Disparities in connectivity are associated with significant disparities in the skills and capability to use ICTs, threatening to widen inequality and reinforce exclusion of certain individuals and groups. Indeed, evidence suggests a high return to ICT skills among workers in 19 countries, yet these returns are understandably highest in jobs that rely heavily on ICT skills (Falck, Heimisch and Wiederhold, 2015). Returns to education are also higher in jobs that rely heavily on ICT skills. Thus, the continuing spread of ICTs, particularly in the workplace, threatens to exacerbate inequality if educational systems cannot impart the knowledge and skills needed in an increasingly digital world (World Bank, 2016).

4. Conclusions

Education, health and other basic services are key determinants of opportunity and well-being throughout the life course. Despite broad progress in school enrolment, learning outcomes, child health, a healthy life expectancy and access to electricity and ICTs, population censuses and household survey data show significant disparities across social groups in all these indicators. Often, it is individuals and groups that face multiple disadvantages who are left further behind from access. Although the evidence reviewed shows some encouraging trends, it also suggests that progress in reducing disparities in one indicator is not necessarily echoed by progress in other indicators of opportunity. In describing disparities in employment and in the prevalence of poverty, the next section illustrates how access to education and other markers of opportunity affects the labour market situation and the income of different social groups.

B. Unequal income-generating prospects

Labour earnings, savings and other productive assets provide the means to withstand shocks and are key to people's empowerment. Unequal access to such assets is both a symptom of exclusion and is likely to generate further exclusion among current and future generations. Lack of decent work opportunities, in particular, curtails access to social protection systems, social services and social networks, and therefore increases the risk of long-term exclusion.

In this section, there is a description of barriers to full and productive employment and decent work for all, including disparities in labour market participation and employment opportunities, and of the role that human capital and other opportunity gaps play in explaining these disparities.

The section also contains an examination of the impact of these gaps on the prevalence of income poverty.

1. Labour market participation and employment opportunities

As discussed in chapter II, labour is the main and only productive resource at hand for many people, particularly those living in poverty. There is little point in denying the fact that access to decent and productive jobs is the most effective means of reducing poverty and is a key foundation of social inclusion. Yet labour market inequalities persist and are, in some cases, growing. Indigenous peoples, members of other ethnic minorities and international migrants, for instance, receive lower wages than the rest of the population, as do women, who on average earn between 10 and 30 per cent less than men when working full time (United Nations, 2015a; Hall and Patrinos, 2012; OECD, 2015a). Youth unemployment is almost three times as high as adult unemployment (ILO, 2016c). In the European Union, about 65 per cent of Roma aged 16 or older are currently unemployed or have been without a regular paid job during the last five years, as compared with 29 per cent of non-Roma living nearby (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2012).

This section illustrates that such inequalities are not simply due to differences in education and skills among workers. The labour market continues to make socially driven distinctions based on ethnicity, race, caste, sex, age and other personal attributes that should have no bearing on job opportunities or workers' competencies or ability.

The exclusion of youth from the labour market is of particular concern because of its long-term effect on well-being as well as its impact on social cohesion and stability. For every young person, a decent job is an important step to completing the transition to adulthood and a milestone towards achieving independence and self-reliance. According to ILO, which estimates that more than 40 per cent of the world's active youth are either unemployed or working but living in poverty, the financial and economic crisis of 2008 has led to a "lost generation" of young people who have lost all hope of being able to work for a decent living. Not only do unemployment and underemployment affect young people's material, physical and mental well-being, they also hamper their future economic opportunities. Research shows that joblessness among youth is associated with lower wages and lower labour market participation later in life (Székely and Karver, 2015; Bell and Blanchflower, 2011). It also leaves marks in the form of young people's distrust in the political, social and economic systems. Protests and other expressions of social unrest have indeed been particularly acute in countries and regions where youth unemployment is widespread or has been rising quickly in the last decade (ILO, 2013a and 2016c). Specifically, since the 2008 crisis youth unemployment has been stubbornly high in Western Asia and Northern Africa, particularly among

highly educated youth, as well as in Southern Europe, reaching record-high levels in such countries as Greece, Italy and Spain; in Greece the proportion of unemployed youth stood at 52 per cent in May 2015.⁴⁸

High and growing youth unemployment rates are coupled with longer job searches and with a surge in the number of discouraged young workers who are not counted among the unemployed because they are not actively seeking employment and are therefore at high risk of long-term labour market and overall social exclusion. While some of these discouraged youth may have returned to the education system due to poor job prospects during the crisis, the number of youth who are neither in employment nor in education or training (NEET) increased during the crisis, and remain stubbornly high. In OECD countries alone, almost 39 million young people (15.5 per cent of all youth) were neither working nor in education or training in 2013.⁴⁹ The estimated percentage was higher in Latin America (20 per cent) in 2011 (ILO, 2013c). Data for Brazil highlight the gender and racial dimensions of this predicament: 14 per cent of young men were not in education or in paid employment in 2013 as compared with one in every four young women (ECLAC, 2015). However, the percentage of NEETs went up to 30 per cent among young women of African descent (ECLAC, 2015).

Beyond the discouragement brought about by lack of youth employment opportunities, expanding educational prospects have also contributed to a long-term decline in labour force participation rates among young women and men. Thus lowering participation rates are not necessarily a cause or a symptom of growing exclusion among youth. In fact, high labour market participation among adolescents in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia strongly curtails their future economic prospects (ILO, 2015a). However, the persistent gender gap in participation rates among youth does indicate that, for young women, low participation is not only due to rising education but also to their disproportionate burden in performing unpaid tasks, such as housework and care of family members, and to other sociocultural factors that keep them excluded from completing their education and engaging in paid work (UNRISD, 2010; ILO, 2015a).

Labour market exclusion is also stark among persons with disabilities, who may be employed but unable to fully use their human capital, may not be able to find jobs due to a wide range of barriers or may have left the labour force in the face of a lack of opportunities. Census data estimates indicate that the labour force participation rate of persons with disabilities is 20 percentage points below that of the rest of the population on average in the 27 countries

⁴⁸ Eurostat database. Available from <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/data/database>.

⁴⁹ OECD Data. Available from <https://data.oecd.org/youthinac/youth-not-in-education-or-employment-neet.htm>.

shown in figure III.4.⁵⁰ Persons with mental health difficulties or intellectual impairments often have the lowest employment rates (WHO and World Bank, 2011).

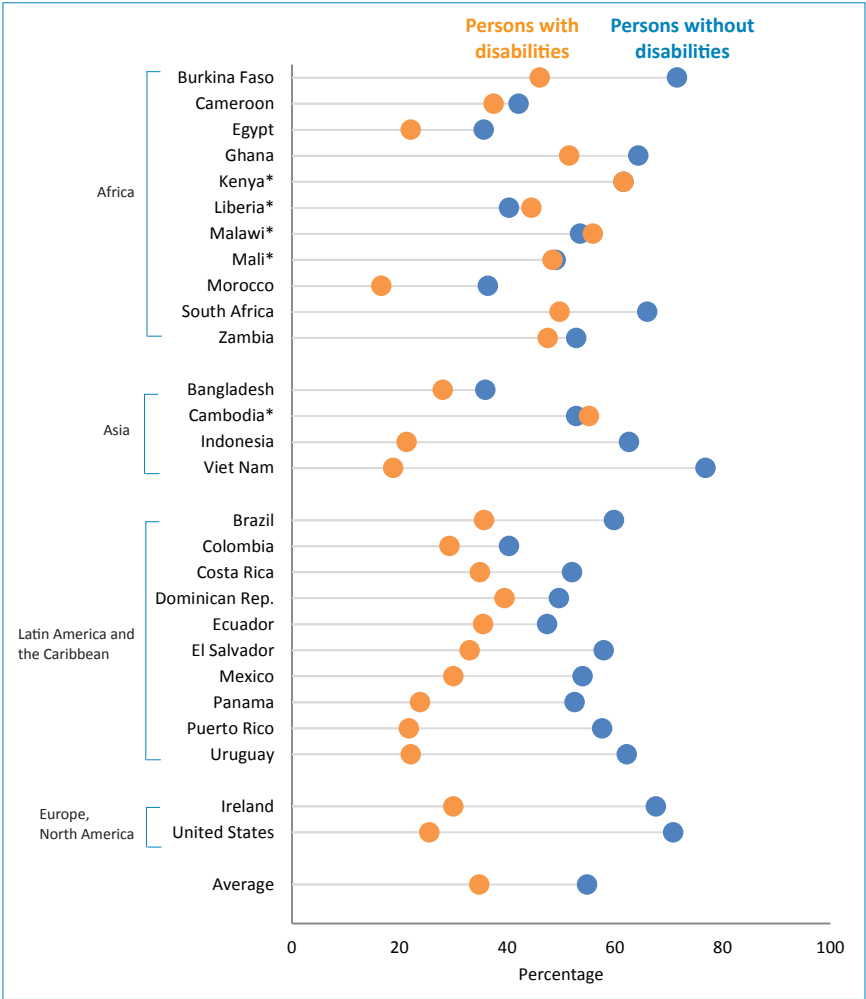
While lower participation rates among persons with disabilities are to be expected, as their impairment may prevent them from performing certain tasks or limit the amount of work they can do, the existing evidence suggests that their potential has been largely unfulfilled. Persons with disabilities face physical barriers in accessing education as well as the workplace, especially in their daily travel. Moreover, there are misconceptions among employers and society at large about the ability of persons with disabilities to work and about their potential productivity, as well as open discrimination. Studies in developed countries show that, when employed, persons with disabilities earn less than workers without disabilities who demonstrate similar productivity, for instance (Jones, 2008; Burchardt, 2000; Statistics New Zealand, 2014). A study of the economic losses associated with the gap between the potential and actual productivity of persons with disabilities – diminished by such aspects as lack of adequate transport and physical accessibility, and lower education – puts such losses between 3 and 7 per cent of GDP in the 10 low- and middle-income countries covered (Buckup, 2009). In addition to these losses are those incurred by family members with caretaking responsibilities, particularly in countries lacking comprehensive social protection systems.

Unemployment and inactivity do not fully reflect the scope and nature of the employment challenge among youth, persons with disabilities and other disadvantaged groups. In contexts of high levels of poverty or where social protection systems are lacking, most workers cannot afford to stay unemployed. Differences in employment status as well as those in occupational level give additional insight into the disadvantages faced by youth and other social groups. Regarding employment status, youth work without pay as contributing family workers more often than adults do (figure III.5), as do individuals of all ages self-reportedly belonging to an indigenous group in the Latin American countries shown in figure III.6.⁵¹ Unpaid workers, who are most often employed in small family-owned farms but are increasingly present in non-farm house-

⁵⁰ The labour force participation rate of persons with disabilities is significantly below that of persons without disabilities in all countries shown except for Cambodia, Kenya, Liberia, Malawi and Mali, where differences in participation between the two groups are not significant. In general, participation rates of persons with disabilities are relatively higher in poorer countries – relative to participation rates of persons without disabilities – where social protection systems are lacking, as many people, including those with disabilities, cannot afford not to work.

⁵¹ Unpaid workers are persons who work without pay in an economic enterprise, most often operated by a related person living in the same household. Unpaid workers are therefore in the labour market and should not be confounded with individuals performing unpaid work outside the labour market in activities that, although productive, are not included in the System of National Accounts production boundary. Information on unpaid work outside the labour market is often collected in time-use surveys. For an analysis of gender aspects of unpaid work, see United Nations (2015a).

Figure III.4
Labour force participation, by disability status in selected countries and areas, latest available data since 2000



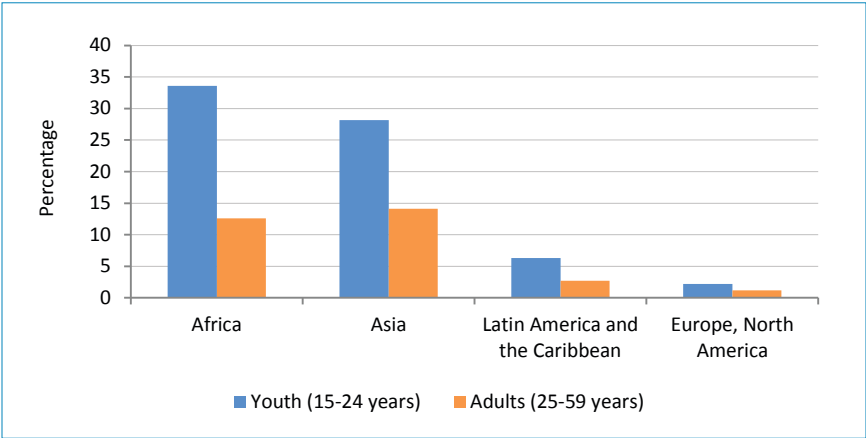
Source: Calculations are based on census data from the Minnesota Population Center (2015)

Note: The figure shows data from the most recent national population census of each country or area shown (2000 or 2010 round), as collected by national statistical offices, containing data on labour force participation and disability status, and available from the Minnesota Population Center repository. Census questions on disability differ among countries and areas, and there are likely to be cultural interpretations of disability that cause differences in response rates as well. In addition, some census questionnaires explicitly state that only permanent conditions are to be considered as disabilities. Where samples provide several degrees of difficulty in carrying on daily tasks, the Minnesota Population Center repository applies the threshold of “significant” or “severe” difficulty to define disability. While the percentage of persons reporting a disability may differ across census samples, disability data are used here mainly to compare persons with disabilities, however defined, with persons without disabilities within each country or area shown.

* Differences in the participation rate are not significant at the $p < 0.001$ level.

Figure III.5

Share of workers in unpaid jobs, by age and region, latest available data since 2000



Source: Calculations are based on census data from the Minnesota Population Center (2015)

Note: Weighted regional averages are based on data from the most recent population census of 15 countries in Africa, 12 in Asia, 15 in Latin America and the Caribbean and 11 developed countries as collected by national statistical offices and available from the Minnesota Population Center repository.

Workers are classified according to the International Classification by Status in Employment (ISCE-93) system as employees, employers, own-account workers, members of cooperatives, unpaid family workers and non-classifiable workers.

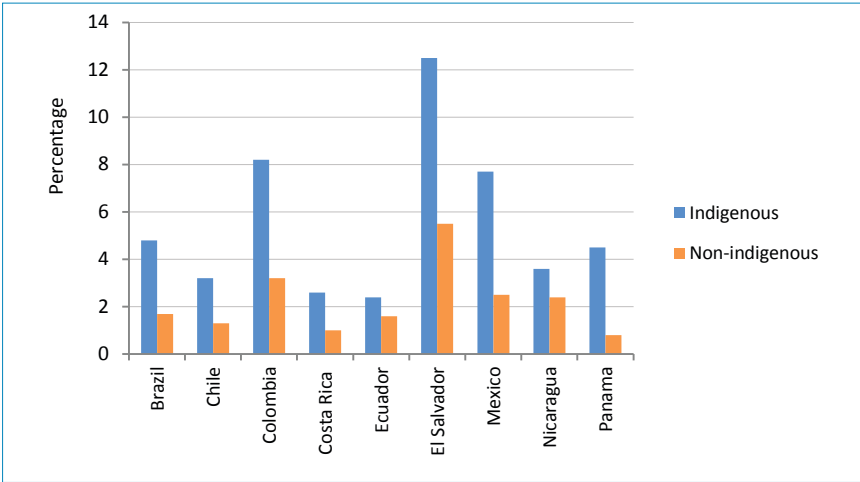
hold enterprises, have scarce opportunities to organize collectively or to voice their concerns, little ability to accumulate savings and assets as well as limited access to social protection and are, therefore, at high risk of poverty.

Regarding occupation, even though the skill composition of the workforce varies greatly by country, the share of ethnic or racial minority workers in managerial, professional and technical occupations is consistently lower than that of non-indigenous workers, as is the share of persons of African descent and of mixed race, as compared with whites in the countries shown in annex figures A.III.1 and A.III.2. Many of the labour market disadvantages observed stem from the opportunity gaps described in section A, particularly in terms of access to good-quality education. For some groups, namely indigenous peoples and some ethnic minorities, employment opportunities are also curtailed by spatial disadvantages, as they live more often in rural, remote areas characterized by poor infrastructure and little access to off-farm work (Hall and Patrinos, 2012).

Most of the occupational differences observed among ethnic groups, however, persist once the effects of educational attainment and other sociodemographic characteristics are accounted for. By way of example, the results of a logistic regression model shown in table III.1 indicate that,

Figure III.6

Share of workers in unpaid jobs, by indigenous status in selected countries in Latin America, latest available data since 2000



Source: Calculations are based on census data from the Minnesota Population Center (2015)

Note: Data are from the most recent population census (2000 or 2010 round) containing data by indigenous status and employment status, as collected by national statistical offices and available from the Minnesota Population Census repository.

Workers are classified according to the International Classification by Status in Employment (ISCE-93) system as employees, employers, own-account workers, members of producers' cooperatives, unpaid family workers and non-classifiable workers.

adjusting for differences in education, age and place of residence, the racial and indigenous/non-indigenous occupational gaps remain significant in seven of the eight countries included. Odds ratios below 1 indicate a lower likelihood of holding a skilled job relative to that of white, non-indigenous workers.

Race has a strong effect on occupation, particularly in South Africa, where formal discrimination and the denial of opportunities during the apartheid era has left a legacy of racially embedded inequalities, including in the labour market. The relative odds of working in skilled jobs are more than 80 per cent lower for persons of African descent as compared with persons of European descent with equivalent levels of education in that country. Racial differences in occupation are also large in some of the Latin American countries shown, namely Brazil and Ecuador, but are much smaller in Cuba and non-significant in Costa Rica, where members of the Afro-descendant minority work as often as the white majority in senior management and professional positions.⁵² Data

⁵² As opposed to persons of African descent in many of the other countries included in this table, most Costa Ricans of African descent do not trace their lineage to slaves but are primarily the descendants of immigrants from the English-speaking Caribbean that travelled to work as labourers on railway lines and plantations in the Pacific coast (Andrews, 2004). In 1949, immigrants were granted citizenship and access to social programmes (Andrews, 2004).

Table III.1

Logistic regression coefficients of the effect of indigenous status and race on working in a high- or semi-skilled non-manual job^a in selected countries

Country	Census year	Race	Coefficient (odds ratio)	Significance ^b
Brazil	2010	(White) ^c		
		Black	0.55	***
		Indigenous	0.89	
		Mixed race	0.62	***
Costa Rica	2000	Black	1.05	
		Indigenous	0.47	*
		Mixed race	0.92	
Cuba	2002	Black	0.83	***
		Mixed race	0.84	***
Ecuador	2010	Black	0.35	***
		Indigenous	0.30	***
		Mixed race	0.73	***
El Salvador	2007	Black	0.35	***
		Indigenous	0.64	**
South Africa	2007	Black	0.19	***
		Mixed race	0.26	***
Canada	2001	Black	0.91	**
		Mixed race	0.81	***
United States	2010	Black	0.73	***
		Indigenous	0.67	***
		Mixed race	0.93	***

Source: Calculations are based on census data from the Minnesota Population Center (2015).

Note: The logistic regression model controls for race and indigenous status (coefficients shown) and also for age group, educational level (less than primary, completed primary, secondary and tertiary) and place of residence (urban, rural), as defined by each country. The coefficients presented are odds ratios; they represent the multiplicative change in the odds of holding a skilled job for persons of African descent or mixed race and indigenous peoples with respect to white, non-indigenous persons.

^a Defined as the share in managerial, professional, technical and clerical occupations (International Standard Classification of Occupations 2008 groups 1, 2, 3 and 4). Clerical occupations include mainly insurance and real estate agents, secretaries and other office employees, clerks, bankers and cashiers. These are non-manual jobs that require some secondary education and training and are frequently performed away from home.

^b * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$.

^c White, non-indigenous persons are the reference category for all countries shown in table III.1.

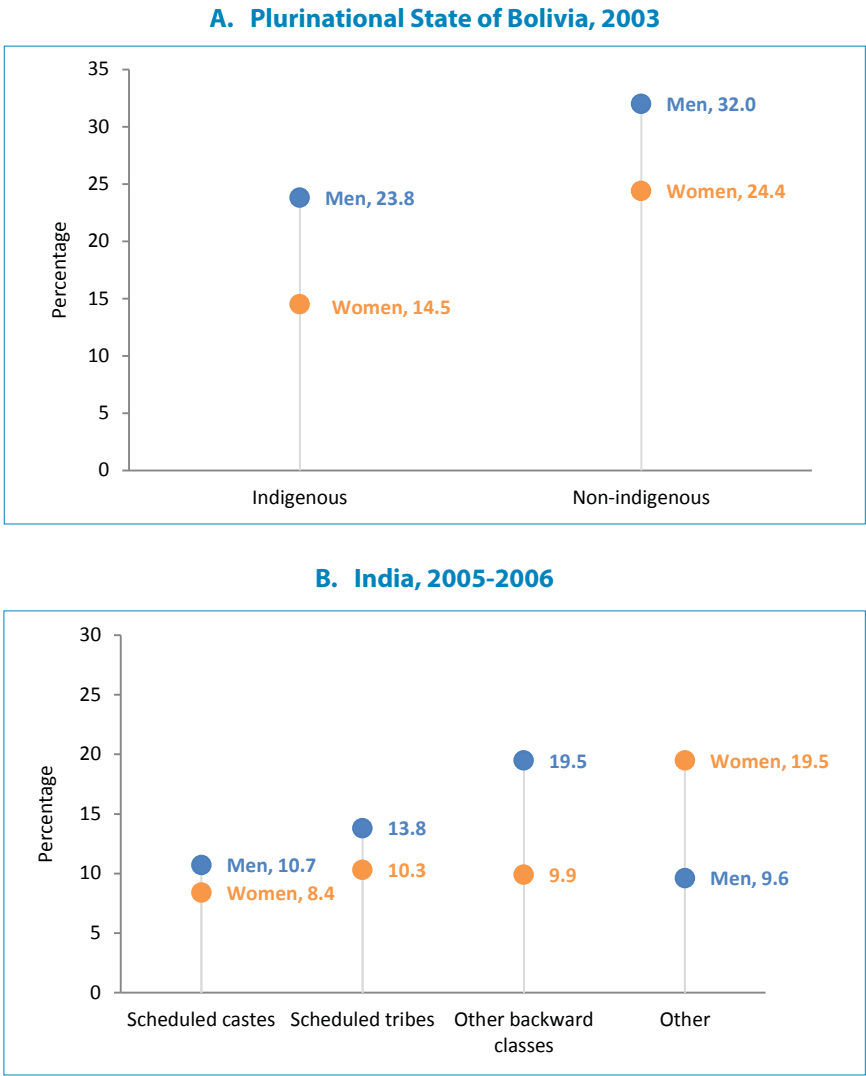
show occupational disadvantages for the Afro-descendant minority in the two developed countries included in the analysis as well, that is, in Canada and, particularly, the United States.

Indigenous status has a strong negative effect on occupation in most of the countries shown, developing and developed, and particularly in Ecuador, where the odds of working in a skilled job are more than 70 per cent lower for members of indigenous communities than for the non-indigenous – the odds ratio of indigenous to non-indigenous is 0.30. In Brazil, the indigenous occupational disadvantage is not significant, suggesting that place of residence and exclusion from good-quality education are key factors in the observed indigenous/non-indigenous gap in occupational status in this case. In sum, indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities are disadvantaged in employment – or overeducated for the jobs they do – in most of the countries shown.

Research shows that immigrants also tend to be overeducated for the jobs they do. For example, across the OECD countries, more than one third of immigrants with a tertiary degree were found to be overqualified for their jobs as compared with one in four native-born persons (OECD, 2015a). The gap is even wider in Southern Europe, where as many as 50 per cent of migrants are overqualified as compared with 25 per cent of natives, as well as among immigrant women as compared with both immigrant men and native women (OECD, 2015a). Overqualification affects even those immigrants who obtained their degrees in their host country.

As discussed in section A, many individuals belong to more than one disadvantaged group and as a result experience cumulative disadvantages. In Europe, for instance, labour market participation and employment rates fell faster among immigrant youth than among adults during the 2008 crisis and have continued to fall during the post-crisis period (2011–2014), while they have increased or remained stable among immigrant adults and among native youth during this last period (OECD, 2015a). Research has also shown that women from disadvantaged groups fare systematically worse than men, including in the labour market (Kabeer, 2010; World Bank, 2013; OECD, 2015a). In figure III.7, the gap between the share of women and men in skilled, non-manual occupations is larger among indigenous peoples than among the non-indigenous in the Plurinational State of Bolivia (panel A) and among members of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward classes in India than among the rest of that country's population (panel B). That is, not only do women from disadvantaged minorities in these two countries fare worse than minority men or non-minority women in terms of occupation, but belonging to an indigenous group or a scheduled caste also has a larger negative effect on women than on men. Similarly, research in eight countries of Latin America shows that, at comparable levels of schooling, indigenous women receive lower labour incomes than indigenous men and non-indigenous women (ECLAC, 2015).

Figure III.7
Share of workers in skilled jobs, by sex and indigenous status or caste-based reservation status, selected countries



Source: Calculations are based on data from Demographic and Health Surveys.

2. Poverty outcomes

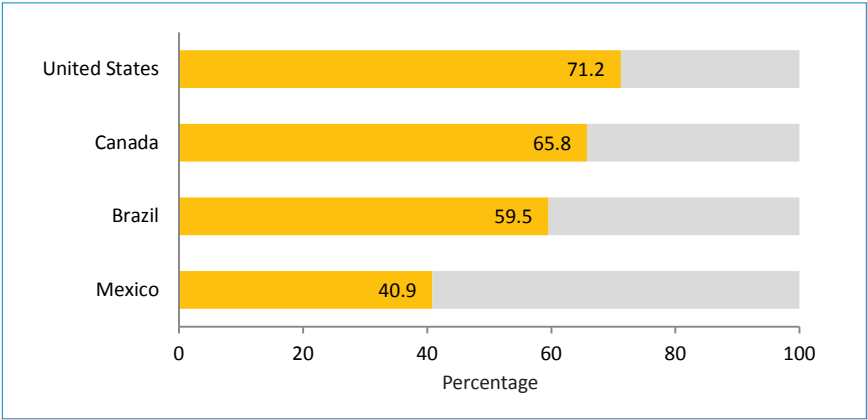
Despite the overall progress seen in poverty reduction, there are significant disparities in levels of income and in the risk of poverty experienced by different social groups, partly as a result of gaps in access to education, health care, employment and productive assets. Evidence suggests, for instance, that indigenous peoples constitute more than 10 per cent of the world's poor despite accounting for just about 4 per cent of the world's total population (Hall and Patrinos, 2012). In OECD countries, immigrants are twice as likely as the native-born to live in households which fall within the poorest income decile and below the national poverty threshold, even at comparable levels of education (OECD, 2015a). In 11 European countries with significant Roma populations, 87 per cent of the Roma are at risk of poverty – defined by the European Union as living on an income below 60 per cent of the national median – while only 46 per cent of non-Roma individuals living near Roma communities and 17 per cent of the total population of these countries are at risk of poverty (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2012).

Not only are members of these social groups more likely to live in poverty, but they have lower average incomes and experience deeper poverty than the rest of the population. The illustrative examples shown in figure III.8 indicate that the reported average income of indigenous persons is lower than that of the rest of the population. Additional research indicates that the ethnicity poverty gap – that is, the amount of income that would be needed to lift people to the poverty line – is significant in many countries. In China, ethnic minorities would require twice the amount of income as the majority just to reach the poverty line and thereby escape poverty; in Gabon, indigenous peoples would need three times as much income, while in Viet Nam, it would take seven times as much income for ethnic minorities to reach the poverty line (Hall and Patrinos, 2012). Persons with disabilities also possess fewer assets and endure worse living conditions than persons without disabilities, as illustrated in figure III.9, which is similar to the situation of older persons, partly because of higher health-care expenditures and other disability-related costs (WHO and World Bank, 2011; United Nations, 2013a).

Location – specifically, the fact that these minority groups live in rural areas and in remote locations more often than the majority – plays an important role in the poverty outcomes observed. Estimates of multidimensional destitution or extreme multidimensional poverty, defined as extreme deprivation in 10 non-monetary indicators, indicate that destitution is more prevalent among rural than among urban populations and that the urban-rural gap in destitution is larger than the urban-rural poverty gap in the majority of countries with data (Alkire, Roche and Vaz, 2014).⁵³

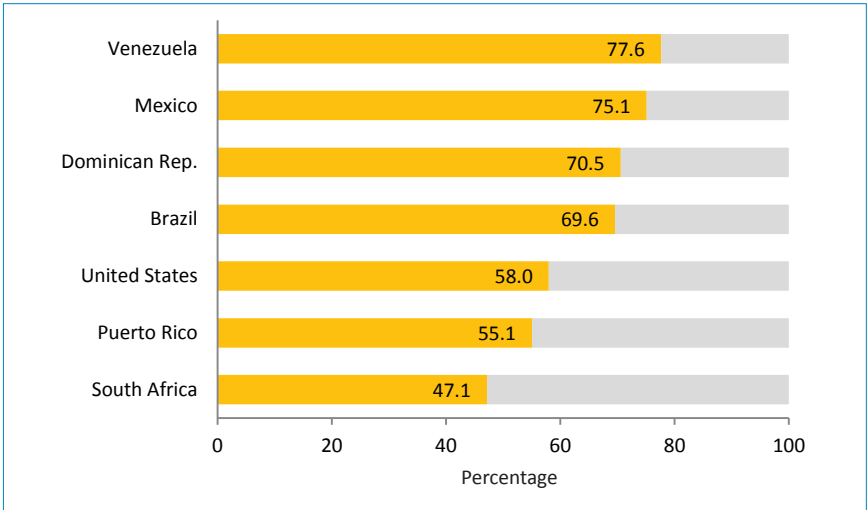
⁵³ Multidimensional destitution has more extreme deprivation cut-offs in the 10 indicators used than does multidimensional poverty. For instance, households are counted as destitute if two or more children have died (while multidimensional poverty requires only that one child died), if one member

Figure III.8
Income per capita of indigenous persons, latest available data since 2000
(As a percentage of income per capita of non-indigenous persons)



Source: Calculations are based on census data from the Minnesota Population Center (2015).
Note: Data are from the most recent population census (2000 or 2010 round), containing data by indigenous status and total personal income in the previous month or year as collected by national statistical offices and available from the Minnesota Population Census repository.

Figure III.9
Income per capita of persons with disabilities, latest available data since 2000
(As a percentage of income per capita of persons without disabilities)



Source: Calculations are based on census data from the Minnesota Population Center (2015).

Furthermore, members of these groups are more likely to remain in poverty over the long term. Research on the dynamics of poverty, based on a growing body of longitudinal data, indicate that certain attributes, such as caste, ethnicity, religion and class, heighten the risk of chronic poverty and of transmitting poverty to the next generation (Bird, 2007; Bhide and Mehta, 2004; Sumner, 2013; Reddy, 2015). Reddy (2015) found that not only are intergenerational social mobility and related escapes from poverty lower among men in scheduled tribes and scheduled castes than among other men, but the former also experienced a stronger-than-average decline in mobility, particularly upward mobility, between 1983 and 2012. Research also points to the fact that, in addition to having less education and fewer assets, members of these social groups receive lesser returns on the assets they do possess. Some groups, namely migrants and some ethnic minorities, also face barriers in accessing social protection schemes. They are excluded not only from economic institutions but also from social and political ones, as discussed in the next section, or if not entirely excluded, are included on adverse terms (ODI, 2014).

As observed in section A, whether development is leaving some groups behind depends on context. For example, Alkire, Roche and Vaz (2014) found that the gap between the multidimensional poverty index (MPI) of the poorest and richest ethnic group increased between 2001 and 2006 in Benin while in Kenya the poorest ethnic group enjoyed the largest absolute reduction in poverty during the 2000s (Alkire, Roche and Vaz, 2014, table A.11). As for the spatial dynamics of exclusion, these authors observed that, in 34 developing countries studied during the 2000s, 26 experienced significant reductions in multidimensional poverty in urban areas and 30 recorded reductions in rural areas. Furthermore, in rural areas the MPI headcount ratio was reduced faster than in urban areas – by 1.3 per cent and 1 per cent per year respectively. Likewise, rural reductions in multidimensional destitution were statistically significant in 27 countries, whereas urban reductions were significant in only 20 countries. Analysis by the United Nations (2013a) also showed that, despite persistent rural disadvantages, improvements in education, health and nutrition during the last decade have often been faster in rural than in urban areas of developing countries, even though trends vary significantly across countries. Results are even more mixed at the subnational regional level. In a study of 31 countries, the poorest subnational area made the largest strides in reducing multidimensional poverty in only nine countries (Alkire, Roche and Vaz, 2015). The majority of those countries that saw the fastest declines in multidimensional poverty also succeeded in reducing disparities across regions (Alkire, Roche and Vaz, 2015).

Even though income data on individual household members are

is severely malnourished, etc. For a comparison of rural-urban levels of multidimensional destitution and multidimensional poverty, see Alkire, Roche and Vaz (2014), tables A.5 and A.13.

generally lacking, the existing evidence indicates that differences exist also in the intrahousehold distribution of resources within and across social groups. Research on the gender dimension of expenditure allocations shows that resources are often not shared equitably between boys and girls – with boys benefiting disproportionately from investments in health care, private education and childcare – and that women are often excluded from economic decision-making within their households (United Nations, 2015a). Female and male poverty rates are similar overall, but not at all ages or for all household characteristics. Women in developed countries are more likely than men to be poor at older ages, particularly when living alone, while differences by sex among youth aged 18-24 years are noticeable only in a small number of countries. In Latin America and the Caribbean in contrast, women are most likely to be poorer than men in young adulthood, that is, between the ages of 25 and 34 (United Nations, 2015a). Poverty is also more prevalent among female-headed households than among male-headed households, even though poverty reduction has been faster in the former, at least across Africa, since the late 1990s (Milazzo and van de Walle, 2015). There are many characteristics that can affect decision-making and resource allocation within the household beyond sex, namely age and disability, and these vary across cultures and over time. However, there has been little analysis of most of them (Bolt and Bird, 2003).

3. Conclusions

There are significant differences in access to the labour market and in employment opportunities among social groups. These differences persist in many of the examples shown once the effects of education, age structure and area of residence are accounted for. Thus employment inequalities are not driven exclusively by differences in human capital and other basic socioeconomic characteristics. Partly as a result of these employment disadvantages, indigenous peoples, ethnic minorities, migrants and persons with disabilities are more likely to live in poverty and experience deeper poverty than the rest of the population.

Discrimination plays a key role in holding back some groups, as discussed in chapter IV. However, the inequalities observed cannot be attributed solely to bias. The characteristics of different social groups and the circumstances in which they live or seek employment may not be comparable even after accounting for the effect of educational attainment, place of residence or age on employment status. For example, education and place of residence affect access to resources that are not adequately measured through a basic quantitative approach, namely social capital and economic opportunities. Even within what national censuses or surveys define as rural areas, the places where each ethnic group resides may differ in terms of land endowments, access to services and other attributes. Alesina, Michalopoulos

and Papaioannou (2016) showed, for instance, that contemporary differences in development in ethnic homelands have a significant geographic component and that geographic inequality is highly correlated with inequality among ethnic groups and with overall levels of development. Similarly, even at comparable educational levels, returns to education may be lower among disadvantaged groups because of the inferior quality of the education some receive (Hall and Patrinos, 2012). The root of these inequalities may certainly lie in historical exclusion and discrimination, including the appropriation of the most valuable lands of indigenous peoples and other ethnic minorities by colonizers or other groups. However, these inequalities now have a direct effect on these groups' opportunities and outcomes, regardless of whether discriminatory behaviours in the labour market persist.

C. Unequal participation in political, civic and cultural life

The analysis of social inclusion would be incomplete without consideration of the relationships and interactions of individuals and groups, as well as their political participation. Equal opportunity to participate in political life and an equitable distribution of power, voice and agency in a society are key to ensuring that no one is left behind. These can also be considered as elements of a broad definition of "citizenship" beyond legal status⁵⁴ that encompasses access to resources (including benefits such as pensions), opportunities, participation, agency and choice, and the right to social mobility.

Examination of political, civic and cultural aspects in the study of social exclusion is important for three other reasons. First, lack of participation in political, civic and cultural processes implies limited power and voice in affecting the attitudes, norms, institutions and policies that drive social exclusion in the first place. Second, participation in these processes generates relationships and networks that can lead to collective action and build social capital, which in turn affects access to employment, income, health and education. Third, since many aspects of political, civic and cultural participation are voluntary in nature, they reveal subjective facets of social inclusion that are not captured by indicators that measure, for instance, access to income, shelter and employment (Bevelander and Pendakur, 2011).

This section contains a summary of findings from the empirical literature and an examination of data from the World Values Survey.⁵⁵ In the first

⁵⁴ Legal status is used here as synonymous with *nationality*, which typically confers the rights to live and work in a particular nation State and to participate in its politics while being subject to taxation.

⁵⁵ Successive waves of the World Values Surveys include representative national samples of the residents of more than 90 countries throughout the world, covering a period of more than 30 years. Throughout this section, data are shown only for those countries with at least 100 respondents per group and where the differences between groups tested are statistically significant at $p < 0.01$, unless

subsection, disparities in political participation are assessed on the basis of data on self-reported voting in national elections, indicators of political activism, including participation in demonstrations and boycotts, and the representation of different social groups in Government. In the second subsection, there is a discussion of membership in voluntary associations and levels of generalized trust as measures of participation in civic and cultural life. Also covered in this section are issues of access to justice and rule of law, measured by confidence in the police and courts.

1. Unequal political participation

a. Participation in the democratic process

Voting in national and local elections forms the basis of the democratic process. It measures the degree to which individuals take part in decision-making processes on a very broad level and therefore constitutes an important measure of social inclusion (Burchardt, Le Grand and Piachaud, 2002). Conversely, the systematic exclusion of individuals and groups from political participation calls into question the legitimacy of governing institutions.

Many of the models used to predict voter turnout are focused on the effects of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics: higher education, in particular, and higher income lead to stronger political engagement when measured by voting behaviour, particularly in developed countries (Pande, 2011). The relationship between educational attainment and voting behaviour is less direct in developing countries partly due to institutional constraints, such as electoral malpractice in the form of vote buying or intimidation and electoral violence, or due to limited access to information about the political process and politicians' actions (Pande, 2011). Institutional barriers to registering and voting affect participation as well, as do social networks, trust in the political system, attitudinal factors, such as partisanship, political interest and political efficacy, and mobilization by political actors (Ramakrishnan and Espenshade, 2001).

With regard to institutional barriers to registering and voting, very few countries have legal provisions that exclude citizens from voting in all elections on the basis of ascribed characteristics, such as race, ethnicity or sex, which is far from the case a century ago. Yet disparities in voting patterns remain. For instance, although there are no restrictions on voter registration among people with disabilities in the United Kingdom, they are less likely to be registered to vote than people with no disabilities, have lower voter turnout and encounter difficulties in terms of physical access to voting locations, and these are not overcome by absentee voting due to the unclear directions provided (Barnes and Mercer, 2010).

Differences in self-reported voter turnout by race and ethnicity are significant in about half of countries with data from WVS.⁵⁶ In countries where such differences are significant, those who identify with an ethnic majority group report higher voter turnout than those belonging to ethnic minority groups in all but two countries shown in figure III.10: Iraq and South Africa.⁵⁷ In Iraq, a higher percentage of Kurdish and Turk than Arab respondents reported having voted in elections. It should be noted that the autonomous Kurdistan Region in northern Iraq holds separate elections, including the one held in 2013, which was the same year as the World Values Survey was last conducted in Iraq. In South Africa, those who identified as white, coloured or Asian more frequently reported voting than those who identified as black, which reflects the historical legacy of apartheid in that country. The largest racial and ethnic gap in voting is seen in the Netherlands – the only European country shown in figure III.10 – despite Government efforts to increase the political participation of ethnic minorities at the local level.⁵⁸

A number of factors can account for why the differences by race and ethnicity are not significant in other countries. One important distinction is that several of the countries where racial and ethnic differences in voting are not significant have compulsory voting laws, including Australia, Brazil, Chile (although such laws were abandoned in that country in 2012), Mexico and Peru; these countries enforce mandatory voting through a number of sanctions, such as fines or disenfranchisement (López Pintor and Gratschew, 2002). Where voting is compulsory, differences in voter turnout between social groups tend to be lower (López Pintor and Gratschew, 2002).

The right to vote in a country is generally determined by legal citizenship, thus excluding non-naturalized immigrants. In this sense, difficulties in the acquisition of citizenship (and in registering to vote once citizenship has been obtained) constitute a barrier to the political participation of migrants. However, evidence suggests that in general those migrants who have become citizens of the country in which they live do not exercise their voting rights as often as native-born citizens. Among OECD countries, for instance, native-born citizens were generally more likely to have voted in the last election than immigrants who had become naturalized citizens (OECD, 2015a). Among

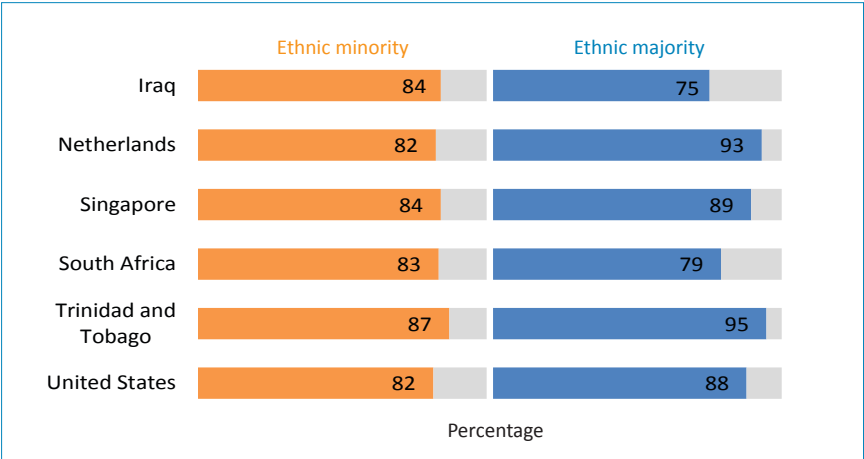
⁵⁶ Survey data on self-reported voter turnout generally indicate higher levels of voting than that reflected in national records. However, national records are not strictly comparable with survey data. A question in the World Values Survey, for instance, does not refer to a specific election in question, but instead general voting behaviour: “When elections take place, do you vote always, usually or never?”

⁵⁷ Due to the high percentage of immigrants not eligible to vote among racial and ethnic minorities in some countries, the analysis here excludes non-naturalized immigrants, except in Singapore, where a question on citizenship was not included in the survey.

⁵⁸ Since 1985 foreign residents have been eligible to vote in local elections. By 1998 the four main migrant groups were proportionally represented in the municipal councils of the four largest cities in the Netherlands (Fennema and Tillie, 2001).

Figure III.10

Percentage of respondents who indicated they always or usually vote in national elections, by race/ethnicity, latest available data since 2010



Source: World Values Survey, Wave 6 (2010-2014).

Note: Data are displayed only for countries with World Values Survey data available, where sample sizes are equal to or greater than 100 for each group and where the difference in the likelihood of voting by ethnicity is significant at the $p<0.01$ level.

For the countries included in the figure, ethnic minority respondents include those respondents who identified as Kurdish, Turkish or “other” in Iraq; as black, Asian or “other” in the Netherlands; as Malay, South Asian or Arab in Singapore; as white, South Asian, East Asian or coloured in South Africa; as Indo-Trinidadian or “other” in Trinidad and Tobago; and as Hispanic or Latino, non-Hispanic black, non-Hispanic Asian or Pacific islander or two or more races in the United States of America. Racial/ethnic gaps in voter turnout were not statistically significant at this level in Algeria, Australia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Mexico, Peru, Uzbekistan and Taiwan Province of China.

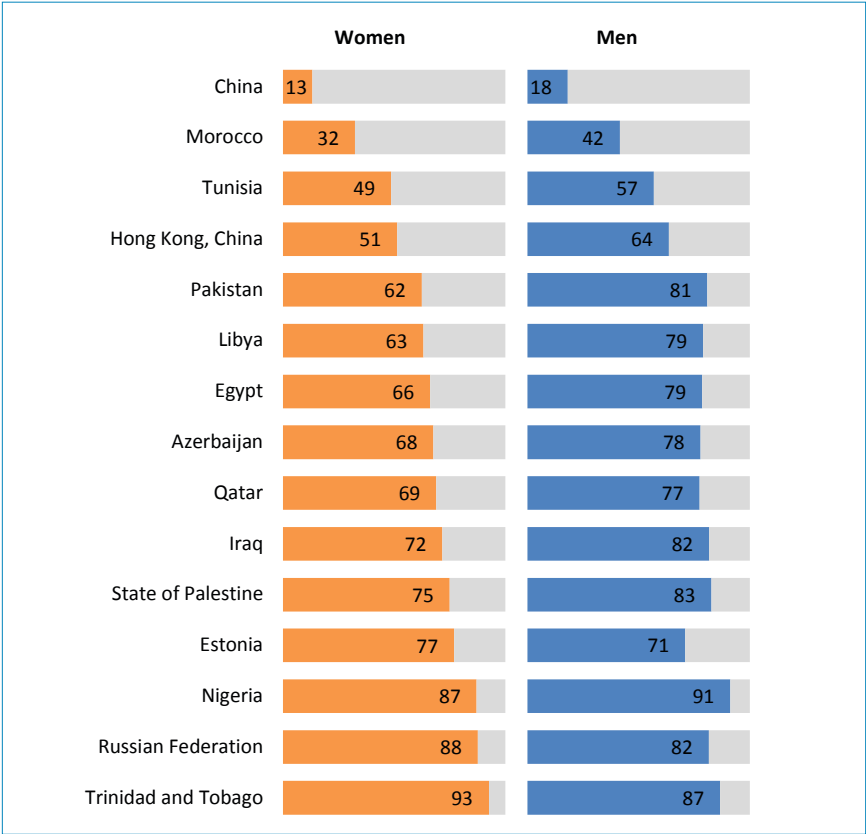
If the definition of statistical significance is relaxed to $p<0.05$, statistically significant differences are exhibited in Belarus and Ghana in favour of members of ethnic minority groups, and in Libya, Malaysia and New Zealand in favour of those respondents identifying with the ethnic majority group.

naturalized citizens, those who have been living in their country of residence for 10 years or longer vote more often than foreign-born citizens who have resided in the country for less than 10 years (OECD, 2015a, figure 11.A1.2). Furthermore, migrants married to native citizens from the host countries or those whose social networks include native citizens and those who participate in voluntary associations have higher voter turnout than those who do not (Togeby, 1999; Fennema and Tillie, 2001; Beverlander and Pendakur, 2011). Evidence from Canada, the Netherlands and the United States suggests also that migrants who originate from countries without a democratic system in place are less likely to vote than those who come from a democratic country (Fennema and Tillie, 2001; National Academies of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine, 2015). Thus, such elements as access to citizenship and voter

registration are not the only factors that affect the political exclusion of migrants.

Historically, suffrage has also been denied to women, although currently very few countries have legal provisions that exclude women from voting in all elections. Voter turnout does not differ significantly between men and women in the majority of countries that participated in the latest round of WVS, with some exceptions. Shown in figure III.11 are those countries and areas

Figure III.11
Percentage of women and men who indicated they always or usually vote in national elections, latest available data since 2010



Source: World Values Survey, Wave 6 (2010-2014).
Note: Data are displayed only for countries with World Values Survey data available, where sample sizes are greater than 100 and where the difference in the likelihood of voting by sex is significant at the $p<0.01$ level.
If the level of significance is relaxed to $p<0.05$, women were more likely to report voting often in national elections in Belarus and South Africa, and men were more likely to report voting often in national elections in Kuwait, Lebanon and the Republic of Korea. Significant differences were not found in data for 39 countries and areas with data.

for which gender disparities in self-reported voter turnout were significant, according to WVS data. In Azerbaijan; Egypt; Iraq; Libya; Morocco; Nigeria; Pakistan; Qatar; the State of Palestine; Tunisia; and Hong Kong, China, the percentage of declared voters is higher among men than women. Women, however, declared that they had voted more often than men in Estonia, the Russian Federation and Trinidad and Tobago.

Prevailing norms, attitudes and behaviours about women's role in society can constrain women's access to political processes. Indeed, countries in the Middle East and North Africa have the highest prevalence of views reinforcing traditional gender roles, according to WVS data as measured by the percentage of respondents who believe that education is more important for boys than for girls and that men make better political leaders than women (World Bank, 2013). The socioeconomic disadvantages experienced by women in the form of lower educational attainment, labour force participation and income could result in less interest in politics as well.

Even though trend data to assess political aspects of inclusion are limited, studies indicate that traditional gender differences in voting behaviour declined starting in the 1980s, or even reversed, in many developed countries (López Pintor and Gratschew, 2002). In the United States, for instance, voter turnout of women has exceeded that of men in presidential elections since 1980, with women's participation being higher than men's among voters younger than 35 years of age (López Pintor and Gratschew, 2002). Voting rates for ethnic minorities (persons of African and Hispanic descent), however, have trailed behind whites since the 1970s (File, 2015).

Gender disparities in voter turnout and the barriers to political participation posed by low educational attainment may be partly addressed by improving political knowledge. Evidence from rural Pakistan – where there are strikingly low levels of literacy among women – indicates that information campaigns significantly increased the likelihood of women's voter turnout and reduced the likelihood of a woman voting for the same candidate as her spouse (Gine and Mansuri, 2011). In the same vein, civic workshops that educated voters increased political participation (as measured by increased attendance at rallies and signing of petitions) in post-conflict rural Liberia through improvements in voter information and coordination, thus enabling voters to better express their desires at the ballot box (Mvukiyehe and Samii, 2015). However, it is often difficult to separate the impact of improved access to electoral information from the mobilization impact of these campaigns in experimental research on voter turnout (Pande, 2011).

Regarding age differentials, youth of voting age tend to vote less frequently than older voters, while older persons are generally more likely to vote than both youth and adults (see figure III.12).⁵⁹ One of the common explanations

⁵⁹ The World Values Survey includes representative samples of the adult population 18 years or

for these differences is that lower interest and motivation to engage in political activity and higher mobility depress voter turnout among youth (Harder and Krosnick, 2008). Among older persons, increased free time and lower overall consumption relative to other age groups result in higher political participation despite the fact that overall levels of education and income tend to be lower among older persons (Campbell, 2002; Leighley, 1995). Campbell (2002) suggested that, in the United States, strong reliance on the Government to guarantee income security through the provision of monthly payments under the Social Security System leads to higher political interest and engagement among low-income older persons compared with low-income individuals of other ages. While the age differences in the likelihood of voting are significant in all countries shown in figure III.12, the size of the gap is smallest among those countries with mandatory voting laws, namely Argentina, Brazil and Peru.

b. Participation in political activism: petition signing, protesting peacefully and boycotting

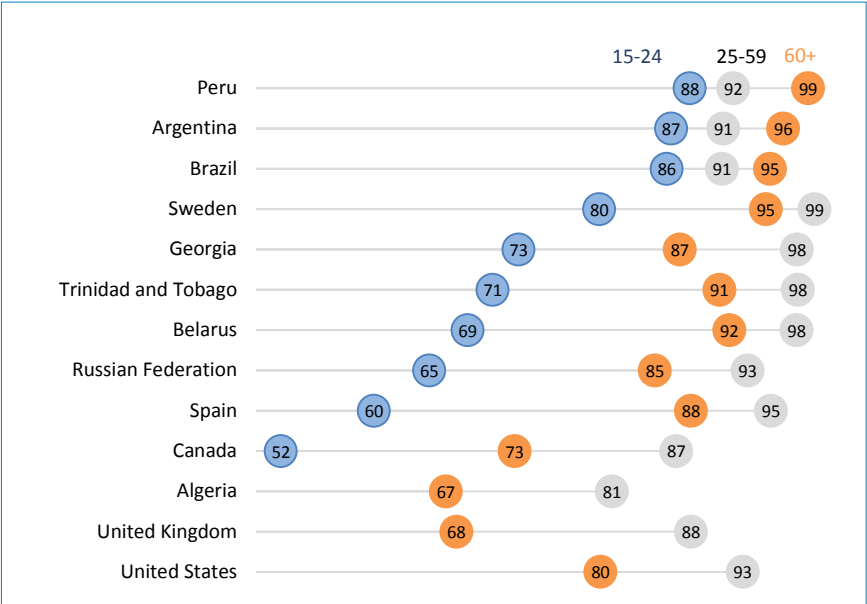
Voting is only one of many indicators of political participation, which can also be expressed through political or civic activities, such as signing petitions, attending peaceful demonstrations or participating in boycotts. For those excluded from conventional political parties and electoral politics, political activism provides an alternative participatory mechanism. While indicators on signing petitions, or participating in peaceful protests or boycotts derived from WVS do not reflect the depth and extent of political activism, they do serve as markers of at least cursory participation in political activity beyond voting.

Political activism is not restricted by citizenship or age. If the lower propensity to vote among young people or migrants is solely due to legal barriers, it may be expected that there would be no difference in other forms of political activism according to age or migrant status. According to WVS, there are no significant differences by age or migrant status in the frequency of signing petitions and participating in protests in the large majority of countries with data. Where significant age differentials exist, they are generally in favour of youth (figure III.13), including in such countries as Brazil, Chile and Tunisia, which in recent years have witnessed important social movements dominated by young people.

The examples of these countries suggest that young people can leverage informal political engagement through activism on issues of importance to them in order to improve such issues despite low political efficacy or voter disengage

older in the majority of countries, which is also the population eligible to vote save in a few cases, such as Japan and Malaysia, where the legal age of voting is set at 20 and 21 years of age respectively. The exception to this rule is South Africa, where 15 years is the legal age to vote, and WVS respondents were aged 15 and older as well. Although young respondents may have been of legal age to vote at the time of the survey, they may have not yet been eligible to vote due to their age if the most recent national election had been held before they came of age.

Figure III.12
Percentage of respondents who indicated they always or usually vote in national elections, by age group, latest available data since 2005



Source: World Values Survey, Waves 5 (2005-2009) and 6 (2010-2014).
Note: Calculations include only cases where sample sizes are equal to or greater than 100. Data are displayed only for countries with World Values Survey data available and where the difference in voter turnout between youth and adults aged 25-59 years and between adults aged 25-59 and older adults is significant at the $p < 0.01$ level.

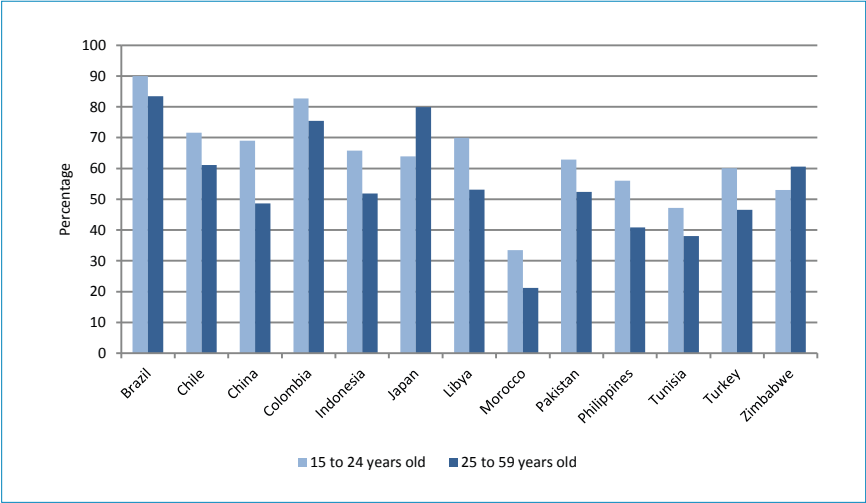
ment (or inability to vote). While such engagement is used here as a manifestation of inclusion, it may also be a symptom of the exclusion of youth from formal political processes and, more broadly, from economic and social life.

c. Equal representation in political systems

In inclusive and democratic societies, the composition of political parties and government bodies ideally should reflect that of the country’s population. Policy measures and social movements have advocated, sometimes successfully, for measures to encourage more equal representation. Electoral quotas for women, for instance, exist in more than 120 countries.⁶⁰ Although women’s political representation as measured by the proportion of women in parliament nearly doubled globally from 12 per cent in 1997 to 22 per cent in 2015, only a small number of countries have surpassed the parity line of 50

⁶⁰ For a more detailed global analysis of gender quotas in single or lower houses of parliament, see United Nations (2015a).

Figure III.13
Proportion of individuals signing petitions, protesting or boycotting in the year preceding the survey, by age group, latest available data since 2006



Source: World Values Survey, Waves 5 (2005-2009) and 6 (2010-2014).
Note: Data are displayed only for countries with World Values Survey data available, where sample sizes are equal to or greater than 100 and where the difference in the likelihood of political action by age is significant at the $p<0.02$ level.
Significant differences by age were not found in 47 countries and areas with data. If the level of significance is relaxed to $p<0.05$, youth were more likely to engage in political activism in Moldova; Trinidad and Tobago; and Hong Kong, China, whereas adults 25-59 years old were more likely to engage in political activism than youth in Australia.

per cent (United Nations, 2015a). Women’s representation in the executive branches of Government has also increased, although they continue to be grossly underrepresented, especially in high-ranking government positions (United Nations, 2015a). Nordic countries, where the representation of women in national parliaments has been the world’s highest for decades, no longer hold the record. Rwanda was ranked number one in 2015 (64 per cent of women) followed by the Plurinational State of Bolivia (53 per cent) (United Nations, 2015a).

Some countries have established reserved seats and quotas for other disadvantaged groups in order to improve their political representation. India, for instance, has seats reserved for scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward classes (Deshpande, 2013). In Nepal, ethnic minority groups were underrepresented in political parties and all three branches of Government until the introduction of a proportionate representation and reservation system in 2007 (Gurung, Tamang and Turin, 2014). Similarly, several countries in Latin America and the Caribbean reserve a small

percentage of parliamentary or legislative seats for indigenous people (Htun and Ossa, 2013).

Proportional representation in political bodies has often increased the inclusiveness and responsiveness of Government to the needs and viewpoints of groups traditionally excluded from decision-making processes. In general, women in parliament are more likely than men to prioritize gender and social issues, such as childcare, equal pay, parental leave, pensions, reproductive rights and protection against gender-based violence (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2008). After a constitutional amendment reserved one third of seats and one third of head positions for women in local councils in India's *panchayat* system, women's participation as eligible voters increased in the councils, which also more often addressed women's concerns than had previously been the case (Chattopadhyay and Duflo, 2004). Similarly, increased political representation of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes increased their influence on policymaking (Pande, 2003).

2. Differences in participation in civic and cultural life

Participation in civic and cultural life is closely tied to political and other forms of participation, such that disentangling the impact that interactions among family, friends, colleagues and associational memberships have on individual and community well-being is a complex matter. Frequent social interaction can generate social capital upon which individuals can draw in times of need, including to find employment, and is therefore particularly important for individuals and households with less economic resources. High levels of social capital have also been found to promote collaboration and cooperative action at large and therefore have positive effects on economic development, institutions and governance. Research indicates, for instance, that societies with higher levels of social capital stand a better chance of becoming democratic and stable (Kuzio, 2001). However, social networks do not automatically bestow benefits on individuals and groups. In some cases, such networks may in fact foster exclusion, particularly if they are composed solely of individuals from the same social group, community or socioeconomic stratum (Granovetter, 2005; Lin, Ensel and Vaughn, 1981). In these cases, while social networks may be strong, they frequently lack the power and capital to achieve the groups' desired ends (DeFilippis, 2001).

The evidence reviewed shows that the size of one's social network and the availability of social support provided through networks differ significantly by age, income level and social and cultural context. Several studies have demonstrated, for instance, positive effects of social capital and support on the health and well-being of older persons (Litwin, 2010). Data from the British Household Panel Survey indicate that, among older adults in the United Kingdom, talking to neighbours and meeting with people "most days" was positively associated with the availability of social support, as was

participation in sports clubs and religious organizations, and having children⁶¹ (Gray, 2009). Older adults in the Mediterranean countries of France, Greece, Israel, Italy and Spain had larger families and households and received more social support from within the household, but expressed more loneliness, exhibited more depressive symptoms and were more likely to perceive their income as inadequate than their peers in the non-Mediterranean countries of Austria, Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, Sweden and Switzerland (Litwin, 2010).⁶² Conversely, older adults in non-Mediterranean countries reported lower social support from within the household but greater exchange of support with individuals outside of the household and lower levels of loneliness, depression and income inadequacy (Litwin, 2010). The comparison between these two groups of countries thus highlights the ways in which the relationship between informal ties and social support differs depending on cultural and country-specific factors in the context in question.

Several studies have documented the role of social capital generated by migrant networks in increasing the likelihood of migrating abroad (Massey, 1990). Social capital generated by migrant networks is posited to reduce the costs and risks of migration through the provision of information or assistance at the place of destination by individuals who have migrated previously. Having broader networks with “weaker” ties (extended family and friends) appears to increase the likelihood of migrating abroad as well (Liu, 2013). Research in Thailand indicates that individuals rely more on their friends in the village than on resources provided by household members when deciding whether to migrate within the country (Garip, 2008).

Once arriving in a host country, social networks can help migrants settle or find a job. However, they can also have a negative impact on the socioeconomic situation of migrants and even on the educational and employment prospects of their children. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) found that the socioeconomic achievements of the second generation of migrants in the United States do not depend so much on whether they integrate into the host society but rather into what segment of that society they assimilate. In some cases, the social or ethnic groups to which migrants belong as well as their children’s peer groups can have a negative impact on educational and overall socioeconomic achievements. Those authors underlined the importance of social capital within the immigrant community, in addition to parental human capital, family structure and gender relations in determining the process of acculturation and its outcomes among the children of immigrants.

⁶¹ Gray (2009) created an index of social support based on answers to the following five questions: (a) Is there anyone who you can really count on to listen to you when you need to talk?; (b) Is there anyone who you can really count on to help you out in a crisis?; (c) Is there anyone who you can totally be yourself with?; (d) Is there anyone who you feel really appreciates you as a person?; and (e) Is there anyone who you can really count on to comfort you when you are very upset?

⁶² Litwin’s own grouping of countries.

These examples point to the important role of one's immediate surrounding or neighbourhood in the formation of social capital. Specifically, homogenous neighbourhoods reinforce the advantages or disadvantages associated with one's social class (Massey, 1996). As explored in section A, the neighborhood effects on children's developmental and schooling outcomes are thought to be largely mediated through peer and adult influences, which have an independent effect beyond household characteristics (Jenks and Meyer, 1990). In part, this situation reflects the collective socialization of children sustained by the levels of social capital within a neighbourhood (as opposed to an individual's cache of social capital). Mutual trust and solidarity among neighbours builds collective efficacy, through which residents act for the common good to supervise children, maintain public order and reduce interpersonal violence.⁶³

The empirical literature has also assessed the impact of participation in more formal networks, including through membership in community organizations, volunteering, religious attendance and participation in sports groups.⁶⁴ WVS data indicate that membership in voluntary associations is on the decline among respondents of all ages. Such membership has indeed declined for individuals born in 1970 or later in the large majority of countries, as shown in figure III.14. According to this figure, if there was little or no change over time in belonging to a voluntary organization, a country's point would fall on or close to the 45-degree diagonal line. Data reveal, however, that nearly all countries in the figure fall below the 45-degree line, indicating lower levels of associational membership in 2012 than in 1995 among members of the 1970 cohort. Colombia, India and Poland constitute the main exceptions to this general trend as they fall above the diagonal line.

In his study on social capital and civic engagement in the United States, Putnam (2000) maintained that there is a strong relationship between the decline in membership in voluntary associations, overall trust in others as well as in institutions and, more broadly, the functioning of institutions. Yet trends from WVS suggest that there has been little change in overall levels of social trust in countries with data both among young people and among older cohorts between the mid-1990s and the early 2010s (Larsen, 2014). This may be due in part to the fact that social trust tends to be stable over a person's life-course and, consequently, overall levels of trust change slowly, through successive cohorts (Larsen, 2014).

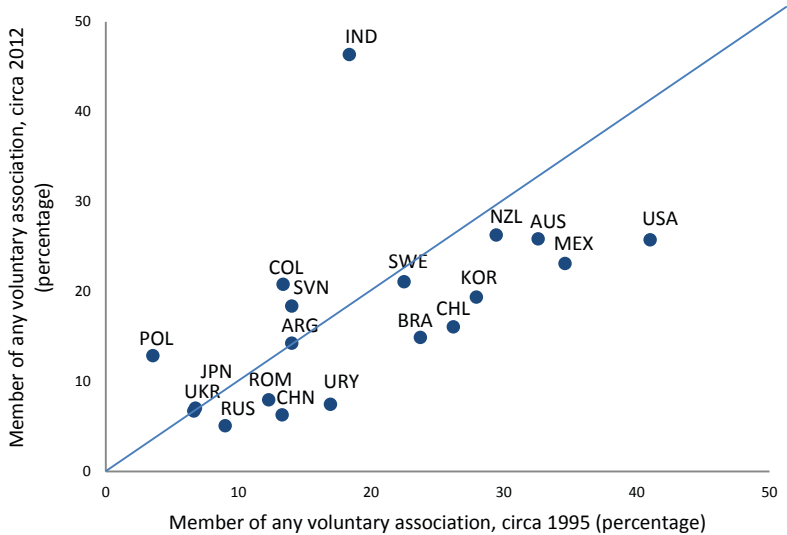
Research on six countries in transition (Kazakhstan, Moldova, Serbia, Tajikistan, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Uzbekistan) shows that, although there is frequent social contact with family, relatives and friends, there is very low membership in voluntary organizations and

⁶³ For the case of Chicago, see Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls (1997).

⁶⁴ For instance, see Moser (2009).

Figure III.14

Membership in voluntary associations among respondents born in 1970 or later in selected countries, 1995 and 2012



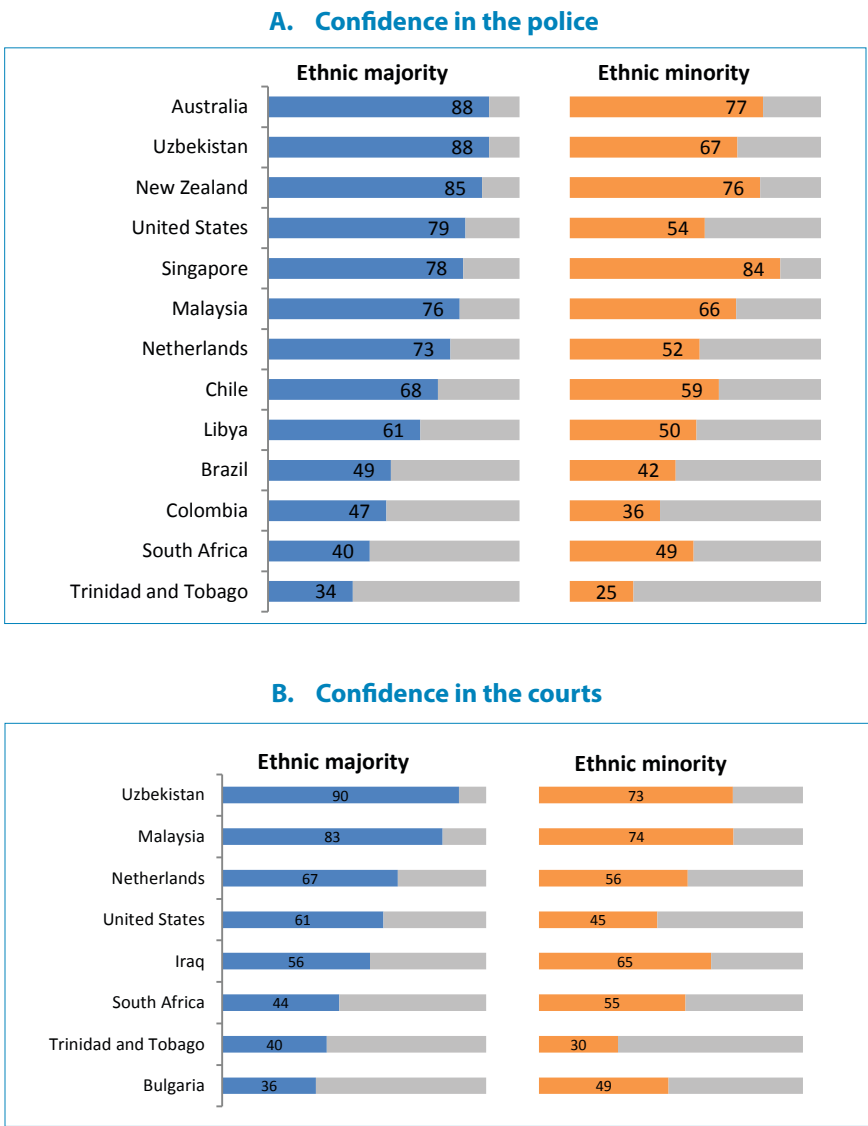
Source: World Values Survey, waves 3 (1995-1998) and 6 (2010-2014).

Note: In order to discern trends, analysis is limited to those countries that participated in the last three waves of the World Values Survey with data on voluntary associational membership and with the samples having at least 100 respondents.

low levels of social trust in these countries, similar to what is reflected by WVS data (UNDP, 2011). Furthermore, survey results indicate a high level of trust in acquaintances and people within an individual’s social network, but low levels of trust among neighbours as well as a lack of trust in government institutions (UNDP, 2011). Additional research indicates that interpersonal trust and trust in Governments in countries in transition are on the rise, however, with an increasingly positive impact on individuals’ life satisfaction (Habibov and Afandi, 2015).

In addition to trust in others, trust and confidence in national institutions, such as the courts, the police and local government, are critical to ensure active citizen participation in political processes, to make public bodies more locally accountable and responsive and to secure public cooperation with the police and compliance with the law (Jackson and Bradford, 2010). Ethnic minorities in several countries with WVS data express significantly lower confidence in the police and the courts (figure III.15). The confidence gap is largest in the United States, where only 54 per cent of ethnic minorities have strong confidence in the police as compared with 79 per cent of individuals belonging to the racial majority. The lower levels of confidence in these institutions among ethnic

Figure III.15
Percentage of respondents indicating a great deal or quite a lot of confidence in the police and the courts, by race or ethnicity in selected countries, latest available data since 2011



Source: World Values Survey, Waves 5 (2005-2009) and 6 (2010-2014).
Note: Data are displayed only for countries with World Values Survey data available, where sample sizes are equal to or greater than 100 and where the difference in level of confidence by race and ethnicity is significant at the $p < 0.01$ level.
For the countries included in the figure, ethnic minority respondents include those respondents who identified as Asian, aboriginal or “other” in Australia; as Asian, indigenous, brown or black in Brazil;

as Turkish, Gypsy, Asian or “other” in Bulgaria; as indigenous, Asian, black or “other” in Chile; as Kurdish, Turkish or “other” in Iraq; as black, Asian or “other” in the Netherlands; as Chinese or South Asian in Malaysia; as Malay, South Asian or Arab in Singapore; as black, Asian or coloured in South Africa; as Indo-Trinidadian or “other” in Trinidad and Tobago; as Hispanic or Latino, non-Hispanic black, and non-Hispanic Asian or Pacific islander in the United States; and as Karakalpak, Tatar, or of another Central Asian country in Uzbekistan.

Racial/ethnic gaps in confidence in the police were not statistically significant in 10 countries with data. Racial/ethnic gaps in confidence in the courts were not statistically significant in 21 countries with data.

minorities challenge their legitimacy and effectiveness in gaining compliance of the public with the law and cooperation with law enforcement in these countries (Tyler, 2003).

3. Conclusions

In many countries, individuals who belong to certain groups – women, racial and ethnic minorities, migrants and young people – vote less frequently and are less likely to be represented in Government by individuals of similar backgrounds, according to WVS data and the literature reviewed. Education is an important determinant of differences in political participation across social groups. However, the section highlights many other factors that affect participation as well, including institutional barriers to registering and voting. In some countries, youth circumvent these barriers by using alternative channels of political activism, namely they are more likely to participate in peaceful demonstrations and sign petitions than older population groups. Notwithstanding these findings, the lack of engagement in political, civic and cultural activities among some individuals and groups is concerning and plays against the foundations of democracy – representation, rule of law and protection of freedom and rights.

Social capital is an important source of support and agency for individuals and groups that face social exclusion. Frequent contact with family, friends and neighbours provides social support that positively affects health and economic well-being. In many cases, members of vulnerable and marginalized groups enjoy dense networks of community group relations; what they lack is power to achieve their ends. Social networks can have a negative influence as well, however; a large body of work has measured the adverse effects of living in neighbourhoods of concentrated disadvantage, particularly on young children.

WVS data demonstrate no discernable trends in levels of social trust among countries and areas participating in the survey. Levels of trust and confidence in the police and the courts, however, vary significantly by race and ethnicity in some countries, challenging the legitimacy of these institutions in protecting the rule of law for all and promoting good governance.

D. Implications for monitoring progress in inclusion

A person's chances in life depend significantly on group ascription. Group-based differences in access to education, health care, infrastructure and employment as well as inequalities in political participation are pervasive and symptomatic of the exclusion of members of certain groups. These disadvantages reinforce one another: lower levels of health care and education go hand in hand with higher levels of poverty and unemployment, and often also with less voice in political and civic life. Similarly, the employment situation affects not only a person's income but also his or her participation in social and political life. Thus progress in one domain alone will not be sufficient to end social exclusion.

The inequalities observed are often rooted in historical circumstances but tend to persist after the structural conditions that created them change. The evidence presented in this chapter shows, for instance, that persons of African descent continue to experience significant disadvantages in South Africa and in other countries that no longer impose formal barriers to the participation of racial minorities. While discrimination continues to play a key role in holding back some groups, as the next chapter shows, it is argued that the legacy of past inequalities has a direct effect on these groups' opportunities and outcomes, regardless of whether discriminatory behaviours persist or have been eradicated. Groups that suffered from discrimination in the past start off with less assets, social capital and political power while those who historically had privileged positions tend to accumulate more and obtain greater returns on their assets.

This chapter as well as the literature on social exclusion show many positive trends, from broader representation of disadvantaged groups in political processes to a reduction of inequalities in access to education. However, group-based inequalities vary significantly across countries and by group. Whether development is leaving some people behind – and consequently whether it is promoting social inclusion – depends on context as well as on the indicators used to assess progress. The examples of Ghana, Mali and Peru highlighted in section A show, for instance, that progress in child health is not necessarily echoed in improvements in access to infrastructure and vice versa. Table III.2 further illustrates this point. On average, in the 33 developing countries included in the analysis that underlines the data shown, declines in the proportion of youth without primary education, the prevalence of child mortality and the proportion of children undernourished vary significantly by indicator and depending on the criteria used to classify groups.⁶⁵ For instance, child mortality declined faster among rural households in the sample, while there were stronger reductions in malnutrition in urban

⁶⁵ It should be noted that the underlying sample is not the same for each of the three indicators: the education indicator (proportion of youth with low education) requires the presence of at least one young person (aged 15-24 years) in the household while the health indicators can be calculated only for households with children born in the last 10 years.

Table III.2

Annual changes in education, child mortality and undernourishment, by subgroup, 1998-2007

	Proportion of youth with less than primary education	Proportion of children who died before age 5	Proportion of children undernourished
Place of residence			
Urban	-1.8	-2.7	-1.1
Rural	-1.8	-2.8	-0.6
DHS wealth quintile			
Lowest wealth quintile	-1.3	-2.8	-0.7
Highest wealth quintile	-3.1	-1.7	-2.0
Occupation of household head			
Skilled, non-manual ^a	-1.9	-1.5	-0.1
Unskilled manual	-4.1	0.0	-7.4
Ethnicity^b			
Ethnic minorities	-2.5	-3.1	-0.7
Largest ethnic group	0.3	-0.4	-0.6

Source: Calculations are based on Sumner (2013), with underlying data from Demographic and Health Surveys.

Note: Based on data for 33 developing countries: Armenia, Bangladesh, Benin, Plurinational State of Bolivia, Burkina Faso, Cambodia, Cameroon, Chad, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Rwanda, Senegal, Tanzania, Uganda, Viet Nam, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

^a Managerial, professional, technical and clerical occupations.

^b Ethnic minorities are grouped exclusively on the basis of size. It should be noted that the numerically largest ethnic groups are not consistently the better-off groups.

areas during the period. The proportion of youth with little education declined fastest among households where the head of the household was working in an unskilled, manual job, whereas households with children headed by an unskilled, manual worker saw no improvements in childhood mortality. Ethnic minorities benefited from considerably larger declines in childhood mortality than did the largest ethnic group, yet trends in malnutrition were similar for both groups.

These examples highlight the need to monitor progress in different dimensions of social inclusion separately, adapting the choice of indicators to the purpose for which they are to be employed and to the country context. Different indicators highlight different features of social exclusion; while they can help in understanding the phenomenon, they cannot be expected to provide a complete representation of the state of a society (United Nations, 2010).

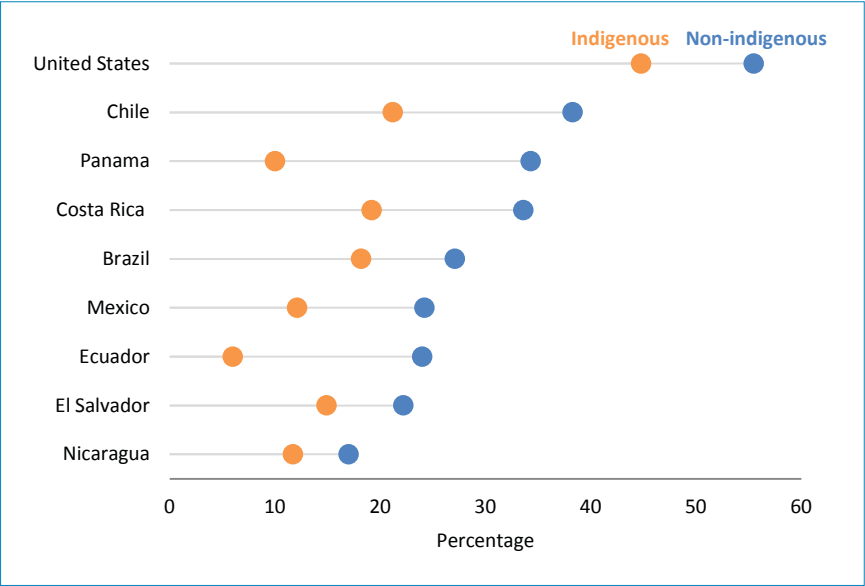
Given the multiplicity of indicators available, combining them into one single index may hold appeal. However, for the purpose of international comparisons, the diversity of country circumstances puts the usefulness of combining indicators into question. The reduction of a multidimensional phenomenon to a single number can also be questioned on a conceptual basis. Specifically, the importance of each component and therefore the weight assigned to each indicator involve value judgements. Should disparities in labour market participation be given more or less weight than disparities in access to health services or education, for instance? Is political participation more valuable than participation in civic events and are the two forms of participation interchangeable? Not only would very diverse country contexts be ranked similarly on the basis of composite indicators and vice versa, but variations in the weight given to each component would result in significant changes in country rankings (Ravallion, 2010; United Nations, 2010).

Different indicators highlight different aspects of social exclusion and help improve understanding of the phenomenon but, by themselves, they do not provide explanations. Findings in this and the previous chapters suggest that there are multiple mechanisms through which individuals and entire social groups are left behind. Yet discrimination stands out as a universal and pervasive driver of exclusion. In chapter IV, this social ill is examined in more detail, with evidence presented on different types of discrimination and a discussion of its effects on the victims of discrimination.

While concrete strategies to promote social inclusion and empowerment must therefore be context-specific, certain elements are often present when countries are successful in creating the enabling conditions for the meaningful participation of all members of society. Specifically, as is illustrated in chapter V, countries that have adopted an inclusive approach to policy have expanded opportunities by promoting universal access to key good-quality services, such as health care and education; they have actively addressed discrimination and addressed the special needs of those groups that face the greatest challenges in overcoming exclusion; and they have taken action to ensure that social, economic, political and legal institutions are open and inclusive.

ANNEX

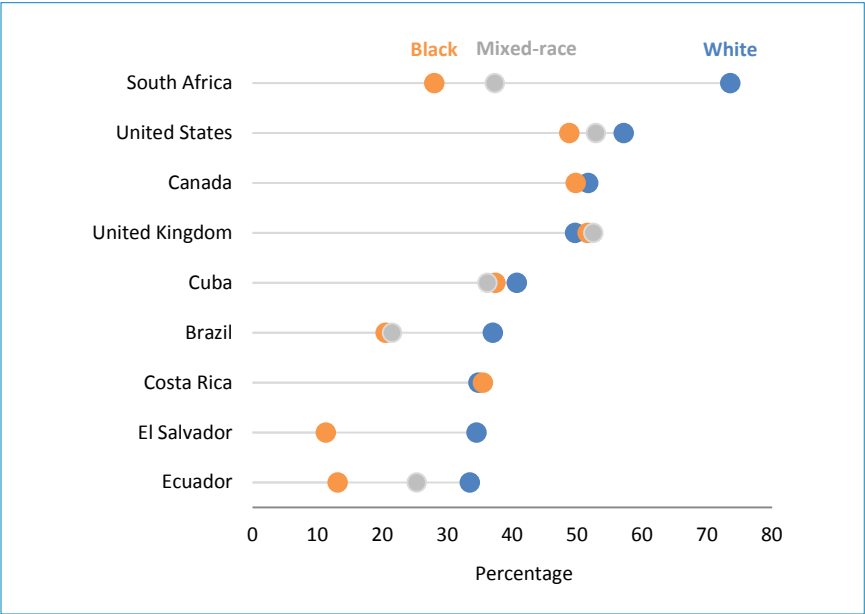
Figure A.III.1
Share of workers in highly- and semi-skilled non-manual occupations,^a by indigenous status in selected countries and areas, latest available data since 2000



Source: Calculations are based on census data from the Minnesota Population Center (2015).
Note: Data are from the most recent population census (2000 or 2010 round) containing data by indigenous status and occupation as collected by national statistical offices and available from the Minnesota Population Census repository.
^aDefined as the share in managerial, professional, technical and clerical occupations (International Standard Classification of Occupations 2008 groups 1, 2, 3 and 4). Clerical occupations include mainly insurance and real estate agents, secretaries and other office employees, clerks, bankers and cashiers. These are non-manual jobs that require some secondary education and training and are frequently performed away from home.

Figure A.III.2

Share of workers in highly- and semi-skilled non-manual occupations by race^a in selected countries, latest available data since 2000



Source: Calculations are based on census data from the Minnesota Population Center (2015).
Note: Cross-national comparisons must be made with caution because racial classifications have strong social determinants and therefore vary by country. The data shown are based on census questions that specifically referred to “race” or “colour” or physical characteristics.
^a Some census samples include racial categories other than white, black or African descent and mixed-race. For comparative purposes, these additional categories are not shown here.

