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THINKING and ACTING on POVERTY

Marina Komarecki
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ABSTRACT

The politics of poverty is increasingly being situated within a non-materialist discourse of human and citizenship rights, democracy, inclusion and respect. The purpose of this paper is to highlight the current debates in development practice as they pertain to our understanding of inclusive society and its concern to find more adequate ways of fighting poverty. The paper explores two lines of arguments based in an extensive literature review. The first argument examines the value of the concepts of inclusion and exclusion as they pertain to policy discourse about poverty. The argument establishes connections between poverty, power and agency on one side, and possibilities for projects of better inclusion on the other. The second line of argument examines two dominant frames of reference for development intervention -- the Millennium Development Goals and Poverty Reduction Strategies. It raises questions about their adequacy to alleviate poverty and explores some of the themes that may both strengthen and enlarge their goals.

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In a country well governed, poverty is something to be ashamed of. In a country badly governed, wealth is something to be ashamed of. Confucius 551-479 BC

The poor have sometimes objected to being governed badly, the rich have always objected to being governed at all. G.K. Chesterton 1874-1936

INTRODUCTION

The politics of poverty is increasingly being situated within a non-materialist discourse of human and citizenship rights, democracy, inclusion and respect. The purpose of this paper is to highlight the current debates in development practice as they pertain to our understanding of inclusive society and its concern to find more adequate ways of fighting poverty. The paper explores two lines of arguments based in an extensive literature review. The first argument examines the value of the concepts of inclusion and exclusion as they pertain to policy discourse about poverty. The argument establishes connections between poverty, power and agency on one side, and possibilities for projects of better inclusion on the other. The second line of argument examines two dominant frames of reference for development intervention -- the Millennium Development Goals and Poverty Reduction Strategies. It raises questions about their adequacy to alleviate poverty and explores some of the themes that may both strengthen and enlarge their goals.

According to reviewed literature, both instruments exemplify an opportunity for wider international convergence of public policy around global integration and social inclusion (Craig and Porter, 2002). However, the literature also hints to the fact that diminished local ownership of these instruments causes systemic patterns of exclusion

(Cornwall and Brock, 2005). As a consequence, several issues and areas of crucial importance to poverty reduction are neglected. For example, there is an apparent lack of focus on a rights-based agenda; there is also a need to refine MDG targets; children are neglected in PRSPs; and too much attention is given to income based poverty measurements. Therefore, several elements of a broader, enhanced poverty agenda are identified. Such an agenda will recognize the political nature of poverty reduction. It will focus on developing context-specific solutions for anti-poverty efforts through improved analysis of bureaucratic, political and social contexts.

In a broader sense, the paper reflects on the processes and values that characterize and organize modern society (e.g. marginalization, deprivation, social justice, social cohesion, participation, etc). In that respect, it attempts to analyze some of the implications those organizing values may have for our understanding of socioeconomic processes, as well as the implications on the structure of social policies and programs (particularly their delivery systems, and for choices between universal and targeted benefits and services).

Intellectual foundations for this paper can be found in the literature about poverty (Maxwell, 2005; 2003; 1998; Minujin et al, 2005; Emmerij et al, 2001); poverty in relationship to participation and empowerment (Dijkstra, 2005; Gould, 2005; Cornwall and Brock, 2005); and literature on social exclusion and inclusion. In greater detail: theoretical views about inclusion are explored by Andersen and Siim, 2004; Lister, 2004 and Lister 2000; Hills et al. 2001; Stewart, 2000; Levitas, 1998; political processes of inclusion can be found in work presented by Houtzager and Moore, 2003 and Paupp, 2000; and ideas about inclusive development based on full employment in the work of

Sachs, 2004). There are connections also to the literature on universalism (Townsend, 2004) and literature on human rights and livelihoods (Moser and Norton, 2001) and Rights-based development (Piron, 2005; Nyamu-Musembi and Cornwall, 2004).

The paper is organized in the following sections. Section one reflects on theoretical perspectives around processes of inclusion and exclusion. It briefly sketches out a global context as it relates to poverty. The section then reviews current perspectives on inclusive society. This is followed by discussion of empirical approaches to inclusion and exclusion and the relevance of these concepts to poverty alleviation efforts. The section concludes with key themes and questions in understanding inclusion.

Section two first discusses definitions and trends in poverty policy. It then offers critical review of MDGs and PRSPs. The final part of this section explores elements of an extended and improved poverty agenda. Section three looks beyond MDGs and PRSPs in addressing poverty. It highlights discussion in the global policy arena, and points to policies with direct implications for children. The final argument in this section is dedicated to policy implications for UNICEF.

1. INCLUSION: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES and CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATIONS

1.1 The Global Context

Academics, market participants as well as government officials are united in the assessment that the integration of national economies and the development of international markets have gone further than ever before. The nature of these global changes – manifested most starkly in the steady advance of global economy and progressive erosion of stable social contexts - poses challenges for political, economic

and social theory as well as problems for the modern welfare state and democracy. It has been argued that the nature of the expansion of these changes has resulted in the reconstitution of power arrangements that require novel ways of thinking about social organization and social relationships (Paupp, 2000; Stewart, 2000) and consequently new approaches as to how we define progress and development.

This global reconstitution of power exacerbates disparities in wealth, power, and resources between nation-states, resulting in increased poverty, marginalization and social exclusion on every level of global life: individual, family, community, local, national, regional, and international (Burchardt, 2001; Paupp, 2000). During the 1990s disparities¹ have widened in a majority of developing countries. While the argument about income gaps remains controversial, growing gaps are apparent in health and education. Trends of marginalization and exclusion are also manifested in labor markets. For example, as documented by the ILO, a full third of the global workforce is either unemployed or underemployed² (Sachs, 2004). Trends of deprivation and exclusion can also be observed through the analysis of public services as Mehrotra and Delamonica (2005) show in their recent study³.

Trends of social deprivation may also be observed at a global scale. Assessing the impact of global changes on developing countries, Ghose (2003) points to global exclusion, showing that a large number of developing countries, where 30 percent of the world's population lives, have become marginal to the global economy⁴.

These growing inequalities, polarization and poverty across much of the world (Cornia, 2001), give more urgency to the quest for more inclusive and just societies; and demand that we re-introduce the concepts of social justice (Stewart, 2000), recognition

(Andersen and Siim, 2000; Fraser, 1997), redistribution (Mackintosh and Tibandebage, 2004; Fraser, 1995; 1997), and universalism and human rights (Townsend, 2004) in our analysis of social changes. Or, as Sen (1987) maintained in his book *On Ethics and Economics*, links between ethics, economics and politics need to be established.

An attempt to move the concepts of rights and justice to the center of current socioeconomic debates can be crucial in such an understanding of a more inclusive society. Such an attempt could also have implications from the point of view of policy and practice. The ‘projects’ of social inclusion, as Stewart (2000) argues, can be instrumental in attenuating the consequences of economically driven modes of action and organization. They can also lend themselves to more fundamental changes in institutional arrangements within and among the legal, political and economic structures on which modern society rests (Paupp, 2000).

It is against this backdrop of trends and ideas that the following questions are raised in this section: 1. What are the theoretical debates around the processes of inclusion and exclusion? 2. How can we define inclusive society? 3. What empirical evidence supports the focus on the processes of inclusion and exclusion in acting on poverty?

1.2 What is Inclusive Society?

A widespread aspiration at the beginning of the new millennium, inclusive society, remains an elusive concept. As Ruth Lister (2000) points out, there is no consensus as to what is meant by an inclusive society and by the concept of social exclusion that underpins it. The objectives and values that would inform any route map towards such a society are equally vague. Yet paradoxically, the ideas associated with

inclusiveness have reached prominence as advanced in a wide spectrum of the social sciences: sociologists have emphasized differences in behavior between groups or between social classes; economists focused on the market sector in relation to poverty, particularly the labor market; social policy analysts have explored government policies and their impact. However, there is little cross fertilization across disciplines (Burchardt et al., 2001) with few rare exceptions (Houtzager and Moore, (2003), and Paupp (2001).

Cameron (2005) makes an interesting observation about one of the key publications on the processes of social inclusion and exclusion in recent years. *Understanding Social Exclusion*, published in 2001 by the Centre for the Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE) at the London School of Economics, contains a rich bibliography with over 500 references. However, only two of those are by scientists from other relevant disciplines (e.g. geographers) and all nineteen editors and contributors are either economists or social policy specialists.

Therefore, the objective and values that would inform any route map towards an inclusive society, particularly in terms of tackling poverty, remain vague. A review of development discourse of the past sixty years indicates that inclusiveness, as a concept associated with progress, originated in the aftermath of World War II (Jolly, et al., 2004). The ideas shortly thereafter abandoned, in particular those linked with the policies to generate full employment, are currently being reconsidered as a powerful framework to contend with social ills (Sachs, 2004). The ideas behind these policies and programs tend to go through cycles of change: what is good for development and what sorts of changes are significant varies in different times and contexts. Some of the ideas put forward

become part of the authoritative mainstream; some fade soon after they are launched only to be reintroduced as new and innovative years and even decades later.

But there is a difference between in the two different contexts within which ideas of inclusion emerged. Initial efforts to advance the ideas in the early 1950s were in large measure limited to the thinking within the United Nations. By contrast, the current discussions on inclusion appear not only in the documents of the United Nations (2005) and its sister organizations such as the ILO (2004) and UNPD (HDR 2005), but also in the publications of other major players in the development arena such as the World Bank (2003) and Asian Development Bank (2005). As these examples show, the key features of inclusiveness are defined through better access to assets, institutional backing of personal, political and property rights, and more opportunities for participation of the poor and marginalized:

“More inclusive access to assets (human capital, a piece of land, or a plot for housing) can change people’s perspectives, allowing them to be more forward looking and engaged in their communities. When people have assets – and thus a stake in the future and in a community – it is also easier to build support for institutions, public goods, and publicly provided goods such as rule of law, watershed management, and schooling”. (World Development Report, 2003, p. 55)

“By ensuring that institutions enforce personal, political, and property rights for all, including those currently excluded, countries will be able to draw on much larger pools of investors and innovators, and be much more effective in providing services to all their citizens”. (World Development Report, 2006, p. 17)

“Consistent with MDGs, Asian Development Bank recognizes that each person should have access to basic education, primary health care, and other essential services. Such access creates opportunities for poor people to improve the quality of their lives and to participate more fully in society. A proactive approach needs to be adopted to help reverse social and economic discrimination and to promote initiatives that meet the needs of previously excluded groups. The reach and sustainability of social development is improved when all people, especially the poor and excluded, have an opportunity to participate in shaping public policies and programs. Ensuring that the voice of the poor is heard at all levels of

decision making is central to the success of social development efforts. (Asian Development Bank, 2004, p. 8)

Ideas about what approximates inclusive society can be found in some of the East Asian countries whose success was attributed to shared growth and inclusive schooling; these in turn stimulated a politically stable environment (World Bank, 2003). Furthermore, Mackintosh and Tibandebage (2004) observe forms of inclusiveness in Taiwan and India. In Taiwan, national health insurance was politically constructed as a critical indicator of “good government” by the electoral platform during the modernization process of the country; this had an accelerating effect on the acceptance of universalization of access through tax subsidy. In India, the example of Kerala indicates that political commitment and ideology in favor of redistribution possibly influenced health care tax allocation behavior: the high proportion of state public spending devoted to social sectors is based in open elections won on support for social provision including health care.

1.3 Defining Social Inclusion

The literature suggests that inclusion has often been understood and interpreted through the process of social exclusion (Burchardt et al, 2001; Lister, 2000; Levitas, 1998).

In her book, *The Inclusive Society*, Ruth Levitas (1998) has argued that inclusionary projects find their roots in three discourses of redistribution, moralism and integration. The first of these, based on the ideas of redistribution (RED), explores causes of poverty and focuses on the analysis of power and generated inequalities in power and resources. An applicable inclusionary project here is the one that focuses upon a

comprehensive model of citizenship. The second of these discourses has moralistic undertones (MUD) deploying divisive and stigmatizing language of the 'underclass' and 'dependency culture' to portray those excluded as culturally distinct from mainstream society. The third, social integrationist discourse (SID), focuses on the exclusion from paid work. Only the first of the three discourses is concerned with social justice; the others are more concerned with social cohesion.

To Jos Berghman (1995, cited by Lister, 2004), social exclusion is a failure of different systems of integration: economic (through labor market), welfare, interpersonal (through family/community) and civic (through the democratic and legal systems). Such a conceptualization calls attention to the multidimensional aspects of social exclusion. It focuses not only on low income, but sheds light on processes of polarization, differentiation and inequality. In other words, such considerations reveal ways in which prejudice and discriminatory and oppressive behavior lead to the exclusion not only of the poor, but also of particular groups such as women, racial groups, disabled people and gays and lesbians (Lister, 2004; Burchardt, 2001).

By asking the question, 'who is excluding whom and why', this theme draws attention to structural features, the role played by social and economic institutions and by political decisions that cause poverty and exclusion. These structural features can be manifested both in horizontal relations of dominance and inequality and vertical/hierarchical (class) relations of dominance (Andersen and Siim, 2004). This dual emphasis on vertical and horizontal relationships enables us to understand how power is not only a matter of degree, but is also located in a structure of relationships and how

differences in behavior, personal attributes and lifestyles can be turned into inequalities (Daly and Saraceno, 2002 as cited by Andersen and Siim, 2004).

Du Toit (2004) highlights the advantages of this dual dimension analysis in the economic setting. Vertical links, Du Toit contends, offer insights into the commodity chains and supply chain systems that link local livelihoods ‘upstream’ and ‘downstream’ to distant and complex networks of economic production and exchange; while the horizontal links enable us to look at the ways in which the impact and nature of integration and inclusion into globalized systems are locally mediated.

The theme of exclusion is also understood as a denial, or non-realization, of citizenship rights. UNDP (2000) takes this position, conceptualizing social exclusion as lack of recognition of basic rights, or when that recognition exists, lack of access to political and legal systems necessary to make those rights a reality.

The demand of recognition is becoming more vocal in the politics of poverty (Lister, 2004), but also in the ‘politics of difference’ (Stewart, 2000). Original thinking on these issues is attributed to Charles Taylor (1992) and Nancy Fraser (1995; 1997). Taylor identified recognition as a vital human need. Underlining the links between recognition and identity, he maintained that identity (individual as well as group) is formed by recognition or its absence. Fraser argued that the politics of redistribution and recognition lie in the struggle against socio-economic and cultural and symbolic injustices.

Poverty, according to Fraser, can be attributed to socio-economic injustices, and anti-poverty campaigns are crucial to any politics of redistribution. Simultaneously, though, these campaigns also put forward the discourse about recognition. The examples

of cultural and symbolic injustices are ‘nonrecognition’ (being rendered invisible via the authoritative representational, communicative, and interpretative practices of one’s culture); and disrespect (being routinely maligned or disparaged in stereotypic public cultural representations and/or in everyday life interactions (Fraser, 1995, p. 71; 1997; p. 14).

A succinct account of processes that lead to a more inclusive society is offered by Andersen and Siim (2004, p. 1): “The politics of inclusion is the productive/innovative linkage of the politics of redistribution and the politics of recognition, which over a longer time span creates sustainable paths to democratic and social development increasing the capacity to handle conflicts arising from economic resources and life changes as well as conflicts about identities”.

1.4 Current Discourse on Inclusion

The current dominant discourse both in Europe and the UK favors the social integrationist discourse (SID) that prioritizes economic efficiency and social cohesion through full participation in the labor market. Paid work thus becomes a key element of social inclusion (Du Toit, 2004; Lister, 2004; 2000; Stewart, 2000). Lister (2000) cautions against such a narrow approach, pointing out that holding a job does not necessarily mean one is spared of exclusion. In this context it is necessary to consider the quality of inclusion. For example, those who live on minimal wages for long periods of time would continue to occupy marginalized position within society. Similarly, the labor market which the unemployed face is primarily one of marginal jobs⁵ (White and Forth, 1998 as cited by Lister, 2000). Moreover, analyzing the labor market opportunities for

immigrants in the Netherlands, Gowricharn (2002) offers data that show that increased labor participation does not increase individual welfare in terms of better inclusion into society. Finally, joblessness does not necessarily lead to social exclusion for exclusion is resisted through the creation of alternative social networks and activities through community based organizations (Lister, 2000).

Ignacy Sachs (2004) takes the idea of full employment to another level, reconciling the ideas of social cohesion with those of social justice. If accompanied by a set of policies that ensure the exercise of civil, civic and political rights, Sachs argues, full participation in the labor market can be considered as a defining element of what he calls 'inclusive development'. Inclusion is defined in opposition to the patterns of exclusionary growth, which is characterized by a segmented labor market in which the majority participate in the informal economy, have no access to social protection and have feeble participation in political life (ibid, p. 169).

In addition to the requirement of full inclusion in the labor market, Sachs promotes other crucial components of inclusiveness. For example, all citizens should have guaranteed access to welfare programs aimed at compensating for natural or physical inequalities (e.g. the disabled, mothers with children, and the elderly). In addition, compensatory social policies allocated out of the redistribution of income should be insured for those who are unemployed. Furthermore, the provision of public services (e.g. education, health and housing) needs to be based on equitable distribution. Out of the three, education is considered essential to development as it "contributes to cultural awakening, awareness-building, understanding of human rights, adaptability and empowerment, self-reliance and self-confidence" (ibid, p. 169).

1.5 Empirical Approaches to Social Inclusion and Exclusion

The modern usage of the term social exclusion originated in France where it was associated with those who were administratively excluded by the state (e.g. uninsured unemployed, disabled people, single parents, etc. (Burchardt et al., 2001; Lister, 2000). Despite evidence that the term has been applied in various contexts such as Latin America (Sachs, 2004; Ruggeri Lardechi et al. 2003; Porter, 2000), South Africa (Du Toit, 2004) and Australia (Smyth et al. 2004), caution has been suggested for the social exclusion debate, while presented to be of universal relevance is often highly UK/Eurocentric. (Cameron, 2005; Du Toit, 2004). Indeed, it has been underlined that very little is known about how social exclusion is constructed and reinforced in eastern or Asian countries (Chan and Chan, 2003).

A consensus on how to approach research on social inclusion has not been established. By and large, inclusion has been assessed through different modalities of exclusion (Hills et al, 2001). However, this approach has been contested by those who point out that poverty results not from people's exclusion from the market but from the ways they are included (Du Toit, 2004). The following section offers contrasting views and empirical evidence relating to concepts of inclusion and exclusion in relation to poverty and well-being.

In connection to the exploration of empirical values of social exclusion, it is relevant to mention a study by Ruggeri Lardechi et al. (2003) which compares four different ways of defining and assessing poverty. The study asserts that although the least well-defined and most difficult to interpret of the concepts of deprivation, social

exclusion is the only approach that focuses intrinsically, rather than as an add-on, on the processes and dynamics that allow deprivation to arise and persist. The value of this approach, according to the study, lies in its ability to identify structural characteristics of societies responsible for deprivation and group issues neglected in other methods that are being used to assess poverty (e.g., participatory, capability and monetary approaches). The relational aspect of exclusion, these authors argue, opens up a possibility for a different policy agenda from the one determined by individualistic approaches (e.g. we can focus on policies that concern groups such as affirmative action and eliminating discrimination).

Burchardt et al. (2001) suggest a framework for understanding social exclusion which rests on the belief that it is more useful to distinguish past and present influences on outcomes than to think in terms of direct cause and effect. Their framework allows for complex analysis among different levels and actors (e.g. individual, family, community, local, national and global). Focus on past influences draws attention to the success or failure of preventive strategies, while analyzing outcomes may facilitate insights into the responsive policies which are required.

A limited, but growing body of applied research confirms the instrumental value of these ideas. For example, Hobcraft (2001) shows how certain key childhood circumstances such as educational test scores, indications of child poverty, contact with the police, or family structure (e.g. being born out-of-wedlock, having been in care, widowhood, divorce, or remarriage) predict a range of adverse adulthood outcomes (e.g. living in social housing, early parenthood, extramarital births, lack of qualifications, low income, etc.). Examining the impact of the labor market, McKnight (2001) shows how

the overlap between low pay and poverty at a single point of time understates the extent to which they are related in a longer perspective: childhood poverty is associated with adult low pay; persistence in low pay with greater poverty; and low pay in someone's working life with poverty in old age.

Several studies also look at policy and community responses to social exclusion. Piachaud and Sutherland (2001) analyze the extent and causes of child poverty in the UK, and examine the impact of policies designed to attack it. Their findings indicate that the incidence of poverty in a single-parent household was twice as high as that in two-parent household. Moreover, where the child has no parent in paid work, the incidence of poverty was over five times that in families with one or more paid workers. Their findings in terms of government responses indicate that poverty reduction has greater impact on families with young children due to the larger increases in means-tested benefit and credit levels for children under eleven. In their conclusion they suggest that further promotion of opportunities for paid work would help, but that it would not be sufficient to eliminate child poverty; an adequate minimum income for those not in paid work would be required as well.

Richardson and Mumford (2001) analyze community response to exclusion. Community groups, the authors argue, cannot combat wider exclusionary forces on their own. But they can play a crucial role in enabling statutory provision to work effectively, adding to services and facilities, and enhancing social organization through informal networks and strengthening shared norms and values.

Studies by Keyder (2005) and Gowricharn (2002) explore mechanisms of incorporation, employment and housing with regards to migrant and emigrant

populations in Turkey (e.g. Kurds) and the Netherlands respectively. The first study observes patterns of social and political exclusion, exacerbated by an informal employment scheme. In showing how the expansion of jobs did not alter the rate of unemployment for the emigrant population, the second study draws attention to the relative inaccessibility of the labor market for certain groups of a foreign population.

A study by Chan and Chan (2003) examined housing policies and services for battered women in Hong Kong; it demonstrates how policy and services claiming to help the disadvantaged actually contribute to reinforcing social exclusion⁶. Finally, social exclusion has also been explored from a child-centered perspective. Ridge and Millar (2000) examined the meaning and experience of social exclusion on children looked after in the public care system.

The dominant approach of assessing inclusion through the processes of exclusion is not without critics. For example, Cameron (2005) charges that social exclusion throughout the debate is understood to be predominantly a ‘local’ phenomenon – linked to concepts of community and neighborhood. Inclusion, by contrast, does not assume spatial dimension or location; as such it may hold more possibilities for wider application. However, as Cameron points out, inclusion needs to be better defined – not only through ‘normal’ levels of access, participation and wealth.

Asserting that what defines marginality is not exclusion (or imperfect inclusion) but the terms and conditions of incorporation, Du Toit (2004) submits the concept of adverse incorporation. The key to poverty elimination lies not only in the need to establish more linkages that would lead to greater global integration; rather we ought to look at the mediating processes that transpire behind possibilities for growth (e.g.

dynamics of exploitation, racialized power relations, gendered conflicts, etc). De Toit's research explored issues related to chronic poverty in the South African region of Western Cape; the study concludes that the poor, dependent on insecure and poorly paid jobs, need less rather than more integration. According to De Toit, the poor need alternative strategies and resources for survival (e.g. informal jobs and social networks), independent of the systems in which they have little power. How and to what extent the focus on adverse incorporation as defined through mediating processes differs from social exclusion is open to debate.

Evidence of studies that approach inclusion more directly is sparse. Observing the effects of inclusive discourse in Australia, Smyth et al. (2004) analyze several interdependent projects related to health, education, housing, and family policy under the umbrella of 'Smart State', a government initiative promoted in Queensland⁷. A recent document published by UNESCO (2005) offers guidelines for ensuring inclusion in education. To determine if a school system is on track to moving towards inclusion, UNESCO suggests using the Index for Inclusive Schooling, piloted by the Centre for Studies on Inclusive Education (CSIE)⁸. Comprised of nine items, the Index takes the social model of disability as its template, builds on good practice, and then organizes the Index work around a cycle of activities which guide schools through stages of preparation, investigation, development and review. The index is accompanied by a set of checklists and matrices intended to help facilitate the process of identifying gaps and corresponding strategies to address these gaps and move towards inclusion in National Educational Plans. For example, check list questions refer to situation analysis; policy, goals and objectives; implementation; monitoring and evaluation; and capacity-building,

stakeholder involvement, and participation. Arguably, similar indexes could be conceived in other social sector policies (e.g. health and water).

1.6 Key Themes and Questions in Understanding Inclusion

In this section I explore some theoretical perspectives on inclusion and exclusion, and assess the potential of these concepts for the discussion of poverty and poverty instruments that will follow in the second part of this report.

Several themes are central to understanding the possibilities for inclusion and for reducing poverty. One is the context of inclusion; the second is the role of state power; and the third is alternative organizations of power. I take them in turn.

Context

What contexts generate social exclusion and what projects can be implemented to ameliorate such consequences? (Stewart, 2000). Processes of globalization are crucial here, particularly in connection with current debates about enabling expansionary national economic policies; democratic global governance; equitable trade; and regulation of corporate and governmental action in the global sphere (Lent, 2005). Within the global context, possibilities for inclusion can be seen through the lens of an equitable approach to migration (King and Thomson, 2005); employment regulation such as international standards, unions, etc. (Evans, 2005); human rights (Shaw, 2005; Moser and Norton, 2001); and equitable trade and development (World Bank, 2006; Hudson, 2005).

State Power

The second theme relates to the political context of social inclusion concerning issues related to state power. Particularly important here are the historic and contrasting

visions of the left and right on this issue. What are the alternative ways? The questions relating to the role and power of the state are all the more important given that in the absence of inclusive globalization, nation-states continue to have a determining role in conceiving and implementing inclusive development strategies (Sachs, 2004; Houtzager, 2003; Paupp, 2000).

For those who consider social inequalities to be of central importance to the debates about inclusionary projects, redistributive strategies require organized state power for their implementation (Stewart, 2000). For those who look at inclusion through economic efficiency and social cohesion, state power is limited: a prosperous world economy can only be reached with complete removal of all barriers to the movement of capital, goods and investment (Kapstein, 1998). But as Stewart (*ibid*, p. 5) argues, both visions skirt questions of the effectiveness of state mechanisms in creating an inclusive political community. For example, it is questionable if the welfare state inhibits economic growth. However, the ability of state-centered social citizenship to be an effective mechanism of redistribution either of resources or power has also been questioned (Perraton, 2000). We are left with the proposition from the right that state power needs to be used to regulate a market dominated society and to render a certain kind of ethical order; while the alternative from the left demands mechanisms of social redistribution through the exercise of state control (Stewart, 2000).

Between these two visions is a moderate middle-ground, the “Global Third Way” (Paupp, *ibid*; Kapstein, *ibid*, Levitas, 1998). The essence of this approach is a “reconciliation of the logic of globalization with our moral sense of social justice” (Paupp, *ibid*, p. 302). In one of the interpretations, what this means is that we need to

reform the welfare state so that it will become friendlier to the holders of mobile capital (Kapstein, *ibid*, p. 31). This can be done through concerted efforts of international community, rather than by states acting on their own. One of the questions to ask here is - how would the third-way reformer promote a more equitable economy?

As suggested, the third-way reformer would seek to promote policies and programs on behalf of the least-advantaged citizens. Some of these actions would concern expansion of educational opportunities and retraining facilities, and the provision of income transfers, health care, and social safety nets (Paupp, *ibid*; Kapstein, *ibid*). In all of this, a progressive third-way strategy must focus on two interrelated problems: “the renegade and destabilizing nature of mobile capital and the erosion of social safety nets” (*ibid*, 1998, p. 32). According to Kapstein, these two measures would mean strengthening of the Bretton Woods institutions – The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

This approach to a third-way is disputed by Paupp (*ibid*, p.302) who maintains that the Bretton Woods institutions “promote exclusionary governance in the name of efficiency”. What is needed, Paupp contends, are the ‘mediating institutions’ between the state and civil society. Speaking in broad terms, ‘mediating institutions’ can be understood as alternative organizations of power, and this brings us to the third central theme in understanding inclusionary processes.

Alternative Organizations of Power

An analysis of alternative organizations of power sheds light on the role of agency and citizenship in practices of social inclusion that are achieved through ‘mediating institutions’. In this sense, mediating institutions represent a space created by the

interplay between the state and vibrant civil society. This space would be conducive for inclusionary policies based in the rule of law, protection and extension of human rights, promotion of tolerance and mutual cooperation, distributive justice and effective state institutions. A similar position is taken by Houtzager (2003, p. 2) who maintains that “construction and interpretation of a new politics of inclusion must concern itself centrally with how societal and state actors democratically negotiate large scale collective solutions across the public-private divide”.

Criticizing policy makers, activists and even academics for often overstating or misinterpreting what civil society can contribute to greater inclusion, Houtzager makes the point that one cannot create a politics of inclusion exclusively or primarily around civil society. The power of civil society to offset the concentrated powers of markets and state actors is very limited in large part because of coordination problems (e.g. countering market based inequality and exploitation by large corporations; acting as an effective restraint on the state; or directing investment toward meeting needs, developing skills and creating employment opportunities). Therefore, what needs to take place is sharing of tasks. The state has the central role to play in achieving large collective goals, facilitating coordination within civil society, countering market-based exploitation, and regulating civil society itself; while the civil society has a role in aggregating and negotiating interests among contending groups, and balancing state power (ibid, p, 13).

Thus, politics of inclusion is being negotiated through collective actions of multiple actors, coalitions and institutions and through practices of mutual recognition and mutual exchange (Stewart, 2000). Or, expressed a little differently, “planning is an interactive process including both bottom-up and top-down procedures, requiring a long-

term national project as framework, a vision shared by the majority of a nation's citizens about values, their translation into societal goals and the integration of their nation-state in the globalizing world" (Sachs, 2004, p.181).

Several examples of how this operates in practice can be found in Brazil. For example, the National Rural Sustainable Development Plan explores the potential for development of several micro and meso regions within the country. Another program is directed at a thousand municipalities with the lowest Human Development Index; local citizens are encouraged to participate in public discussions defining their own priorities for local-level integrated development (ibid, 2004).

Partnerships between local governments, state agencies, regional development organizations, local businesses and community groups can also be observed in some regions of Australia (Smyth et al, 2004). For example, the Cape York Partnership Unit, a program initiated by Queensland government, experiments with forms of 'associational governance' through negotiating round-tables; action plans are being negotiated and developed in each community and are designed to meet the immediate needs of the community and to promote economic development. Such negotiations pointed to the social problems of ill health, poor education outcomes, alcohol, violence, crime and the way these were interlinked with issues of land rights, governance and economic development. Mitlin and Patel (2005) offer the example of Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI), an organization active in more than twelve countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The experience of SDI exemplifies the ways of negotiating problems related to securing housing for the poor, mainly involving women's groups and state actors.

2. POVERTY

2.1 Definitions and Trends in Poverty Policy

In this section of the paper, discussion will be structured around the following questions: 1. What are some current views on poverty? 2. How is poverty understood, explained and addressed within the two dominant frames of reference for development intervention today – the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs)? 3. How are they addressing and responding to the problems of social justice and social inclusion? 4. What are some of the elements that could improve these two instruments?

Suggesting that both instruments represent an incomplete agenda for poverty reduction, the literature identifies several areas of concern: the lack of ownership of the policy process, insufficient emphasis on rights, and too much focus on income-based poverty measurements. The literature also identifies elements of a broader, enhanced poverty agenda that recognizes the political nature of poverty reduction and recommends context-specific solutions for anti-poverty efforts.

While there is world-wide agreement about the need to eliminate poverty, it is widely accepted that there is no uniform approach for defining, identifying or measuring the phenomenon (Minujin et al, 2005; Ruggeri-Laderchi et al, 2003, Maxwell, 1999). It has been pointed out that the term poverty harbors bewildering ambiguity: is poverty about lack of income or is it about lack of access to social services? Is poverty about the lack of agency and inability to participate in all spheres of society – socially, politically, economically, and culturally? Moreover, descriptions of poverty include a number of

terms such as lack of basic needs, relative deprivation, vulnerability, livelihood unsustainability, and social exclusion. It follows that different concepts, definitions and measurements may imply different interventions and policy approaches.

Analytical thinking about poverty stretches back in time to the codification of poor laws in medieval England, and to pioneering empirical studies at the turn of the century by Booth in London and by Rowntree⁹ in York. By the 1960s, the main focus in studying poverty was the level of income, reflected in macro-economic indicators like gross national product per head. This was associated with an emphasis on steady growth (Emmerij et al, 2001). During the following three decades poverty definitions and trends underwent several discursive shifts: a narrow uni-dimensional focus on income poverty was gradually extended towards a multidimensional approach that defines poverty as an outcome of economic, social and political processes.

In the 1970s, a consensus about the crucial role of poverty reduction as the goal of development was prompted under the leadership of Robert MacNamara at the World Bank. The concept of lending was expanded to include rural development for small farmers and provision of social services to the rural and urban poor (Emmerij et al, *ibid*). At the same time, ideas about beneficiary participation as a critical element in development projects were articulated by Chambers (1974, as cited by Cornwall and Brock, 2004); and the concept of income-poverty was expanded to a wider set of ‘basic needs’, including those provided socially. Particularly following the ILO’s pioneering work in the mid-1970s, poverty came to be defined not just as lack of income, but also as lack of access to health, education and other services (Emmerij et al, *ibid*). The ILO’s

needs-based approach to poverty reduction suggested that the focus of aid should shift from capital formation to the development of human resources (Maxwell, 1999).

Following the debt crisis and global recession in the 1980s, emphasis was placed on improving economic management and allowing a greater role for market forces (WDR, 2000/2001). The rising power of neo-liberal policies prompted the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) as technical and economic policy solutions to underdevelopment. SAPs created new spaces for practices that focused on engaging people and communities in development projects; however, participation did not mean that they had a say in defining those projects (Cornwall and Brock, 2004). During the same decade, the concept of poverty was further enriched by the theoretical work of Amartya Sen who emphasized that income was only valuable in so far as it increased the ‘capabilities’ of individuals (Maxwell, 1999).

The 1990s World Development Report defined poverty as low consumption and low achievement in health and education. Key components of a poverty reduction strategy spelled out in this report were: economic development achieved by liberalizing trade and open markets, accompanied by investment in infrastructure, and provisions in basic social services to poor people to increase their human capital.

Throughout the 1990s, the United Nations played a part in shaping a normative discourse on poverty reduction, most notably through Human Development Reports. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) had devised the Human Development Index (HDI), which includes indicators such as education, literacy, political representation and crime. The HDI attempts to develop a more effective means of gauging human experience. However, the HDI relies heavily on traditional measures and

statistics that are poorly disaggregated, particularly in terms of children. Some agencies such as Children's Christian Fund (CCF) and Save the Children UK see a comparative advantage of participatory measures of poverty when children are concerned.

Poverty reduction assumed center stage in development debates, indicating at the same time a revision of the meaning of poverty as a term and a revision of development itself. The World Development Report 2000/01, entitled "Attacking Poverty", epitomizes these changes. Voicelessness and powerlessness, together with vulnerability became added dimensions of poverty¹⁰.

Discursive shifts around the meaning of poverty resulted in the expanded agenda of poverty reduction: the reduction of income poverty leading to the reduction of multidimensional poverty.

"Poverty is an outcome of more than economic process. It is an outcome of economic, social, and political processes that interact with and reinforce each other in ways that can worsen or ease the deprivation poor people face every day. To attack poverty requires promoting opportunity, facilitating empowerment, and enhancing security – with actions on local, national, and global levels. Making progress on all three fronts can generate the dynamics for sustainable poverty reduction." (World Development Report, 2000/01, p. 37).

By adopting the multidimensional model of poverty in its exploration of human development, the World Bank has assumed part of the UNDP's views on poverty reduction; thus it marks the closest we have yet come to an international consensus on poverty (Maxwell, 2003, p. 9). A position that different dimensions of poverty interact and that sustained reductions in poverty will require not only economic growth but also institutional change that includes poor people, opens possibilities for examining causes of poverty from the perspective of social and economic exclusion.

While the 2000/01 World Development Report represented the most detailed investigation of global poverty ever undertaken, it is important to note that it did not feature rights. This was a notable gap in the WDR's attempt to forge an international consensus, not least since UNDP's HDR took rights as its theme the same year (Maxwell, 2003).

Current debates about development and poverty are structured around multiple concepts such as Sustainable Development, Rights Based Development, Human Rights Development, Comprehensive Development, Inclusive Development, as well as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)¹¹ and the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs). What they have in common is a growing concern for equality, social justice, security and more inclusive society. Moreover, these concepts rest on a recognition that human rights and community development concepts and approaches (e.g. empowerment and participation) can be combined to strengthen strategies for addressing poverty and promoting social justice (Chambers, 2004; Cornwall and Brock, 2005; VeneKlasen et al., 2004). Finally, they are united by the common understanding that development needs to be viewed through the lens of relationships and partnerships (Eyben 2004, as cited by Chambers 2004). Expressed in a slightly different way, current ideas of development rest on the belief that people represent active agents of change; as such they can influence and transform the domineering power dynamics as well as the norms, systems and institutions that affect their lives. Bringing the non-materialist discourse of human and citizenship rights, democracy and respect into the fore of development debates suggests that the politics of poverty can be transformed to address questions of power as well as material resources (Lister, 2004).

Combined, these ideas suggest a frame of reference for a world in which there is shared responsibility. This is envisioned on the one hand in the will and determination to work for a better life for all, and on the other through the possibility of mutual accountability. As Cornwall and Brock (2005, p. 5) contend, the framing of the problem and framing of the solution have become inextricably linked. “Both PRSPs and the MDGs are an expression of this: embodiments of a discourse of collective responsibility for reducing multidimensional poverty”. Arguably, both instruments can be viewed as examples of a wider international convergence of public policy around global integration and social inclusion (Craig and Porter, 2002). However, the literature review in the following section will also reveal concerns that because of a lack of empowerment and national ownership of the policy process, these two instruments also tend to create patterns of exclusion (Cornwall and Brock, *ibid*).

2.2 The Millennium Development Goals and the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs): Critical Considerations

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are a set of numerical and time-bound targets that express key elements of human development¹². In addition, the MDGs provide a framework for accountability expressed in the quest for partnership: both rich and poor governments are responsible for opening the markets, giving more aid and debt relief, and transferring technology (Fukuda-Parr, 2004). The MDGs also reflect a vision of multidimensionality as they integrate political factors (e.g. civil rights and democratic representation) together with social (e.g. education and health) and economic factors (e.g. economic growth and employment) (Fukuda-Parr, 2004).

The PRSP approach, conceived by the IMF and the World Bank in 1999, is a comprehensive country-based strategy for poverty reduction. “It aims to provide the crucial link between national public actions, donor support, and the development outcomes needed to meet the United Nations’ Millennium Development Goals, which are centered around halving poverty between 1990 and 2015. PRSPs provide the operational basis for Fund and Bank concessional lending and for debt relief under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative” (The IMF, Factsheet, September 2005). The Poverty Reduction Strategy “redefines the relationship of aid – empowering governments to set their priorities (and holding them accountable for their results), and encouraging donors to provide predictable, harmonized assistance that is aligned with countries’ priorities. The approach centers around countries developing and implementing poverty reduction strategies (PRS) that articulate development priorities” (The World Bank, April 2005).

As of end-August 2005, forty-nine full PRSPs have been administered, and an additional eleven countries have completed preliminary or “interim” PRSPs. The focus in these countries is now on moving ahead to effectively implement the strategies (The IMF, Factsheet, September 2005)

Although widely promoted as potent instruments to mobilize action around poverty reduction goals, both have been widely criticized. As we shall see in the ensuing section of this paper, various criticisms point to a need to extend the poverty agenda currently promoted. The essence of these extended efforts is the necessity to conceive context-specific solutions that will put specific emphasis on the analysis of political processes behind concrete anti-poverty actions.

Design Features of MDGs

One area of criticism has been regarding the specific features of these instruments. Some critics charge that the MDGs, by design, measure changes that have already been set in motion, thus not providing an analysis of the forces that produce poverty (Cornwall and Brock, 2005). By setting global targets, they contend, MDGs “lack any sense of place” (p. 11). Criticism along the same lines is found in Vandemoortele (2002) -- that global poverty data are not robust at disguising disparities on the national level. Simon Maxwell (2003, p. 12) goes further in criticism of targets for “they privilege quantitative indicators at the expense of qualitative indicators, distort resource allocation, and undermine professional motivation and responsibility.”

Moreover, there are problems with monitoring national ownership and participation as there is no clear guidance to evaluating the extent and quality of civil society participation (Renard Painter, 2004). Lack of deeper participation of the poor is considered as one of the reasons why promises on MDGs are not met (Cornwall and Brock, *ibid*). Furthermore, objectives such as employment, human rights, and reproductive health are neglected; and issues such as decision making processes of the World Trade Organization, the governance of multilateral institutions, and the restructuring of the global financial architecture are excluded (Fukuda-Parr, 2004). Because MDGs are stronger in assessing material than non-material aspects, those issues (e.g. rights) may be neglected or perceived as low priority (Maxwell, 2003).

Critics also call attention to an inherent contradiction within the instrument. There is a conflict between the MDGs and growth driven models of development since the

former model demands continuous investments (e.g. in health and education) (Vandemoortele, 2004) while the latter emphasizes reductions in state expenditure for purposes of financial stability (Dollar and Kraay, 2000). PRSPs are central to this incoherence because they prioritize short-term stabilization over long-term development. Within such a context, interventions to address inequality or protect human dignity are often seen as costly and political side concerns (Piron, 2005). Invoked in support of a neo-liberal vision of development, they depart from their origins in human rights principles (Renard Painter, 2004).

Finally, MDGs offer a problematic understanding of gender equality and human rights. As Painter (2004, p. 6) points out, “the faces of women in the MDGs are predominantly those of a ‘girl child’, a ‘pregnant women’, and a ‘mother’. The indicators under Goal 3 call attention to women’s roles as producers and decision makers in the formal economy, but these indicators are routinely overlooked. Women’s empowerment is pursued, not because it is a human right, but because attainment of equality will produce favorable ripple effects. Existing effective frameworks for facilitating and measuring women’s empowerment have fallen off the agenda (e.g. Gender development Index and the Gender Empowerment Measure).

PRSPs and the Analysis of Poverty Specific Issues

Evidence about the performance of PRSPs is broad and well substantiated (Gould, 2005; Dijkstra, 2005; IEO, 2004; OED, 2004; Booth, 2003). One of the overriding concerns about PRSP is that it lacks a structural analysis of poverty since it is not equipped to analyze the distribution of resources, income, human capital and power within the setting. Under the current framework, poverty is predicated as a technical

problem that can be solved with a budgetary solution (e.g. greater allocation of resources to the social sector). The thrust of most PRS is limited to increasing the scope of public spending on primary health care and education. Unless this strategy is reinforced with parallel measures to stimulate employment and productivity, their impact to eliminate poverty will be marginal.

As Gould (2005, p. 142) argues, the instrument de-links poverty from its roots in the external economy (e.g., terms of trade and debt), and from key economic mechanisms (e.g., productivity of labor, degree of industrialization, and patterns of accumulation). Oxfam (2002) also raises issues in connection to trade noting that PRSPs do not provide credible analysis of the potential of trade liberalization on the poor, and that existing commitments on trade reform in the light of such analysis have not been reviewed.

In some instances, questions have been raised about the World Bank's narrow approach to poverty measurement. For example, in Vietnam the poverty measure was based exclusively on economic criteria and quantitative measures, thus excluding the advantage of taking insights into deeper understanding of the Vietnamese way of life, culture and needs (Norlund et al. 2005). Comparable views are echoed by Craig and Porter (2002) who indicate that, although research identifies reasons behind vulnerabilities (e.g. corrupt judiciary or government ministries), PRSPs rarely attend to these problems.

PRSPs and Children

A third line of criticism has specifically to do with the limitation of the PRSPs with regards to the status of children. The instrument does not seem sensitive enough to detect and respond to differences concerning children's welfare¹³. Recent research

conducted in three African countries (Ethiopia, Kenya and Zambia) shows the absence of gender and child-rights focused demographic and poverty information and analysis (Heidel, 2005). As Heidel points out, none of the three PRSPs analyzes the causes of youth unemployment. Moreover, in Ethiopia and Kenya, the planned social and educational programs and projects are not sufficient to really improve the situation of children. To illustrate this problem, child rights activists point out that children even do not go to non-formal schools because they do not have clothing. However, the PRSPs do not offer analysis of why this is the case; nor do they suggest how this problem should be addressed. Furthermore, the PRSP in Ethiopia does not raise the issue of schools suitable for nomad children. In addition, all three PRSPs have been criticized for the absence of a children's budget. Finally, questions have been raised about the basic economic orientation of the strategy papers. Emphasis on the private-formal sector in Kenya is deemed inadequate in light of a situation where 90 percent of employees are employed informally; in Zambia further liberalization is considered to be damaging.

Similar results have been found in an earlier study featuring five African countries: Malawi, Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana and Lesotho (Robinson, 2003), and in a meta-analysis of 23 PRSPs by Marcus et al. (2002). A joint UNICEF and World Bank Review (Bonnell et al. 2004) on how children and youth fare within PRSPs shows that less attention has been given to orphans and vulnerable children than to the prevention of HIV/AIDS amongst young people. The same study also remarks that the impact of HIV/AIDS on achieving social development goals is rarely mentioned (e.g. few PRSPs discuss the AIDS-related loss of teachers and health professionals that could jeopardize the expected increase in access to education and health services). Finally, the

study notes that PRSPs seldom take into consideration the potential impact of HIV/AIDS on attaining growth targets; one exception to this is Uganda whose Progress Report acknowledges the implications of cross-cutting issues such as HIV/AIDS and malaria on agricultural growth.

Participation and Ownership

The critics also share concerns that PRSPs fell short on their promises to strengthen local ownership and partnership. More specifically, it has been argued that in PRSP implementation, consultative processes have relied on a narrow conceptualization of participation (Dijkstra, 2005; Cornwall and Brock, 2005). The PRSPs, research indicates, are written because donors want them and often according to their own timetable; thus domestic policy processes are disregarded (Gould, 2005; Dijkstra, 2005).

The role of civil society is often limited in the implementation of PRSPs and their recommendations rarely find their way into final documents (Gould, 2005; Whitehead, 2003 as cited by Cornwall and Brock, *ibid*). There is also evidence that international NGOs engaged in the arena of public advocacy around PRSPs have gained access to the inner circles of the policy elite; this results in ‘crowding out’ national NGOs from debates as demonstrated in a three-country study (Tanzania, Vietnam and Honduras) by Gould (2005).

As Craig and Porter (2002) contend, the kind of participation promoted through PRSPs is quite limited in scope, lacking the democratic parliamentary inquiry about directions of proposed policies and reforms. They point out that even countries like Uganda with a rich track-record of macro-level participation do not indicate that civic input had any substantial role in shaping the direction of ongoing fiscal and agricultural

reforms. Their critique of the lack of power analysis (ibid. p. 3) raises a question about the real nature of the PRSP as an instrument that serves the interests of the poor:

“PRSP processes uncanny silence in the face of rising concern about the pervasiveness of unequal market power, consolidating corporate power, restricted migration and access to rich economies, and local political realities (elite capture, under-regulated monopolies, rising global and local inequalities) has fueled critics’ files. Promoting universal global integration, while remaining silent about power issues, PRSP heightens critics’ fears that it serves as an instrument of hegemonic global interests. From this follows the charge that its ‘inclusion’ is primarily a form of leverage and risk management, specifically of the risks of exclusion and instability, and that this project is advanced not primarily in the interest of the poor. In general, ‘inclusive’ liberalism can look much like classical liberalism in its ‘crumbs from the table’ charity (aid, not trade access), its responsabilization, education and policing of the poor, its keeping of questions of existing property and power distributions off the political agenda”.

The argument about the lack of power analysis can be taken further to explain why critics question the notion that PRSPs have moved beyond the one-size-fits-all blueprint: documents by and large reveal a global formal and technical framework supra-imposed over locally specific realities (Gould, 2005). Even though the country draws up a PRSP plan, the IMF and the World Bank have an upper hand in assessing and approving the proposal (Dijkstra, 2005). These adopted plans reveal striking similarity pointing to a broader global agenda of financial institutions (Craig and Porter, 2002).

Recent analysis of ‘post-conditionality’ policy processes in Tanzania challenges the view of a policy process as exclusively defined by the national arena. Within such views, the national-international boundary has been rendered porous by historically embedded mutual assimilation of donor and state power; thus, rather than conceptualizing donor power as a strong external force on the state, it would be more useful to conceive of donors as part of the state itself (Harrison as cited by Gould, 2005). At the time of ‘post-conditionality’ the growing assertiveness of the external actors in local political

arenas has switched from the attention given to macro-economic policy priorities to those that relate to the management of state governance (Gould, 2005; Cornwall and Brock, 2004; Craig and Porter, 2002). Such ‘disciplinary attention’ (Gould, *ibid*) is enforced through advice and capacity building rather than through external supervision. For example, a system of audits, benchmarks, track records and Joint Staff Assessments was designed to provide feedback on loan decisions. The idea behind the system, Gould asserts, is to create more competition for aid between developing countries by giving assurance of rewards to ‘good performers’.

Systemic Consequences of PRSPs

A final line of criticism is brought out by Cornwall and Brock (2005); this is a criticism of the systemic consequences of these instruments. First, the process of decision-making regarding the conditionality of loans, while intended to be transparent is in fact obscured in practice. We simply do not have enough understanding of the processes that lead to policy decisions made outside the consultative spaces, and that refer to other policy instruments associated with the PRSPs (e.g., the Medium Term Economic Framework). Second, they point out that by focusing on those countries that meet the criteria for the approval of PRSPs, our attention is drawn away from the countries and regions of the world that are less dependent on the aid industry, but where mass poverty and inequality have a different political resonance. Thus, PRSPs focus on those countries that are most compliant, have the least power in the international hierarchy, have high rates of debt and are highly aid dependent.

These two observations lead to the third, in which Cornwall and Brock shed light on the converging point between the MDGs and PRSPs. Global targets represent an

attempt to act on poverty as a universal phenomenon (this applies to countries that apply for conditional loans as well as to those that do not), engaging all countries in a moral debate about progress. As such, they complement the PRSPs which tend to have a more narrow national focus. However, MDGs cannot be achieved, nor can PRSPs be successfully implemented, if they are not made accountable to their citizens; this cannot be imposed externally through financial institutions or through blueprinted policies.

2.3 Patterns of Exclusion

There is a common theme, that of patterns of exclusion, across these different criticisms of the two instruments' specific features, their attention to structural causes of poverty, their attention to children, and their performance with regards to local ownership and participation. The processes through which these instruments are conceived and implemented, as well as their particular features, do not equip them to respond to systemic patterns of exclusion (Cornwall and Brock, 2005, p. 13). As indicated in the previous section, one of the relevant themes here is the lack of access and input of the local civic organizations to the policy processes. Despite the talk of growing national ownership, the donor community still has an upper hand in significantly controlling the process through capacity building of the local ministries. Such control is manifested through a supra-imposed technical framework that often does not address local needs. The apparent lack of power analysis in the process of implementation of this framework is a critical element resulting in systemic patterns of exclusion to which Cornwall and Brock allude.

Recent research on PRSPs, for instance, eloquently addresses some of these concerns albeit focusing mainly on processes at the national level. While acknowledging that the process itself became ‘somewhat more inclusive’, by presenting new opportunities to widen spaces for public policy-making, Gould (2005) argues that in terms of claims of empowerment, the process described in the previous discussion still offers limited opportunities for complete national ownership. His research shows that establishing partnerships between donors, governments and non-state actors is a highly selective process, in which access to the inner policy circles in large part is limited to those from professional middle class groups.

He raises several important questions in connection to this. Who is empowered and in what ways? If new actors have been included in the debates, who are the non-state actors with a voice in public policy formulation and who do they represent? Second, are the actors who control the policy process exercising a democratic mandate? What are the guarantees that the actual procedures set up by the coalitions of actors that established them in fact encourage inclusiveness and transparency, and secure more social justice in future cycles of policy making? (Gould and Ojanen, 2005). Third, and most important, how are current pro-poor policy regimes empowering actors whose immediate and primary interests are employment, productivity, growth and local accumulation? (Gould, 2005).

The larger issue raised by these views is the capacity of the poor to engage in debates that concern them. As research by from the book, *The New Conditionality* by Jeremy Gould (2005) demonstrates (most starkly in Tanzania), the poor often lack the means as well as conceptual and the organizational resources to take a place in poverty

debates. Similarly in Honduras (Seppanen, 2005), fractures in policy circles run both through vertical and horizontal lines (i.e., through class and education; but also through wide divisions in the women's movement, and exclusion of ethnic minorities). Through her research, Seppanen demonstrates how the formulation of PRSPs helped to consolidate a small non-state policy elite through international connections, creating tensions and fractures along class, religious and geographical lines within the civil society.

Empowerment benefits those capable of 'jumping the scale', that is, actors with simultaneous access to information, contacts and other strategic resources at various levels in the aid industry, from the scale of community or district civic organization to that of transnational agency headquarters (Gould, 2005; Heidel, 2005; Seppanen, 2005). Observation that the lack of mechanisms of accountability (both for national and international players) exacerbates these problems is highly relevant here (Gould, 2005; Nyamu-Musembi and Cornwall, 2004). As these authors point out, no formal regulations exist, and no international bodies are assigned to deal with negative or unintended consequences of the PRSPs policies. One of the proposals to remedy this on the local level is to encourage NGOs to establish locally negotiated performance standards for all participants active in poverty reduction.

These critiques and examples point to an exclusion/inclusion mechanism that can exacerbate poverty for some communities, while also offering moderate opportunities for improvement of others. Presented evidence, and especially the ideas about 'patterns of exclusion' created by the MDGs and PRSPs (Cornwall and Brock, 2005 and Gould, 2005), lead to several observations and questions. Their argument about exclusion is mainly in connection with the aspects of ownership and participation. However, as

suggested throughout this section, several other aspects such as the minimalist agenda of the MDGs, lack of child-focused agenda in the PRSPs, insufficient concern with rights, and lack of diversity in terms of poverty measurement mechanisms also imply exclusion. It can be argued that those excluded features tend to be mediated through the lack of ownership and participation.

In terms of design, both instruments do not address poverty completely. As Vandemooterle (2005, p.6) states, we do have a measurable agenda, but “MDGs are a minimalistic agenda or incomplete agenda for human development”. Similar views are shared by both Maxwell (2005) and Renard Painter (2004). Moreover, the issues of children are by and large overlooked in current PRSPs designs. Existing definitions of poverty are sufficiently broad to give attention to a range of dimensions, including non-material deprivation, to take a longitudinal view, and to allow for causes of deprivation other than low income. But as Burchardt et al. (2001) remind us, most research has not reflected all these elements.

In connection to this, it seems relevant to ask how and in what ways can one improve current mechanisms of poverty reduction in terms of their attention to exclusionary mechanisms? How can exploration of the processes along the axis of inclusion/exclusion further advance our approach to poverty reduction? Further, is focus on these two dimensions going to lead us to better understanding of processes that could lead to a more just society structured around principles of inclusiveness? The following section will present policy proposals that are not yet considered within the MDGs and PRSPs that seem better attuned to responding to problems of inclusion and exclusion.

2.4 The Path Forward: Improving the MDG and PRSP Agenda

Several authors have advanced ideas on how to improve current policy instruments and how to think and act on poverty. The ideas focus on policy approaches that may more directly address questions of inclusion and exclusion. Conceptions of rights and social justice, and deeper participation of the poor are some of the shared features among these different proposals (Maxwell, 2005; Vandemoortele, 2005; Renard Painter, 2004).

Improving the Target Setting

Civil society has a role to play in tailoring the targets to make them more country-specific and strengthening the ownership (Vandemoortele, 2005; Cornwall and Brock, 2005); it also can be critical in mobilizing action that would both redress underinvestment in basic social services and take advantage of cross-sectoral synergies (Vandemoortele, 2004). According to Vandemoortele (2005; 2002) target setting should be about adaptation. What this means is that paths through which global targets get translated into local realities ought to be improved. Globally imposed targets do not apply to each and every country in the same way; thus countries need to put more effort in defining local priorities. A case in point is the situation with HIV/AIDS. Attending to the pandemic is indeed part of the MDG agenda; however, most global quantitative targets in health, nutrition and education were based on the trends perceived in the 1970s and 1980s when there was no HIV pandemic. Moreover, responses and needs of African countries hard hit with the pandemic are varied. Other examples that justify target adaptation can be found in cases of Vietnam and Cambodia (Renard Painter, 2004). The indicators and targets

were designed to be more context-specific to recognize that the global targets were inadequate, either because they were unattainable or have already been reached.

Rights and Equality

Simon Maxwell (2005) offers an ambitious plan that not only expands the MDG agenda but also sets the course for the new approach to poverty reduction. The proposal, discussed in a set of twenty points, calls for establishing links between the MDGs, nationally owned poverty reduction strategies, macro-economic policy (including trade), effective public expenditure management, and harmonized aid in support of good governance and good policies. The key argument of this proposal is structured around the proposition that “there is more to poverty than lack of income: rights, equity and justice also matter, both for intrinsic as well as instrumental reasons” (Maxwell, 2005, p. 3).

Among other things, Maxwell argues, the focus on rights is important because it enhances social mobilization of the citizenry; while the focus on equity is important in light of the fact that equality represents one of the most important stabilizing factors of society (World Bank, 2006). Moser and Norton (2001) explain how policies with a strong human rights foundation help build more equitable institutions:

“Strengthening the human rights content of public policy creates stronger and more equitable public, civil, and community institutions, which in turn increases the capacity to prepare for, and cope with shocks”. (p. 38)

“A growing culture of rights strengthens the degree to which individuals relate to state structures as citizens with rights and responsibilities. In turn this weakens the extent to which people expect to extract benefits from the state through relations of clientelism and patronage. The citizenship model fosters the capacity for collective action across traditional divisions of class, ethnicity and caste, thereby increasing the capacity of social mobilization to favor (or at least include) the marginalized. Bringing legal mechanisms of accountability into play can also strengthen the equity dimensions of public policy”. (p. 39)

Equality is not only an important factor of growth (i.e., lower inequality increases poverty elasticity - the amount by which a given amount of growth reduces poverty). As Maxwell (2003) argues, lower inequality is a necessary condition for social inclusion which in turn promotes more peace and security (World Bank, 2006; Paupp, 2001). In other words, social exclusion is both cause and manifestation of poverty. That is why discrimination needs to be addressed together with efforts that will provide guarantees for all forms of rights, including action to increase income (Maxwell, 2005).

One aspect of this would be to pay more attention to productive sectors of PRSPs, especially those that benefit poor the most (e.g. rural development). Such efforts should be balanced against goals to improve health and education, vastly favored under current budget expenditures¹⁴. The poor should also have access to safety nets that would emphasize securing adequate nutrition and attacking malnutrition. Some other important features of meta-narrative concern market liberalization, debt relief, and aid architecture. For example, liberalization will yield better results if a sound institutional base is in place (e.g. when this is not the case, markets are often imperfect or weak, particularly in rural areas). While debt relief proves to be effective in some countries, it should not come at the expense of those that manage to keep their debt low. Further, aid channeled through multilateral agencies rather than through several bilateral donors has a potential to lower transaction costs. According to the proposal, it is the UN rather than the World Bank that should have a greater share in encouraging more competition among the donors. Finally, explicit procedures to assess accountability and performances of both partners - donor and recipient countries - need to be in place if the benefits of partnerships are to be maximized.

Women's Agenda

Analyzing how debates about women's issues may improve the current MDG agenda, Genevieve Renard Painter (2004) argues that human rights instruments and mechanisms have a potential to mitigate the problems of MDGs, and that MDGs can mitigate the weaknesses of human rights instruments¹⁵. MDGs, Renard-Painter maintains, offer little scope for analysis of the reasons behind the success or failure of reaching the goals; human rights instruments can amend this by serving as an analytical lens on the achievement of MDGs.

For example, a feminist, human rights approach to development raises questions such as why women are an adversely affected group and how they are affected by certain policies. The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) addresses discrimination against women, not on the basis of gender or sex. Therefore, Renard-Painter argues, it can be used to expose prejudice against women. The use of disaggregated data within the CEDAW streamlines our attention towards the root causes of discrimination against women, not just factual descriptions of gender inequality (e.g. research indicates that NGOs that use CEDAW as a platform in their work, find the instrument useful in analyzing discrimination and exclusion). The Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA) further advances women's agenda by offering substantive analysis of the issues related to poverty (e.g. land, inheritance rights), education, especially with regards to indigenous and migrant women, discussion about barriers to women's employment, etc. CEDAW and BPFA complement and reinforce each other. CEDAW is more about rights and obligations for which states can be held accountable (e.g. through the reports of the Committee on the Elimination of

Discrimination against Women, a group of independent experts elected by States Parties); while BPFA albeit a legally non-binding instrument, plays a normative role (e.g. the BPFA can give interpretations of certain rights, establish standards for their implementation, set targets and indicators for monitoring process, and identify actors who can work towards achievement of rights).

PRSPs and Displaced People as a Consequence of Armed Conflict

UNHCR's (2004) review of PRSPs from a displacement perspective sheds light on a problem largely ignored by PRSPs. That is, countries that host refugees and have internally displaced populations (IDP), or a returning population as a result of armed conflict, seldom attend to their needs. In this way, the report in a sense exposes the exclusionary side of PRSPs. As an overview of twenty-three countries with PRSPs in place demonstrates, only two of those refer to displacement populations (Armenia and Serbia and Montenegro). More importantly, however, the study notes that none of the countries perceive refugees or IDPs as assets with skills and productive capacities which could contribute to and maximize poverty reduction (ibid, p. 9). The ensuing examples illustrate the severity of this problem.

In Armenia, refugees and IDPs are counted among the poorest groups in the poverty profile:

“Households where the head has refugee or IDP status are more likely to be poor (poverty incidence of 63 percent for IDP households). Poor temporary housing and living conditions contribute to the vulnerability of this group. A large part of this population has no permanent employment (around 70 percent of the IDP population), and is dependent on state transfers and humanitarian aid.” (UNHCR, 2004, p. 5)

The PRSP for Serbia and Montenegro (each has its own strategy under one document) states the refugees and IDPs are at the much greater risk of poverty than Serbian citizens.

“...policies and strategies for overcoming poverty among refugees and IDPs have been included as a central part of PRSP” (Serbia and Montenegro Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper 2004, p. 7 as quoted by UNHCR, 2004). The strategic goal of the PRSP is to initiate a long-term process of empowering vulnerable groups to move out of poverty. The country strategy paper addresses a broad spectrum of issues such as legal status, human rights, poverty rights, access to the labor market, adequate health services, income support, education and housing. (UNHCR, 2004, p. 5)

In Bosnia, poverty is most marked for children, particularly below the age of five. Sri Lanka identified 600,000 IDPs as belonging to the most vulnerable and socially excluded groups. Sierra Leone reported at least three million people either internally or externally affected by poverty. Burundi states that the poverty picture would be incomplete without looking at groups that are excluded; in particular war refugees and abandoned children.

Strategic thinking about these problems is important for a number of reasons, one of which has been highlighted in the UNHCR report. First, a number of countries that do not have PRSPs at this time (e.g. Angola, Afghanistan, Liberia, Somalia and Sudan) are either already facing or will be facing repatriation of significant numbers of refugees. It would be highly recommended that PRSP plans – if and when applicable – address in a comprehensive manner needs and potentials of displaced populations (UNHCR, 2004). Second, strategic planning to include displaced populations seems relevant in the light of the fact that most of the countries facing these problems have fledgling economies (either weakened by wars or because of the processes towards market transition). Thus, inadequate planning and inclusion in such cases places an extra burden to contend with.

Third, several countries that were either involved in the conflict as neighbors (e.g. the countries of the former Yugoslavia), or face a frequent spill over of refugee populations (e.g. Kenya and Tanzania) need to coordinate their PRSPs. This becomes particularly pertinent for those countries that state that development needs to be in line with the protection of basic rights – the right to return to their former homes (e.g. the case between Bosnia/Herzegovina and Serbia/Montenegro).

PRSPs and Children

Much has been written about the extent and nature of the participation of disadvantaged people in PRSP processes (Dijkstra, 2005; Gould, 2005; Heidel, 2005; Chambers, 2004; VeneKlasen et al. 2004; Christian Aid 2001; Jubilee South, 2001). One of the key observations is that children and young people rarely take part in the consultative process. However, when they are given a chance, the results are positive. For example, during the first PRSP process in Kenya, participation of children and civil society played an instrumental role in including issues of child labor and youth unemployment in the strategy (Heidel, 2005).

In most cases, the interests of children are indeed represented through the members of civil society. In Honduras, issues regarding child laborers were exposed during PRSP consultations and subsequently addressed (Marcus et al. 2002). Civil society also played a role in Bosnia and Herzegovina, giving greater visibility to the problems concerning Roma children; organized efforts resulted in the inclusion of special educational needs, an area which had previously been excluded from PRSP discussions (Marcus et al, 2002). The literature suggests that in addition to defining problems concerning poverty, civil society can significantly contribute to monitoring the

implementation of PRSPs. At the same time, it has been questioned if the participatory monitoring systems were in place, and if they were able to influence the evolution of the PRSPs beyond Ministries of Finance (Bonnell et al. 2004). UNICEF, for example, played a key role in supporting the development of participatory poverty assessments at district and sub-district levels in Mozambique; this will eventually feed into the poverty monitoring system¹⁶ (Bonnell et al. 2004). However, the evidence so far is inconclusive (Dijkstra, 2005; Gould, 2005; Heidel, 2005).

Reflecting on children's participation in defining poverty, Feeny and Boyden (2003) offer compelling evidence that supports the idea that children ought to play a role in designing PRSPs. For example, children cite numerous emotional and psychological consequences of poverty, in many cases prioritizing these over physical effects. In rural Bolivia, children were well aware how chronic shortage of water might have significant negative impacts both on livelihoods and on the survival and health of both humans and livestock. However, the shame of being unable to wash and being labeled dirty and poor as a consequence was identified as more important.

Similar views are shared by Marcus et al. (2002) who note that children identify specific issues which are rarely identified as policy priorities (e.g. access to opportunities; fear of attack from gangs or criminals which results in constrained mobility; or problems regarding equity for orphans in HIV countries). Such evidence of serious social consequences of poverty on children has important policy implications. First, it implies that PRSPs need to pay equal attention to policies that uphold livelihoods as well as to those that support development of human and social capital. Second, child-focused

policies need to be included within a larger economic policy framework so that specific needs of children are acknowledged and incorporated (Feeny and Boyden, 2003).

A summary of ideas and evidence presented helps us define the elements of an extended poverty agenda. First, it is essential that we look beyond one-size-fits-all recipes for poverty reduction. Acting on poverty will take different shapes depending on bureaucratic, political and social contexts. Second, the political nature of poverty reduction needs to be recognized (Paupp, 2001; Maxwell, 2003). That is why we should follow the process (as opposed to blindly focusing on substance) and listen to those who participate – donors and recipients need to cooperate to make conditionality work. Third, if we foster participation based on “the organized efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations, on the part of groups and movements hitherto excluded from such control”, (Stiefel and Wolfe, 1994 as cited by Cornwall and Brock, 2005, p. 16), we may then begin to understand how people become empowered and able to take ownership of their own development. Finally, if implemented, these principles might bring us closer to what Maxwell (2003, p. 22) in quoting William Wordsworth¹⁷ implicitly suggests – a world fit for all:

*Not in Utopia, subterranean fields
Or some secreted island, Heaven knows where!
But in the very world, which is the world
Of all of us, the place where in the end
We find our happiness, or not at all!*

3. BEYOND MDGs and PRSPs: FURTHER POLICY CONSIDERATIONS for INCLUSIVE SOCIETY

Earlier in this report, attention was drawn to the fact that many countries that do not apply for conditional loans and do not draw up PRSPs plans, also experience their share of poverty (Cornwall and Brock, 2005). However, as authors suggest, because too much emphasis has been placed on PRSPs, we often do not have enough insight as to what the specific needs and responses of those countries are. Reinforcing trends towards greater inequality, and persisting or growing poverty is also visible in more affluent parts of the world (UNICEF, 2005).

Therefore, there is a need to look beyond MDGs and PRSPs in addressing poverty issues. Several authors call for a more universal, progressive campaign for change that will be guided by principles of justice, human rights and solidarity that is currently predominantly represented in the drive to liberalize markets and defend corporate interests (Lent, 2005; Townsend, 2004). The change, Lent argues, would require innovative ways of policy thinking in four domains. These would be reflected in the establishment of the new global economic architecture; democratic global governance; equitable trade; and regulation of corporate and governmental action in the global arena.

Global economic trends pose significant constraints on governments' ability to use social policies to build an inclusive society (Lister, 2000). However, as Lister points out, these constraints should neither be exaggerated nor justify inaction. Arguably, taken together, the four pillars of change could provide a foundation that would ameliorate the consequences of market liberalization. The path towards inclusion would also have to come with a recognition that social policy needs to be considered on a par with economic policies¹⁸ (CHIP, 2005; Lister, 2000); and also that social policy cannot be interpreted as

the exclusive provenance of government policy. For example, Townsend (2004) and Deacon (2003) call for global social regulation and global social rights.

Practical implications of a balanced approach would mean that stability reached through macroeconomic policy may serve as fodder for long-term stable planning in the domain of public social expenditure (FitzGerald, 2005). This necessitates contemplating more progressive taxation regimes. Further practical implications could, for example, also mean that planning needs to balance out the demand side measures to promote employment together with community based regeneration (Hills, 2001; Lister, 2000). Likewise, economic policies which create employment opportunities would have to underpin social policies designed to enhance employability.

The following discussion is divided into two sections. The first section briefly outlines some of the features of the above mentioned foundational policies in the global arena. The second section discusses inclusive approaches to policies that may have more immediate impact on the well being of children.

3.1 Policy in the Global Arena

The key institutions of global governance in theory are designed to promote international cooperation and peace. However, most have built-in biases that favor the world's dominant powers. While it has been recognized that complex changes within global institutions need to be initiated in order for the developing countries to gain more leverage in decision making, it is also clear that those are all long-term decisions that will require ample time to yield tangible results. Some of these proposals call for change in the voting system in the UN and WTO (Lent, 2005). Others call for an Economic

Security Council to be established (Nayyar, 2002). The third line of proposals suggests mechanisms to make the Bretton Woods institutions more accountable (Deacon, 2003). What the “global four” (i.e., UN, WTO, WB and IMF) can do in the interim is to consider several measures that would have a more immediate positive impact for developing countries.

The institutions can assure symmetrical or preferential access to global markets for all goods of the developing countries (e.g. agricultural products, textiles, footwear, etc.), a measure that would provide a boost to economic growth. In addition, they can speed up the process of instituting international regulations that would stabilize capital flows (Cornia, 2001). The Financial Stability Forum¹⁹, created in 1999, emerged as a direct result of a growing need to address the detrimental effects of volatile markets; its explicit mandate is to identify the gaps and weaknesses in the international financial system (Gunter and van der Hoeven, 2004). Other measures, such as the creation of a Global Insurance Fund that would be established under the auspices of the IMF, will have the express intention of serving those countries that are hit by external shocks (Cornia, 2001).

While it is recognized that defining an international minimum wage or levels of unemployment insurance may be unfeasible, addressing and regulating social problems on a global level is not impossible. One of the proposals calls for each country to define what constitutes social minimum within its borders in terms of health, sanitation, safe drinking water, education and information services (Townsend, 2004). Such deprivations, Townsend submits, ought to be rigorously monitored; however he does not suggest who should be assigned such a role. Kapstein, (1998/99), for example, contends that the

World Bank perform an annual social policy review, in the same way that the IMF surveys macroeconomic performance. Others like Gould (2005), however, suggest that NGOs or INGOs have a greater role to play.

The social policy framework for transnational corporations is in large measure an unexplored area. One strand of further analysis could, for example, examine internal policies with regards to the senior staff and permanent and temporary workers around the world; the other strand could analyze the influence of transnational corporations on world trade, government taxation, redistribution and investment, etc. (Evans, 2005; Townsend, 2004).

Better integration of children's needs within macroeconomic considerations is an imperative for a more inclusive society. One way to formulate and monitor children's needs in a more comprehensive manner would be through a "permanent observatory", a proposal advanced by Andrea Cornia, (2001). Such an observatory could be supported by agencies focusing on the well being of children such as UNICEF, Save the Children, Oxfam, etc. Guided by the principles of the human rights agenda, the task of the observatory would be to monitor the impact of mainstream economic policies on child rights. The systematic collection and interpretation of data would be critical in ascertaining "conflict spots" between economic policies and human rights. The proposal for the observatory as it stands calls only for the monitoring of economic rights. However, the agenda could arguably be well expanded given that the Convention of the Rights of the Child recognizes a set of social, cultural, civil and political rights. Similarly, a set of indicators to assess physical or emotional abuse could be developed.

3.2 Policies for the Well Being of Children

Economic policies affect child well-being through: a) public services provision (e.g. through fiscal decisions about spending on health and education), and through b) household economy (e.g. through household income, assets and livelihoods, and household response strategies to changing economic conditions) (Waddington, 2004). Social protection plays an important role in strengthening household responses to unexpected shocks (e.g. unstable market, loss of job, illness, death of a family member, etc.) (Holzmann et al, 2003).

Taxation, Public Services and Budgetary Policies

Taxation

Concrete proposals about taxation regimes that could generate more substantial revenues for social policy can have a variety of forms. For example, Tobin's tax on international transactions; carbon tax proposed by Zedillo commission (Townsend, 2004, UNDP, 2004); or a G7 proposal of a dedicated tax on airline tickets, a mechanism FitzGerald (2005) deems technically superior to Tobin's tax. At this time, the role of Tobin's tax proposal is analytically more developed and as such of particular relevance for the policies having a direct and immediate effect on children's well being.

As suggested by UNDP (2004, p. 11), monies generated from the proceeds of an international currency transactions through Tobin's tax could be used to set up an international investment fund for children, with grants to governments conditional on co-payments by each country at a ratio of one to one. Once approved, the grants could then be implemented in a variety of forms, depending on each country's specific

circumstances. The benefit would be all-inclusive, being sensitive to the problems that markets do not recognize. For example, the costs for disabled children often account for family poverty regardless of whether the parents are employed or not. It is important to note that the category of disabled often associated with forms of congenital or disabling long-term illnesses has to be extended to include conditions that are emerging as a consequence of armed conflicts, including limb loss from landmines, AIDS, oil spills, nuclear or chemical pollution.

Public Services and Budget Policies

Improved budgetary allocation for the social sector is only one component of a multilateral strategy towards a more progressive inclusionary approach with implications for child well being: what is needed is more synergy between interventions (Vandemoortele, 2005). All social sectors are synergistic and critically important to child oriented poverty reduction: for example, nutrition helps a child learn; education reduces family size; reduced family size improves chances of schooling, etc. In sum, integrated approaches are essential to enhance the impact of any one intervention; each intervention has ramifications that lie outside its 'sector' (CHIP, 2005). Simultaneous budgetary funding of these interventions is critical for their success (Mehrotra and Delamonica, 2005).

Another look at synergy supports the argument that the level of spending cannot be the ultimate concern in policy planning. The focus on more inclusive development concerning, for example, community growth needs to employ careful analysis of the jobs that spending creates, what skills those jobs require, what resources are accessible and

available from the local community, and what actions are needed to bridge the gap between them (Hills, 2001). As evidence from research indicates, available substantial resources that could in theory benefit part-time jobs for every household of a local community often do not go to local residents (Bramley et al, 1998 as cited by Hills, 2001).

Traditionally, public services were funded through universal state provision. As such they were promoters of social integration and political cohesion (Mehrotra and Delamonica, *ibid*; Townsend, 2004). However, the upsurge of private initiative and the introduction of market mechanisms such as insurance, private pensions and user fees have contributed to inequality and high levels of exclusion. Moreover, because the private market suffers from less regulation, the quality of services is often compromised (Mehrotra and Delamonica, *ibid*; Mackintosh and Tibandebage, 2004; Penn, 2004). Studies show that successful government regulation or various public-private partnerships can indeed change the negative trend in erosion of services.

For example, Deninger et al (2003) demonstrated how school reform in Uganda stimulated greater enrollment of children (e.g., in 1997 the costs of schooling were eliminated for up to four children per household, of which at least two have to be girls). Mackintosh and Tibandebage (*ibid.*) show the benefits of mutual health insurance schemes that include health care in several African countries. Emphasis on redistribution in these schemes, the authors argue, has an effect on inclusiveness: prepayment encourages increased use of the formal health care system by the seriously ill on low incomes. Cooperation between government and private providers in Chile enhanced the quality of water services (Mehrotra and Delamonica, *ibid*). The provision of water

services is a centralized operation but private providers who operate through eleven regional agencies set the benchmarks for comparison in service delivery. As the study indicates, the arrangement raised the quality of services and made government efforts profitable.

Paid Work: The Key to Inclusion?

Prioritizing stable income and employment are widely considered to be the most beneficial macroeconomic policy for children (FitzGerald, 2005; Waddington, 2004; Cornia, 2001; de Vylder, 2001). In relation to this, it is necessary to make several observations. As stated earlier in this report, holding a job does not guarantee straightforward inclusion into society (Gowricharn, 2002; Lister, 2000). Research indicates that we need to think not only of ‘promotion’ (e.g. welfare-to-work policies) but also about ‘propulsion’ policies²⁰ (Hills, 2001, Lister, 2000). The focus on propulsion is defined by efforts to boost the income of those who get work after a long time of unemployment to ensure that they actually exit poverty. Two sets of policies could be of interest here: improvement of poor basic skills through vocational programs and direct cash benefits.

Such policies are highly relevant in light of research that shows how incidence of early unemployment in people’s working lives appears to have a ‘scarring’ effect, increasing the chances of later unemployment; this kind of effect can last up to eighteen years (Burgess 1999 as cited by Hills, 2001). Other studies find that low skills lead to early retirement leading in turn to low income retirement (Campbell 1999 as cited by Hills, 2001). This evidence suggests that more emphasis could be paid to policies that

would act on youth unemployment (Hills, 2001), a frequent occurrence in precarious economies (Heidel, 2005).

Furthermore, research associating child poverty with poorer outcomes later in life (Hobcraft, 2001) points to the instrumental value of providing protective cash benefits to families. When they are designed to include educational, health and food distribution components, such policies not only provide temporary relief to the poor, but also have a potential to be an effective long-term policy for raising households out of poverty, thus breaking the poverty cycle in the next generation. Current programs in Brazil (e.g. Bolsa Escola; Lavinias, 2000) and Mexico (e.g. Progressa; Skoufias and Parker, 2001), offer good examples of how these policies work.

Early Childhood Development Programs

Early Childhood Development Programs (ECD) present a useful framework to think about inclusive policies for children. ECD is an umbrella term for a diverse set of interventions²¹ for young children and their families and caretakers, including health, nutrition, childcare, education and parent support (Penn, 2004). The value of ECD in improving the physical and psychosocial well-being of children, as well as its potential to directly or indirectly combat poverty has been recognized and promoted by the World Bank, the World Health Organization, UNICEF and UNESCO.

Reliable and affordable child-care is an important policy consideration in light of the fact that women are more active in the labor market (e.g., 600 million women work in Asia, Africa and Latin America; Jhabvala and Sinha, 2001; Sadasivam, 2001). Several examples of child-care arrangements from El Salvador, Colombia, and Peru indicate that a successful approach involves a combination of public-private initiatives; all of these

programs support women both in the regular and the unorganized/irregular sector. More importantly, those initiatives have a spill-over effect, as they provide for nutritional, health, and educational needs (e.g. Wava Wasi in Peru).

In her contrasting analysis of the ECD initiatives from the North and the South, Penn (ibid.) cautions against the common practice of replicating policies and programs before conducting systematic and context-sensitive evaluations. It is highly questionable, Penn argues, that practices based mainly on US experience (which is often the case) can be legitimized in the South without further adaptations that are context-specific and more attuned to local norms and expectations. Penn also shows that ECD programs most widely cited as successful were all well-funded, but this is not the case in developing countries. Finally, she underlines how, in many Latin American countries, harsh and discriminatory working conditions of both employed mothers and unskilled and low paid women in informal home-based provisions of childcare, are not addressed.

Despite these criticisms and the fact that it is almost impossible to provide globally relevant ECD guidelines, Penn draws attention to three particularly vulnerable groups of children where ECD may be of critical importance: young children whose parents are time poor and absolutely poor, and do not have resources to care for them; young children affected by HIV/AIDS; and young children in situations of war and conflict.

Time-poor Parents

Examples from Zimbabwe illustrate concentrated efforts of farm managers and farm owners to help poor farm workers take care of their children in situ, by offering safe

play spaces and some basic care and nutrition (Penn, 2001 and Booker, 1995 as cited by Penn, *ibid.*). India offers one of the best known organizations dedicated to providing childcare for working mothers in the South. SEWA (Self Employed Women's Association) developed by women belonging to trade unions in the textile industry, has over seven hundred thousand members across seven states in India (www.SEWA.org). The organization campaigns on behalf of women both in formal and informal sectors, and it operates mainly through a federation of cooperatives that run crèches for the members; any self-employed woman can join SEWA for an annual fee of 5 Rupees.

Children Affected by HIV/AIDS

A UNESCO workshop identified several problems and needs of children affected by HIV/AIDS. For example: efforts to preserve records and ensure the legal rights of young children; efforts to ameliorate the negative consequences of stigma attached to children whose mothers have died of AIDS; the necessity to build community support to assist in day care, etc. (UNESCO as cited by Penn, *ibid.*). A comparative study of land issues conducted in Kenya, Lesotho and South Africa demonstrates practices around policy building concerned with land reform and regulation which will entitle women, orphans, and youth heads of household to inherit assets and maintain their livelihoods (Drimie, 2003). Given that orphan and grandparent headed households are likely to be chronically poor (Foster, 1997 as cited by Penn, *ibid.*), a set of accompanying policies that could augment the capacity of a household to maintain the land should also be considered (e.g. increasing access to water, seed supply, and credit; Drimie, *ibid.*).

A possible solution for inclusive care of HIV/AIDS children could be found within the idea of a communal approach through “children’s villages” which converts the concept of orphanage and allows better integration of children into the nearest community. Such an approach would not only address health related issues, but also could arguably resolve a problem of forced migration and prevent additional emotional stress in situations when orphans are sent to far away communities and distant relatives they had never met. In addition, it is an economically more viable solution as the annual cost of \$305 per child in Eritrea in a “children’s village” setting contrasts starkly with that of \$1,350 in an orphanage (Deininger et al, 2003).

Children in Situations of War and Conflict

Research discussing the lives of children in refugee camps notes that one of the most important elements of support was ‘normalization’, that is providing positive experiences of everyday living and coping with others (Paardekooper, 2002, as cited by Penn, *ibid.*). The study argues that given the uncertainties of refugee life and the poor conditions in many camps, emphasis on improving basic living conditions and offering a more stable group environment would be more beneficial to children coping with traumas than mere focus on post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). What children need the most are the opportunities to play together, establish friendships and social networks, and develop their autonomy in safe setting (Penn, *ibid.*). How this could be achieved through preschool daycare arrangements is evidenced in situations as diverse as Eritrea, Bosnia and Sudan (Lloyd et al, 2004, as cited by Penn, *ibid.*).

Inclusive Approach to Migration

The marginalized socio-economic position of a large migrant labor force in host countries is a problem widely recognized (e.g. low pay, difficulties with regulating legal status, inadequate housing, education and health services; (King and Thomson, 2005). Yet far less is done in terms of effective policies that would improve migrant integration. For example, the European Union as a transnational regulated entity provides a certain level of protection only to legal immigrants of the member states; so far, there is no binding legislation on the right to family life for third country migrants (Kofman, 2004).

With a relatively high proportion of the illegal labor force (about 14 percent), Italy represents an interesting case for the promotion of policies dealing with social integration and protection of the immigrant population. Zincone (1999) calls this approach the “hot Italian recipe”, best understood as a set of measures that encompass public education, social services and legal work. For example, undocumented immigrants and their families get access to health service in public hospitals. Further, the Turco-Napolitano law promulgated in 1998 confirmed the right to education for all foreign children present on Italian territory; as a consequence, the number of foreign students has risen considerably. Finally, several regions saturated with large immigrant populations employ “cultural mediators” who are not mere translators employed by local health services, courts, jails, and local authorities. Their role is to act as intermediaries, as bridges linking the cultural worlds of the immigrants and the Italians.

A number of issues pertaining to the regulation of policies related to education of children in a supra-national context is noted by Ackers and Stalford (2004). For example, they highlight the problems of transferability of curricula in a multinational

context. They also raise questions relating to design of curricula and teaching skills: what kind of education can respond to heterogeneity in the classroom, and what kind of skills would help teachers guide children through the process of settling into a new environment? Programs like SOCRATES, established by the European Commission in 1995, speak to those questions. The objective of the program is to promote intercultural education across the Member States and to promote cultural and linguistic pluralism and equality of opportunity.

An equitable and inclusive migration system must strive to include joined-up policies that would link migration with poverty alleviation and development in the source country (King and Thomson, 2005). Policy debates here are centered around questions asking how migrants' remittances could be used to promote development in countries of origin. A largely unexplored area of how remittances may be used in development concerns childcare policies. The example of the Philippines is a case in point.

Every day, the Philippines "exports" 1200 women to various destinations around the world. Women who mainly work as domestic servants or in childcare account for most foreign remittances (71%; Sadasivam, 2001). The government is stimulating this kind of emigration, and the "best domestic servant" is decorated by the President himself (Lutz, 2002). Ironically, while these women work abroad, large numbers of their own children (2.2 million in the age group 0-4, and 1.6 million in the age group 5-9), remain unattended at home, exposed to chronic malnutrition, emotional stress, domestic violence, etc. (Sadasivam, 2001). This situation raises a number of questions. Who is responsible for the care of children left behind? How can a country be made accountable

for its policies? Given that the state is stimulating emigration and even rewarding it, it seems natural that it should be liable in terms of finding better solutions for domestic child care. But who is to render a verdict about a country's accountability – local NGOs, or an international body?

3.3 Does Focus on Inclusion/Exclusion Change the Policy Response?

For the most part, policies and ideas discussed in this report have for a number of years been part of the anti-poverty agenda. With this in mind, it is relevant to ask what can social inclusion/exclusion add to the analysis of social policies in general and, in particular, what can it add to analyses based on the concepts of poverty and deprivation? Building on Atkinson's (1998) idea that analysis of social exclusion constitutes a change in emphasis rather than a change in direction, Hills (2001) argues that the novelty of this approach, with its focus on dynamic processes, lies in the possibility of identifying: a) key events or characteristics which have long-term adverse effects; and b) points of entry for policy action.

For example, the new data on income dynamics and mobility have an impact as to how we understand the incidence of low income (e.g., noting differences between permanent, recurrent, and transitory low incomes). This can enable us to refine policies depending on particular circumstances. We can either place more emphasis on those that are concerned with entry to adverse circumstances (prevention and protection), or those that are concerned with exits from them (promotion and propulsion).

3.4 Implications for UNICEF

A long and successful track record with a country-based approach to development presents a unique opportunity for UNICEF to take a leading role among the institutions concerned with supra-national interventions. For example, UNICEF's extensive world presence can help refine country strategies in achieving MDGs and making PRSPs more effective in poverty alleviation. Supporting participatory poverty assessment efforts similar to those UNICEF undertook in Mozambique (Bonnell et al, 2004) could make contributions in variety of ways: country targets could become more context-specific, poverty monitoring system strengthened, and a population mobilized to become a more active agent of change.

As a global advocate, UNICEF could build on its vast national networks, using comparative country experiences to find common threads in setting standards in the international arena; or pointing to innovative ways in how to think about global targets, budget planning, etc. Further, supporting focus on the inclusion/exclusion approach could shed light on the processes that transpire on the national, regional and local levels, thus identifying those that are facilitating anti-poverty efforts or obstructing them. UNICEF's rights-based approach can also be helpful in monitoring how rights and regulations in a society are interpreted and implemented. Such endeavors can serve to stimulate policy debates both on national and global levels.

For example, in Swaziland, UNICEF was the most active advocate for the need of a better regulated preschool system (Penn, 2004). It not only convened sessions with the Ministry of Education highlighting possible policy approaches, but it also supported publication of a manual for care givers and trainers. The manual was based with a local

NGO that helped develop practice guideline. An example of how UNICEF used country experience to set a stage for a global policy approach is evidenced in a landmark study, *Adjustment With a Human Face* (Cornia et al, 1987). Critical accounts of Structural Adjustment Programs featured in this book influenced a shift in policy that meant stronger focus on child survival and development through priority of actions in health, education and the provision of safe water and basic sanitation (Jolly, 2005).

In light of an integrated synergy-based approach for child policies (CHIP, 2005), UNICEF could, for example, promote simultaneous emphasis on issues related to quality day care and difficult conditions of working women. In the area of AIDS related policies, difficult situation of orphans can be addressed though all encompassing health, education and nutritional provision, but also through emphasis on land regulation policies. Securing land could potentially provide more stable sources of income. When possible, in emergency situations (e.g., natural disasters and war) emphasis on fulfilling immediate food, sanitary and water needs should be accompanied by exploring possibilities for securing long-term livelihood of displaced populations.

Most developing countries experience coordination problems (Basu, 2005). It is here, Basu argues, where organizations with supra-national infrastructure such as UNICEF have an opportunity to help poor countries accomplish goals that are in their best interest. Invoking the idea that development is about building partnerships and relationships (Eyben as cited by Chambers, 2004) is instrumental for the final argument. It is through the efforts to establish greater coherence and collaboration on a country level between UNICEF and other partners such as the World Bank, governments, local and international NGOs, trade unions, religious institutions, etc., that we may begin to see

more effective and broader poverty reduction initiatives. Partial evidence about the success of such endeavors (Bonnell et al, 2004; Penn, 2004) supports efforts in this direction.

In a discussion about the emerging models of global governance, Ngaire Woods (2002) contends that too many contemporary debates are revolving around issues such as the reform and creation of international institutions. Woods suggests that we ought to be paying attention to other forms that are taking hold such as networks, coalitions and informal arrangements. Bob Deacon (2003) expands this idea and argues for the establishment of “global political alliances”. The role of these alliances would be to set ethical and policy standards that would serve as guiding principles to those in charge of projects and task forces.

Cornia’s (2001) proposal to establish the observatory to monitor child rights is situated between the ideas of networks and alliances, as it calls for the collaboration of a “tripartite commission”. The first pillar of the commission would be composed of the IMF, World Bank, WTO; the second composed of the WHO, ILO, Human Rights Commission and UNICEF; and the third (identified as the most important) would be governed by the government and civil society of those countries that have agreed to report to the CRC commission and stand by the rules of economic agreements. Together, members of the commission would assess the compatibility of major economic and social objectives and policies and suggest mediation mechanisms in case children’s rights are breached.

CONCLUSIONS

The objective and values that would inform any route map towards an inclusive society remain vague. However, three elements seem to be of critical importance for stimulating more inclusive and stable environment. The first element recognizes the value of human rights instruments for creating more equitable institutions. The second element rests on the principle of universal and all inclusive access to public services such as education, health, water, sanitation and housing. The third element puts emphasis on active participation of citizens in the policy process. More research is needed that will analyze processes through which policy participants become empowered.

For the most part, inclusion has been assessed through different modalities of social exclusion. The value of this approach for poverty related analysis lies in its ability to identify structural characteristics of societies responsible for deprivation. Still, future research needs to focus on identifying terms and conditions of inclusiveness more directly.

Current instruments of poverty reduction - MDGs and PRSPs - do not address poverty in completely satisfying ways. Both instruments can be enhanced and the poverty agenda enlarged with more emphasis on human rights, less focus on income-based poverty measurements, and more prominence given to issues related to children and women. Acting on poverty necessitates looking beyond one-size-fits-all recipes for poverty reduction. The shape and form of these efforts will depend on different bureaucratic, political and social contexts.

A call for a more universal, progressive campaign for change that will be guided on the principles of social justice would require innovative ways of policy thinking in

four domains. These changes will be reflected through creation of a new global economic architecture; emphasis on democratic global governance; equitable trade; and regulation of corporate and governmental action in the global arena.

Child-focused policies need to be reflected within the larger economic policy framework; this has not been fully recognized in current anti-poverty efforts. Prioritizing stable income and employment is often mentioned as the most beneficial macroeconomic policy for children. Indeed, paid work has been considered as a key element of social inclusion. However, creating more opportunities for paid work will not be enough to eliminate child poverty. Therefore, promotion of protective cash benefits, in particular those designed to include education, health and nutritional components, is considered as a highly relevant, additional set of child-focused policies. Such policies, introduced at an early age, not only provide temporary relief to the poor but have a potential to be an effective long-term policy for raising households out of poverty, thus breaking the cycle in the next generation.

END NOTES:

¹ Data from 25 developing countries indicate that, for the late 1980s and early 1990s, a child born in a family in the bottom quintile (in the poorest 20 percent of the population) was on average, 2.2 times more likely to die before its fifth birthday than a child born in the same country but in a family of the top quintile. Ten years later, the gap averaged 2.7 times. Vandemoortele (2005, p. 7)

² Observing similar trend on the regional level, during the Asian recession in the late 1990s, unemployment in South Korea reached around two million by the end of 1998, which constituted 10 percent of the workforce. At the same time, the number of people in poverty in Indonesia increased from 22 million at the beginning of 1998, to 58 million (Paupp, 2000). By 2002 the poverty rates declined to the rates observed before 1996, however, by 2004 they still had not returned to the trend rate of decline disrupted in 1998 (WDR 2006). The countries of Latin America were also hard hit by economic crisis in the 1990s. Between 1995 and 1997, wages in Mexico declined by 28, while twenty thousand of small and medium-sized businesses (one third of Mexico's commercial enterprises) went bankrupt leaving over two million people without jobs (Paupp, 2000).

³ In some of the poor regions of Mexico, the poor often cannot afford professional medical services and instead use traditional healers; as a consequence three-quarters of health care visits lead to inadequate treatment (Whitehead, 2001). Similarly, there is evidence that the poor who cannot afford professional services use the services of pharmacies that in many instances do not follow prescribing regulations. As a result of these practices, in Vietnam the frequency of antibiotic resistance is very high (Tornqvist et al., 2000). In Argentina and Brazil, to apply for free care at public institutions, poor patients must submit to lengthy means testing with rejection rates averaging 30-40 percent in some hospitals (Iriart et al., 2001).

⁴ The combined income of three billion people in the south is less than the assets of 358 multibillionaires. Although the 2002 data for foreign direct investment (FDI) show a figure ten times its level in 1985 (US \$633 billion and US \$58 billion respectively), most low and middle income countries did not receive the FDI they were expecting. More specifically, the share for low income countries fell from an already marginal 3.3 percent in 1985 to 1.1 percent in 2002.

While the world trade more than tripled from US \$2,300 billion in 1985 to over US \$7,800 billion in 2002, the figures show that in the past 17 years the share in the world trade of the low income countries (excluding India) actually decreased from 3.6 percent in 1985 to 2.7 percent in 2002, indicating a marginalization in terms of world market share.

⁵ A British study of what happened over a five year period to a group of people unemployed in 1990-92 found that three out of four of the jobs they moved into were temporary, part-time, self-employed, or at a considerably lower skill level than their previous employment (White and Forth, 1998 as cited by Lister, 2000).

⁶ For example, available public housing is often out of reach for these women because of complicated application procedures contingent upon granted divorce, a process which may take years to finalize. Thus, unable to find affordable housing, low-income women often end up in slum areas where they face problems of sexual harassment, difficulties in taking care of children, security problems and conflicts with neighbors. In addition, social services are scarce and inadequate. Research indicates that many social workers lack sufficient gender sensitivity to understand the specific problems of battered women. Very often, battered women and their children are not regarded as having genuine housing needs unless they are literally homeless.

⁷ The rationale of Queensland State Education 2010 is to provide investment in state school education so that students and citizens can acquire capacity to participate and shape community, economic, and political life in times of globalization. Education and Training Reforms for the Future; and Smart State: Health 2020 aim at enhanced economic prosperity, social investment and social justice. The adopted WHO framework:

‘A life time investment in health and well-being’, provides an integrated approach to health. Cape York Partnerships focuses on public, private and community partnerships; local governance; and capacity building aiming to link economic, social and environmental policy.

⁸ The Index for Inclusive Schooling as designed by the Centre for Studies on Inclusive Education (2003) as cited by UNESCO (2005): 1. Pupils are entitled to take part in all subjects and activities. 2. Teaching and learning are planned with all pupils in mind. 3. The curriculum develops understanding and respect for differences. 4. During lessons pupils participate. 5. A variety of teaching styles and strategies is used. 6. Pupils experience success in their learning. 7. The curriculum seeks to develop understanding of the different cultures in society. 8. Pupils take part in the assessment and accreditation systems. 9. Difficulties in learning are seen as opportunities for the development of practice.

⁹ Rowntree’s study, published in 1901, was the first to introduce a poverty standard for individual families, based on estimates of nutritional and other requirements (Maxwell, 1999).

¹⁰ “The experience of poverty goes beyond material deprivation and low levels of health and education. The inability to influence the decisions that affect one’s life, ill treatment by state institutions, and impediments created by social barriers and norms are also dimensions of ill-being. Another is vulnerability to adverse shocks, natural disasters, disease, and personal violence.” (World Development Report, 2000/2001, p. 29).

¹¹ Although MDGs address some of the critical areas of human development, they do not directly deal with participation, democracy and human rights. Current readings on MDGs, however, indicate that the agenda should be expanded to reflect the core values spelled out in the Millennium Development Declaration. See for example, Maxwell, 2005; Vandemoortele, 2005; Renard-Painter, 2004).

¹² They include halving income-poverty and hunger; achieving universal primary education and gender equality; reducing under-5 mortality by two-thirds and maternal mortality by three-quarters; reversing the spread of HIV/AIDS; and halving the proportion of people without access to safe water. These targets are to be achieved by 2015, from their level in 1990 (United Nations, 2000 as cited by Vandemoortele, 2002).

¹³ A search for the period 2000 through 2006 based on two key words – children and Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers – on two major data bases for social science research (EconLit and Social Abstracts) yielded only one result.

¹⁴ For further reading see Heidel, (2005).

¹⁵ Discussion about the latter claim is beyond the scope of this report; it suffices to say that building linkages between MDGs and human rights instruments will benefit human rights by harnessing global political will.

¹⁶ Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey designed by UNICEF, a quantitative data collection instrument can also serve as a poverty-monitoring tool.

¹⁷ William Wordsworth wrote a poem “The French Revolution as it appeared to enthusiasts at its commencement” in 1805. The full text can be found at: www.barleby.com/145/ww285.htm.

¹⁸ The experience of the countries affected by the SAP and volatile markets indicates that those who found the right balance between economic and social policies were better able to sustain the crisis. For example, Chile introduced food subsidies for children under eight years of age and pregnant women, primary school feeding programs, and public works, and avoided a decline in child welfare (Waddington, 2004). Similarly, Indonesia, along with Thailand the worst hit by financial crisis in the region, demonstrated that a program targeting children can indeed succeed, even in the environment where public expenditure was significantly cut. The “Back to School” program provided scholarships and mobilized media in an effort to insure school attendance (Cameron, 2000 as cited by Waddington, 2004).

¹⁹ The members of the forum are the G7 and the major financial institutions.

²⁰ For children in initially poor married-couple households, a year after these gained one or more full-time workers, 63 percent of the German children but only 52 percent of the British children were no longer poor (Jenkins and Schluter, 2001 as cited by Hills, 2001, p. 233).

²¹ Penn (2004) indicates that the literature refers to ‘early childhood development’ or ‘early childhood interventions’ in a blanket way. These definitions overlap and it is not always clear what the intervention involves. In a broad sense they can mean: school based nursery education, usually for children aged three to six; community based preschool or playgroups; center-based childcare for children aged between 6 months to three, or 6 months to six; home-based childcare delivered by untrained or minimally trained women; home visiting, parent education support; health programs including health monitoring, vaccinations and treatment against illness or disease; and supplementary feeding programs.

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