

Leave No One Behind – from goals to implementation

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Poverty is an outrage against humanity.
It robs people of dignity, freedom and hope,
of power over their own lives.

Christian Aid has a vision – an end to
poverty – and we believe that vision can
become a reality. We urge you to join us.

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Cover photo: Christian Aid partner organisation Sakhi Kendra helps organise women and young people from poor communities – mostly Dalit – into groups and unions, to strengthen their ability to demand their rights.

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With input from, and endorsed by:



Introduction

In a just world, progress on poverty eradication and sustainable development should include everyone. Inclusion is rooted in the principle of human rights and is echoed in Christian Aid's vision of equality for all.¹

In this report, we seek to illustrate the importance of the 'leave no one behind' principle. We want to see the post-2015 development agenda, to be agreed by world leaders in September 2015, articulate a clear vision to 'leave no one behind' and also set out a roadmap for how to turn ambition into reality.

What do we mean by 'leave no one behind'?

While the 'leave no one behind' concept is implicit within the ambition to eradicate poverty in all its forms by 2030 and in a human rights-based approach to development, it has emerged as a specific call to action within the post-2015 development agenda. The 27-member, UN High-level Panel of Eminent Persons, set up to advise on the new global development framework, argued for a transformative shift in the following terms:

We should ensure that no person – regardless of ethnicity, gender, geography, disability, race or other status – is denied universal human rights and basic economic opportunities. We should design goals that focus on reaching excluded groups, for example by making sure we track progress at all levels of income, and by providing social protection to help people build resilience to life's uncertainties.

We can be the first generation in human history to end hunger and ensure that every person achieves a basic standard of wellbeing. There can be no excuses. This is a universal agenda, for which everyone must accept their proper share of responsibility.²

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The panel went on to propose that:

In all cases where a target applies to outcomes for individuals, it should only be deemed to be met if every group – defined by income quintile, gender, location or otherwise – has met the target.

This idea that has been taken up and championed by global civil society and was reiterated in the UN Secretary General's report, *The Road to Dignity by 2030*, which stated:

'As we implement the new agenda we must... address inequalities in all areas, agreeing that no goal or target be considered met unless met for all social and economic groups.'³

It was also recognised, if not explicitly articulated, in the chapeau of the report of the Open Working Group for Sustainable Development Goals, when it stated the need to 'take urgent steps to improve the quality, coverage and availability of disaggregated data to ensure that no one is left behind.'⁴

Initial drafts of the post-2015 Outcome Document have put the idea of 'leaving no one behind' front and centre, and it is our conviction that this must be retained and strengthened even further.

Leave no one behind – why do we need it?

Although the importance of 'leave no one behind' is indisputable, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) have not provided the necessary incentive for action, and many communities, and in some cases countries, have indeed been left behind. Too often, a focus on average progress has obscured a reality of entrenched poverty and exclusion. We should, of course, celebrate all progress, but the harder work should not be left for another time.

The following examples, from Christian Aid partners, illustrate some of the challenges of this agenda but also demonstrate the enormous potential for change and for partnership between governments and civil society organisations.

Case studies

Leaving no one behind in Ghana

Despite facing recent financial challenges, Ghana has been ranked one of the best performing economies in Africa. Driven largely by the service sector, the country has achieved consistent growth at an annual rate of 6% over the last six years,⁵ and it was ranked 7th out of 52 African countries in the 2014 Ibrahim Index of African Governance, making it one of the best-performing countries in West Africa.

Ghana's progress towards the MDGs is mixed, with the country projected to miss a number of goals and targets. Even where there has been overall progress, disaggregating data reveals widening inequalities across economic and social groups. For although income-poverty levels reduced from 52% in 1992 to 28.5% in 2006, southern Ghana reduced its level by 58.66%, and northern Ghana by only 8.87%. This is not an isolated example – disaggregation reveals inequality not only geographically but also between women and men, and among groups such as young people and disabled people. For example, poverty is very high among food crop farmers, where women predominate, most of whom operate on a subsistence basis.

In the case of maternal mortality, there has been an overall reduction in maternal deaths of 49% between 1990 and 2013. However, this has not been enough to reach the MDG target and disaggregation by region reveals huge disparities – the 2010 Population and Housing Census revealed that the Upper East Region of Ghana had a maternal mortality rate of 802/100,000, compared with the national figure – estimated in that survey to be 485/100,000. More recent figures relating to institutional maternal mortality suggest that things are getting worse, rather than better, in the Greater Accra region.



Lukman travelled 90km to his grandmother's home in Gbanyamni so he could go to the village school. His school, Gbanyamni Primary, is part of Ghana's School Feeding Programme, which ensures all schoolchildren get a meal.

Gender equality in education – the focus of MDG 3 – has improved across the country, yet significant gender disparities persist in decision-making and governance spaces. Women represent 51% of the national population, yet they make up only 10.9% of parliamentarians and, in 2009, only 11% of assembly members and 3.4% of those elected at local-government level.⁶

In response to these inequalities, Ghana has committed to various international instruments and conventions. In an attempt to address the north-south development gap, the Savannah Accelerated Development Authority (SADA) was established by Act 805 in 2010. Its purpose is to provide a framework for the comprehensive and long-term development of the Northern Savannah Ecological Zone and, among other things, to provide opportunities for poor peasants, especially women, to own economic assets, sustain their food crop and to protect the fragile ecosystem through better management of the flood-prone riverbeds. However, the policy has so far failed to address these challenges and SADA itself is

being restructured because of its poor governance, corruption and politicisation.

Interventions by civil society organisations have been critical. Christian Aid partner SEND-Ghana called for the original SADA bill to be withdrawn from Cabinet and put up for public discussion in order that the aspirations and participation of marginalised people in northern Ghana were included when defining priority areas of the programme. As a result, the programme is now working with women's groups, traditional leaders and some educational and religious institutions to improve women's representation and participation in local government. Civil society organisations supported by Christian Aid are also important partners in efforts to reduce maternal mortality in the north of the country, and in efforts to build more inclusive and participatory markets through the provision of market information, and the formation and strengthening of farmers groups.

Lessons from Ghana indicate that 'leaving no one behind' will require not only a targeted focus on the most

An analysis of inequality in Brazil by Christian Aid's partner CEBRAP concluded that: 'If we were to take two individuals, one white and one black – with all other characteristics being equal (both male, same age, same standard of education, in the same profession etc) – the income of a black person would always be lower.'

marginalised but also an emphasis on participation, partnerships with civil society, and institutional strengthening to ensure that programmes such as the SADA are successful.

Supporting indigenous and Afro-descendant communities in Latin America and the Caribbean

Income inequality has been decreasing in Brazil. This has been achieved through, among other things, labour market policies – such as increases in the minimum wage and cash transfers for some of the poorest households. However, racial inequalities are still pronounced, with the worst outcomes for Afro-Brazilians, who make up 50.7% of the population. These inequalities have been acknowledged as problematic by negotiators debating the 'leave no one behind' principle. An analysis of inequality in Brazil by Christian Aid's partner CEBRAP concluded that: 'If we were to take two individuals, one white and one black – with all other characteristics being equal (both male, same age, same standard of education, in the same profession etc) – the income of a black person would always be lower.'⁷

Among the Afro-Brazilian population, the Quilombola communities, originally set up by people escaping slavery, are particularly discriminated against. They experience exclusion, poverty and, at times, criminalisation. There are more than 3,000 Quilombola communities,⁸ representing around 1.17 million people,⁹ spread throughout Brazil but mainly located in rural areas.

In its 2014 national report on progress towards the MDGs,¹⁰ the Brazilian Government highlighted a range of important achievements, which included:

- reducing the under-fives' mortality rate by two-thirds

- halving the number of people without access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation
- halving the number of people living on less than US\$1.25 a day
- making strong progress towards achieving universal primary education.

Applying a 'leave no one behind' lens to these statistics is challenging given the lack of official, publicly available data on the Quilombola communities. However, a recent study conducted by CEBRAP for Christian Aid¹¹ has cross-referenced information from the national census with geographical information to create a geo-referenced database. Some of the most interesting data shows that:

- 18% of people in Quilombola territories (QTs) earned less than half of the minimum wage, compared to 3% nationally
- 33.4% of households in QTs had a direct water supply, compared to 82.9% nationally
- 19.5% of households in QTs had

access to the sewage network, compared to 68.9% nationally

- 75.6% of children aged 10 and above in QTs had literacy skills, compared to 94.3% nationally.

Measures to improve the living conditions of Quilombolas include the constitutional changes in 1988 that gave collective land rights to Quilombola communities, and the Quilombola Brazil Programme, introduced in 2004 to provide essential services to registered Quilombola communities, such as homes, water, electricity, education, and nutritional and health support. However it is evident that much more remains to be done, in order to ensure that Quilombola communities are not left behind. Inequalities persist due to the long-standing invisibility of Quilombolas to state service providers and also due to unequal land ownership in Brazil, the Quilombolas' special relationship with their lands, and insecurity around land tenure. This makes it hard to target them for anti-poverty programmes and provision of essential public services. Furthermore, conflict around land can exacerbate their social exclusion.



Schoolchildren aboard the boat that takes them from their village in the Amazon rainforest to school. With our partner's support, this Quilombola community gained the legal collective title to the lands where they have lived for generations.

'When you go to the [Ch'orti] community you find them eating once or twice a week and that doesn't fulfil anyone's nutritional requirements. These children don't become malnourished by chance.'

Brazil continues to have the most unequal pattern of land ownership in the world – just 3% of the population own two-thirds of all arable land.¹² More than a quarter of a century after the constitutional changes, only 233 Quilombola communities¹³ have acquired titles to their lands, representing just 8% of what is estimated to be a total of more than 3,000. Obstacles include an ineffective and under-spent land regularisation agency,¹⁴ and the introduction of slower and more costly bureaucratic processes. This inertia has left Quilombola communities vulnerable to pressure from the private and the public sector. In turn, this has brought about local conflicts, criminalisation of community leaders and human rights defenders, and smear campaigns against Quilombola and indigenous communities – further exacerbating their social exclusion.

The opposition to progress on inequalities of land ownership in Brazil is strong, well organised and often accompanied by violence. It is a volatile situation that brings to the fore 'two of the oldest national wounds – access to land and racism.'¹⁵ Challenging the status quo has required organisations such as Christian Aid partner the Pro-Indigenous Commission (CPI – Comissão Pró-Índio de São Paulo) to help communities secure land tenure through advocacy and legal assistance. For example, in 2014, CPI supported Quilombolas in the Amazon forest to claim their rights to free, prior, informed consent against a mining company that intended to carry out geological studies in their lands to extract bauxite. CPI, along with other Christian Aid partners MST and INESC, has also fought for Quilombolas' exemption from the Rural Land Tax (ITR) – which, in one instance, saved the community from a bill of around US\$6m. The government supported the change in law and this represents an important step towards guaranteeing the land

rights of Quilombolas and achieving tax justice. This is challenging work, but these are the kinds of reform required in a development agenda that aims to 'leave no one behind'.

Christian Aid is also supporting partner organisations addressing inequalities in Guatemala.¹⁶ These inequalities have fuelled one of the region's bloodiest armed conflicts, in which human rights abuses have been committed on a massive scale and disproportionately affected indigenous communities. Guatemala ranks 125 out of 187 countries on the 2014 Human Development Index (HDI) and has a Gini index of 55.9 – the distribution of income remains highly unequal, with the richest 20% of the population accounting for more than 51% of Guatemala's overall consumption.¹⁷

The country remains characterised by inequality and exclusion,¹⁸ and differences documented in many of the MDG indicators have been found between geographic locations, ethnicities, and between women and men. Poverty in Guatemala is primarily experienced in rural, indigenous areas. There are more than 4.4 million indigenous inhabitants in Guatemala (40% of the country's population), made up of 25 ethnic groups, as well as the four officially recognised cultures: Maya, Xinka, Garifuna and Mestizo (also known as Ladino).¹⁹

According to official government statistics, more than half of the population (56.19%) lives below the national poverty line, and 15.59% of the population lives in extreme poverty.²⁰ Poverty among indigenous groups averages 74%,²¹ and the indigenous population represents 24.3% of those living in extreme poverty.²² Stunting, resulting from chronic malnutrition, is among the highest in the world (49.8%), and it is even higher among indigenous children under five (69.5%).²³ For children aged six to nine, there has been



Dr Carolos Arriola treats children who are chronically malnourished. He is the director of Christian Aid partner organisation Bethania, in Guatemala.

some overall progress in the reduction of chronic malnutrition but in some primarily indigenous locations, such as Chiquimula, malnutrition has been increasing.

'When you go to the [Ch'orti] community you find them eating once or twice a week and that doesn't fulfil anyone's nutritional requirements. These children don't become malnourished by chance. They become malnourished because they don't live in the right conditions. There isn't enough food; there isn't land; there are no land rights... It is primarily the children who die. Often the deaths aren't registered as malnutrition. The malnourished child has a very low immune system, so they have a very high chance of getting pneumonia or severe diarrhoea or tuberculosis. So a child can die of bronchitis and pneumonia, but the reason behind it is the malnutrition.'

Carlos Arriola, doctor at the Bethania malnutrition clinic in Chiquimula²⁴

Various efforts have been made to try and reduce poverty and tackle inequality in Guatemala. The Peace Accords signed in 1996 committed to major structural changes, including land and tax reforms and big increases in social spending on, for example, more culturally appropriate, bilingual education programmes. However, few reforms have been achieved, and Guatemala continues to have one of the lowest tax collection rates in Latin America, one of the most regressive tax systems and one of the most generous regimes of tax exemptions for companies. The country also has one of the lowest levels of social spending in the region. Total expenditure on health as a percentage of GDP has risen in the last 10 years, but the healthcare system continues to rely on private expenditure – primarily out-of-pocket spending.²⁵ As a result, Guatemala has the highest level of private expenditure as a proportion of total health expenditure of any Latin American country.

Another problem is the level of wages.²⁶ Although there have been gradual increases in the agricultural workers' wage (set just below the national minimum wage), it continues to fall short of even the cost of a basic food basket. Surveys by the National Institute of Statistics in Guatemala show that 60% of Guatemalan workers are paid less than the already insufficient minimum wage and that indigenous workers receive, on average, 23% less than the national minimum wage.

Looking ahead to the SDGs, there is a clear need to revisit both the policies and the mechanisms for implementation and enforcement, to ensure that Guatemala's poor, and the indigenous population in particular, are not left behind.



Chandramma Moligeri is a Dalit from Andhra Pradesh in India. She used to farm just 1.5 acres. Through Christian Aid partner Deccan Development Society she joined a local community group and has been able to grow her assets to 20 acres.

Caste discrimination and disparities in South Asia

In South Asia, poverty is overwhelmingly concentrated among those groups who face discrimination because of who they are and the work they do. Discrimination based on work and descent, associated with the practice of caste, is a root cause of inequality and persistently high levels of poverty – worldwide, it is estimated that 260 million people are affected.

An analysis of the effects of economic growth on poverty reduction, disaggregated across different social groups in India, found that those affected by caste-based discrimination ('Scheduled Castes') are among those that fare worst.²⁷ In Nepal, a similar analysis of efforts towards achieving the MDGs also found that rates of poverty among some social groups, such as Dalits and Janajati (indigenous people), continue to be much higher than the national average. Moreover, although the poverty rate at the national level has declined, the positions of some social groups, particularly Dalits, have worsened.²⁸ This suggests that social disparities could continue to exist

if resources are not targeted on those groups who are being left behind.

Increasingly, as part of a global movement, people experiencing caste-based discrimination are identifying themselves as Dalits (a title that means 'oppressed people'). Discrimination against them is linked to notions of both ritual impurity and the 'unclean' and menial nature of the type of work they carry out. Dalits have very little choice but to work in low status, 'traditional' occupations such as cleaning, manual scavenging of human waste, and other labour-intensive sectors such as agriculture. They are highly vulnerable to being trapped in bonded labour and other forms of slavery. For Dalits, therefore, there is no equality of opportunity, in contravention of both national laws and international human rights conventions.

In much of the region, Dalits face the continued practice of 'untouchability', which restricts their use of public spaces, access to public services and acceptance for many forms of employment. In schools, this can mean that Dalit children are humiliated and/or denied

equal access to learning support, with detrimental impacts on their education. The settlements of Dalits are generally segregated from the wider population and often bypassed in provision of infrastructure.²⁹ Access to a range of social benefits, including healthcare, education and other entitlements is lower among excluded groups than in the wider population, and this perpetuates inequalities. Dalits remain under-represented in many key sectors such as media, teaching, the police and judiciary.

Violence, including sexual violence, is commonly used by higher caste groups to wield power against Dalits, and is often perpetrated when Dalits are perceived to be stepping outside their 'traditional' role and/or asserting their rights. For all Dalits, and especially women and children, this limits freedom of movement, educational and economic opportunities and aspirations. While some countries have laws in place to protect against caste-based discrimination and violence – in Nepal, for example, the Caste Based Discrimination and Untouchability (Offence and Punishment) Act, 2011, provides for punishment including imprisonment and fines – access to justice nevertheless remains a huge challenge.

In Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, there are constitutional bans on discrimination based on caste and social origin/status. In India, Nepal and Sri Lanka there are protective laws and affirmative action (known as 'reservation' policy); and in India and Nepal there are targeted welfare distribution programmes. Despite these measures, caste-based discrimination and associated disparities in development outcomes persist in the region. While legislation and social protection remain critical, there is an urgent need to consider other ways to eradicate prejudice and discriminatory social norms.



Dalit sweepers contribute to Dhaka's public services, but get very few in return. They even struggle to hold on to their underpaid and poorly regarded jobs. However, the Dalit movement in Bangladesh is now growing in confidence.

The monitoring committee of the UN International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination³⁰ prohibits and condemns descent-based discrimination such as caste discrimination, acknowledging how it undermines access to other human rights.³¹ A Draft *UN Principles and Guidelines for the Effective Elimination of Discrimination Based on Work and Descent* also exists but has yet to be finalised.³² Assessments of progress towards the draft guidelines, carried out in Nepal, India and Bangladesh, highlight how much remains to be done.

The opening of economic opportunities for Dalits has enabled some to have a dignified and adequate livelihood, and has been important in enabling the development of Dalit leadership. The reservation policy, guaranteeing jobs in Indian government institutions on a proportional basis, has helped to address income inequalities, but in recent years public sector employment has declined. In response, in 2007 the Confederation of Indian Industry agreed to an action plan for voluntary affirmative action by companies – but implementation has been patchy. In 2011, research conducted among 21 large and reputable private sector companies found that only 9% had an affirmative action policy.³³

Budgeting for equality – the struggle for revenue allocations for Scheduled Tribes and Castes

In 2012, a sustained campaign in Andhra Pradesh, India, that brought together activists, civil society organisations and others, was successful in securing financial provision to support the development of socially excluded groups. It had taken years of advocacy and changes in legislation to improve implementation of sub-plans.

A Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) and Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan (SCSP) were originally introduced in 1974 and 1980 respectively, as guidelines by the central government to address social and economic inequalities. They were designed to proportionally direct national resources to the SC and ST populations, at both state and national levels. In Andhra Pradesh, this would have amounted to 16.2% of budget available to support development for SCs (Dalits). However, as in other states, according to a study by civil society organisation Centre for Dalit Studies, these resources seldom reached the excluded groups.

‘Violence, including sexual violence, is commonly used by higher caste groups to wield power against Dalits. For all Dalits, and especially women and children, this limits freedom of movement, educational and economic opportunities and aspirations.

Trapped in poverty: caste-based discrimination and employment

Decent work can be one of the most important ways to tackle inequality, yet social hierarchies and their associated power inequalities are often magnified and exploited in the workplace, trapping people in adverse employment conditions. For those affected by multiple intersecting inequalities, the effects of this can be extreme and passed down through generations.

Among Dalit municipal cleaners employed in Dhaka, Bangladesh, about 18–20% are from non-Bengali communities.

Despite having Bangladeshi citizenship, these descendants of migrants from India are disadvantaged by language and ethnicity, and by the lack of any ‘home village’ in Bangladesh where

they can find a place to live or an alternative livelihood. Among them, women are particularly disadvantaged since they have very few alternatives to a cleaning job, and are more likely to suffer from violence or harassment during the course of this work.

Lack of a ‘home village’ in Bangladesh is a huge problem for these communities, since their social status is a barrier to accessing land or housing beyond the inadequate staff quarters assigned to them. Again, women bear the brunt of the lack of privacy, sanitation or other basic services.

Trapped in poverty: caste-based discrimination and employment, Christian Aid report, 2014.

Christian Aid partners in South Asia have long been engaged with the promotion of Dalit rights to equality, land, improved livelihoods and access to justice. This has included strengthening the capacities of Dalit individuals and communities to access entitlements and engage with government officials to address the discrimination they face. A number of partners are also specifically addressing discrimination against Dalit women, in recognition of the need for specific interventions to ensure that these women do not fall through the gaps of existing policies and programmes for either Dalit/Scheduled Castes or women.

In November 2014, civil society organisations from across South Asia called on leaders of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) to address caste-based discrimination. Christian Aid partner organisations and their networks in India, Bangladesh and Nepal have been

growing in strength to address caste discrimination nationally and regionally. An emerging Asia Dalit Rights Forum (ADRF) is calling for social justice and equality for Dalits across the region. In the context of the post-2015 SDGs, it also strongly supports the proposed separate goal on inequality and targets to address the needs of the most marginalised and excluded communities.

Economic and social inequalities in South Africa

Levels of poverty in South Africa have reduced slightly over the last 20 years, but inequality has not.³⁴ Using the Gini index, income inequality is currently around 70, making it one of the most unequal countries in the world. Economic inequality is also situated within a wider set of inequalities – race, gender, age and regional location, which themselves have historic roots in colonialism and apartheid. It is not clear if sufficient political will

exists to reduce inequality substantially. The current National Development Plan commits the country to eliminating poverty by 2030, but the country’s income inequality goal is to reduce the Gini index measure to 60 by 2030 – which is still extremely high.

Gender inequality persists and women are statistically more likely to be poorer than men. Women living in poverty stands at 58.6% compared to 56.8% of men, and in 2010/11 the annual average household income for households headed by women was R86,582, compared to R197,036 for the average household headed by a man.³⁵ As recent qualitative research undertaken by the Support Programme for Industrial Innovation (SPII) has confirmed, patriarchal practices and customs continue to deprive women of decision-making authority in many households, which further restricts these women’s ability to adopt sustainable livelihoods independent of a male head.

Prior to democracy in 1994, access to education, assets, land, social protection and even employment for black people was restricted through a myriad of laws and policies, leading to intergenerational impoverishment. Wages for black workers were artificially dampened to increase profits and, despite post-apartheid policies aimed at addressing the effects of past discrimination, many of these conditions persist. The average annual household income for a household headed by a black African in 2010/11 was R85,118, compared to a staggering R473,081 for a household headed by a white person. Levels of skills and education are lowest among poor black Africans, for whom unemployment levels are by far the highest, accounting for 88% of the unemployed nationally.³⁶

Unemployment, including inactive job-seekers, affects 35% of the potential workforce, but having a job

The average income for households [in South Africa] with a head of household employed in the top income decile is 133 times the average for a household headed by an employed person in the lowest income decile.'



Sista is a member of Christian Aid partner Wola Nani's kids club in Phillipe, Cape Town. The club supports children living with HIV.

is no guarantee of prosperity either. In South Africa, the wage differential is also exceedingly high. The average income for households with a head of household employed in the top income decile is 133 times the average for a household headed by an employed person in the lowest income decile.³⁷

It is interesting to consider the impact on poverty and inequality of two distinct policies implemented by the post-apartheid government, namely the social assistance policies and the policy of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE). Since 1994, the South African government has dramatically extended its social assistance system, in-line with the right to social security and social assistance contained in Section 27 of the Constitution. Social assistance is administered as a monthly cash grant, subject to a means test, for certain categories of people. Since 1 April 2015, the state old age pension will amount to R1,410 per month, and the Child Support Grant (CSG), R330 per month. Currently there are just over 16 million who receive grants, the overwhelming majority of these being CSG. Despite the low value of this grant, social assistance has been

hailed as having eliminated some of the worst levels of destitution. However, researchers agree that the low level of CSG means it has virtually no effect on poverty reduction.³⁸

Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) was a formal policy adopted to allocate shares and interests in existing companies to black people, usually financed through some form of debt repayments over time. BEE has been criticised for creating a small, very wealthy black elite at the cost of broad redistribution, and at the same time compromising a level of political leadership involved in these share deals. Ironically, the early deals were designed just prior to 1994, at the behest of big business (fearful perhaps of the levels of redistribution that a black majority democracy would herald). BEE has been identified as a core driver of the post-1994 income inequalities emerging among black people.³⁹

Unless everybody in the country can acknowledge that, for too many, too little has changed since the introduction of formal political freedoms in 1994, current trajectories of inequality appear set to worsen, with disastrous consequences.

Possible solutions include:

- clear government intervention to support growth, through incentives and possible tariffs or subsidies, in sectors of the economy that can produce more and decent jobs
- introduction of a decent national minimum wage and an increase in income tax rates for the rich, as well as the introduction of further wealth taxes to create more fiscal space for redistribution
- more-accessible skills training and improved basic education to provide people with a sufficient basis on which to build advanced vocational knowledge
- provision of accessible developmental credit for productive purposes, specifically to allow people to set up and grow resilient small and micro businesses
- introduction of a comprehensive social security system that includes people of working age to provide a social protection net from the cradle to the grave, allowing for a guaranteed regular income for those in need and signifying social solidarity.

Migration and statelessness: an example from the Dominican Republic

There are marked contrasts between Haiti and the Dominican Republic, the two countries of the island of Hispaniola.⁴⁰ For decades, the uneven economic and social development between the two countries has led to a steady stream of Haitians migrating to the Dominican Republic, hoping that this relatively richer country will provide them with better economic opportunities. Historically, migration patterns, encouraged by both countries,

led to large numbers of migrants being actively recruited from Haiti to work on sugar plantations, where they and their descendants built up communities in *bateyes*. Although the sugar industry started to decline during the 1990s, the communities have remained, with increasing levels of unemployment. Now, the Haitian population in the Dominican Republic is living between the *bateyes* and the countryside (working on banana plantations) and in big cities (often working in the informal sector in construction and as domestic staff).

Despite the contribution they make to the growing Dominican economy, Haitian migrants represent the poorest of the poor and suffer widespread racism and discrimination. They are rarely given identification documents, and struggle to get access to quality education and healthcare. A UN report on human development found that the economic situation of most Haitians living in the Dominican Republic was worse than that of the poorest fifth of the Dominican population.⁴¹ Thousands of Dominicans of Haitian descent (Dominico-Haitians) also live in poverty and suffer discrimination. Like Haitian migrants, they often live without papers or recognition of Dominican nationality and, based on their perceived or induced irregular status in the country, have no access to social services.

This inequality is exacerbated by a denationalisation policy, an existing practice which was formalised with the introduction, in 2010, of a constitutional reform that eliminated birthright citizenship in the Dominican Republic. Previously, every child born on Dominican territory was a Dominican citizen, with the exception of children born to foreign diplomats and foreigners 'in transit'.

Following a constitutional challenge, the Dominican Republic Constitutional Court ruled, on 23 September 2013, through

Resolution TC 0168/13, that anyone born in the country between 1929 and 2007 to foreign parents who could not prove their regular migration status or who, according to the ruling, had been wrongly registered as Dominican, was not and had never been entitled to Dominican nationality.⁴² This effectively left tens of thousands of Dominicans of Haitian descent stateless, with no specific nationality.⁴³ Denied their identification papers, thousands of people no longer have access to education, healthcare, formal employment, or legal rights such as the right to get married. Without any voice they may have had in society, they are clearly at risk of being further 'left behind'. Christian Aid has been working through partner organisations, Centro Bonó and MUDHA, to try and address this situation, defending the rights of both Haitian migrants and Dominicans of Haitian descent.⁴⁴

As a result, the government has introduced Law 169-14, which grants citizenship to those individuals with valid identity papers if they can prove that their birth was officially registered at the time, or a residence permit, with an option to be granted Dominican nationality

through a naturalisation process, to those who can prove they were born in the Dominican Republic. However, this law cannot overturn the 2013 court decision and fails to restore Dominican nationality to many who previously had it between 1929 and 2007.⁴⁵ The implementation of 169-14 has also been flawed. There were unrealistic deadlines, and as a result thousands of people are unable to prove their Dominican nationality or regularise their migration status. They are de facto stateless, as they have been left unable to access their identity documents and formal work permits, which makes earning a living even more difficult, as well as excluding them from accessing basic services such as health and education.

The situation of Haitian immigrants and Dominico-Haitians illustrates how racial discrimination directly affects the poorest and most vulnerable people living in the Dominican Republic, who are disproportionately of Black African ancestry. This is the kind of policy that will have to be reversed in order to implement the SDGs and to ensure that no one, including Dominico-Haitians and Haitian migrants, is left behind.



Market traders cross the bridge over the River Masacre for the bi-national market at Dajabón on the Haiti/Dominican Republic border.

Leave no one behind: questions for implementation

Implementing the 'leave no one behind' commitment – key questions for decision-makers

i. How will the post-2015 agenda incentivise action to benefit the most marginalised?

The 'leave no one behind' principle could be seen as simply a re-articulation of the goal to end poverty by 2030. However, its added value will be in its immediate application, and in particular the setting of 'stepping-stone' equity targets.⁴⁶ Interim national targets, with a focus on closing the gaps, will ensure that there is focus and action on the most marginalised from the outset, making it harder to simply focus on the easy wins, leave the difficult work to later or revert to the status quo. The ODI has also proposed a 'leave no one behind' summit to incentivise action.

ii. Which SDG targets are applicable?

The 'leave no one behind' principle will not necessarily apply to all targets, and member states may have to prioritise, particularly for the purpose of investment in data. It is easy to see how the principle relates to the more traditional 'MDG' agenda. Targets focused on health, nutrition, education, water and sanitation, and energy access, are all obvious candidates.

However, it will also be important to apply the principle beyond these areas – into the economic realm, for example. Disaggregating data on decent work, labour and land rights will be critical, as our examples from South Asia and Latin America show.

Applying the 'leave no one behind' principle to the goal on gender equality will also be essential if we are to understand more fully how gender intersects with other inequalities. Although progress towards gender equality in political decision-making, for example, is important in itself, how much more transformative could it be if that progress included indigenous women, Dalit women and disabled women?

iii. Should it apply to all countries?

'Leave no one behind' is not about finger-pointing or blame and will be an agenda for all governments. There is a particular need to apply the principle in the context of extreme poverty, but in the context of a universal post-2015 agenda, all member states should commit themselves to combat social exclusion and address the needs of the most marginalised within their own borders. Within a UK context, for example, organisations such as The Children's Society have shown how young refugees and migrants are often at risk from destitution including hunger and homelessness.⁴⁷

iv. Which income and social groups should be measured?

In this report, we have sought to highlight some of the inequalities that have received less attention in the post-2015 process. The purpose has been to underline that the SDGs must both be given context and also ensure consistency with human rights standards, achieving a step-change in how universal factors such as gender, age and disability are included and measured. In each country, it will be necessary to decide which income and social groups should be included and prioritised – and in the spirit of the post-2015 negotiations, such decisions should be made with the participation of civil society, taking available evidence and data into account. ‘Income group’ should also be more clearly defined. There has been a proposal to measure progress across quintiles, but evidence suggests that chronic poverty is mostly deeply entrenched among the poorest 5%,⁴⁸ indicating a need to look beyond quintiles to ensure that no one is left behind.

v. Do we also need an inequality goal?

There has been some discussion about whether the call to ‘leave no one behind’ is an adequate response to the increasing economic inequalities in many countries and the startling accumulation and concentration of global wealth in the hands of just a few. Christian Aid has argued that a comprehensive approach to inequality in the post-2015 agenda should have four components: Leave No One Behind, Close the Gaps, Gender Justice and Global Equity.

These are not mutually exclusive, and the ‘leave no one behind’ principle could be applied with the aim of reducing disparities in all countries – not just in income, but across a whole range of outcomes such as educational attainment, maternal health, or access to clean energy. However, the presence of an inequality goal, alongside a stand-alone goal on gender equality, is important for both political prioritisation and for the targets that currently come under them: for example, the proposed target to eliminate discriminatory laws, policies and practices, and the proposed target to adopt fiscal, social protection and wage policies and progressively achieve greater equality.

vi. What policy options are likely to have a positive impact?

This question will be of utmost importance for governments seeking to implement the post-2015 development agenda, and each response will inevitably be rooted in their different context. However, academic literature points to the success of particular approaches, many of which are already embedded in target form within the proposed SDGs. The recent report from the ODI, *Strengthening Social Justice to Address Intersecting Inequalities Post-2015*,⁴⁹ points to the following policies and conditions:

- The presence of active social movements
- Supportive political trajectories and processes of constitutional change
- Social guarantees
- Improved opportunities and affirmative action.

The Christian Aid case studies included within this report are only illustrative, but there are some important policy directions that emerge from the examples, including governments’ willingness to:

- Address entrenched discrimination (including legal safeguards and measures targeted to address poverty and reduce disparities)
- Strengthen institutions
- Make structural economic reforms, including the areas of tax, decent work and land rights.

Conclusion and recommendations

Adoption of a post-2015 development agenda provides an opportunity for a revised 'global partnership', a clear global commitment to end the scandal of poverty and put people and planet first. 'Leave no one behind' is a principle with universal significance that has been shown to resonate all over the world. It is our hope that its clear inclusion within the post-2015 Outcome Document will be the first step to achieving truly inclusive and sustainable development.

Recommendations include:

- Clear articulation within the post-2015 Outcome Document that no goal or target should be considered met unless met for all income and social groups.
- Retention of the stand-alone goals on inequality and on gender equality.
- Retention of targets that incentivise policies known to reduce inequality.
- Application of the 'leave no one behind' principle beyond the traditional MDG agenda, including to economic targets and to the goal on gender equality, in order to improve outcomes for the poorest women and girls.
- Development of suitable indicators to measure progress towards all SDG targets and their component parts (eg proposed target 10.4 will require indicators covering fiscal, wage and social protection policies).
- Income data that goes beyond quintiles to track outcomes for the poorest 5% and 10%.
- An open and participatory process in every country to identify those communities that are currently being left behind.
- Investment in the disaggregated data required to track progress.
- Development of national 'leave no one behind' action plans, including the setting of 'stepping stone' equity targets.

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