



Christian Aid
Occasional Paper No. 3
April 2009

Inequality and the state

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Abstract

This paper uses Christian Aid's programme and policy experience to look at the relationship between inequality and development. Tackling power relations and unequal power structures that entrench inequality is central to Christian Aid's work. This paper is part of Christian Aid's attempt to deepen its understanding of different types of inequality and analyses the effect of high inequality on economic growth, state fragility and conflict. It explores a policy framework that can be successful in reducing inequality and the role the state and international community has to play in this.

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Summary

Christian Aid's research shows there is a direct link between inequality and poverty.¹ Inequality is both a cause and effect of poverty, thus the fight against poverty and inequality are inseparable.

Poverty and inequality need to be analysed in dimensions other than income. While income inequality and the number of people living on \$1 or \$2 a day is decreasing in some countries, non-income inequalities and access to opportunities are increasing. In Colombia, for example, income inequality has not changed significantly in recent years, yet the disparity in land ownership has increased hugely.

Inequality is, at times, caused by discriminatory policies against certain groups and, at other times, by non-inclusive, equity-blind policies that do not benefit all groups in society. It is possible to identify groups of people with shared identities that are excluded in both cases. These may be ethnic, political, gender, age or other social identities.

In some situations, extreme inequality between groups with a social identity leads to violent conflict. Social and political unrest can result from groups feeling excluded and resentful of large disparities in wealth, assets and opportunities (such as the southern Sudanese and the Hutus in Rwanda). Political unrest can also occur when the relatively privileged attack the underprivileged, fearing that they may demand more resources and political power. Research findings that link conflict and state fragility with the combination of deprivation and discrimination emphasise the critical role of horizontal inequalities in constructing a framework for approaching state fragility.

Evidence shows that politically and economically inclusive states have more sustainable and equitable development, and the likelihood of conflict is reduced. States must consider the distributional impact of the policies they promote. Inclusive states and institutions can deliver better services to the entire population, build human and social capital, reduce dependency and generate transparency and rule of law.

Section one: Introduction: what is inequality and why does it matter for development?

1.1 Inequality

Inequality is present in all societies but is manifested in different ways and impacts disproportionately on different groups of people. Defining 'inequality' requires definitions in two planes: first, the set of 'things' of which an unequal distribution would give rise to concern and, second, the units between which equality might be expected or hoped for.

Just as few development thinkers would now define 'poverty' as reflecting income alone, income inequality is too limited a definition here. If poverty is defined as a lack of a broader set of 'things' than income, inequality can be considered to refer to the distribution of that broader set. Inequality is closely related to the concept of relative poverty, rather than absolute poverty. It refers to social deprivation and lack of a voice and power in society, not just the distribution of income and assets.

Christian Aid defines poverty as a lack of power in four dimensions: economic, social, personal and political. Poverty is political – not a monetary lack of income that a gift might solve, but a process that results from structural causes. Poverty is disempowerment, and the injustices that result. Inequality would therefore be measured in terms of the distribution not only of income but across these four dimensions.

Sometimes inequality occurs when people are discriminated against on the basis of their social, cultural, religious or racial identity. At other times inequality can be a result of policies that are blind to justice, impartiality and fairness; policies that are equity blind. In other situations, inequality is a result of cultural or historical structures and approaches that prevent policies promoting equality from being implemented effectively.

1.2 Inequality and development

‘Inequality is manifest in unequal access to decision making, resources and services.’ (Christian Aid staff member, Ghana)

In many of the countries in which Christian Aid works, inequality and poverty are closely related. Both are the result of skewed power relations that favour those in power. For many of Christian Aid’s programmes, the fight against poverty and the fight against inequality are inseparable. Both are issues of justice. Inequality risks making poverty permanent because some people are unable to access equal opportunities and the power structures that entrench inequality prevent people from breaking out of the cycle of poverty.

Inequality is both a cause and effect of poverty, thus the fight against poverty and against inequality is inseparable. Addressing the imbalance of power that causes inequality is therefore critical. Addressing inequality is a political response to reducing poverty and the unfair distribution of power and resources. Tackling the unequal access to resources and lack of power is a crucial part of sustainable development.

‘The richest hold the monopoly in politics.’ (Christian Aid staff member, Sri Lanka)

Development policy often addresses social exclusion and attempts to work directly with excluded and marginalised groups. This concept is useful because it captures a notion that the outcome of inequality is a strong sense of isolation. However, it does not capture so clearly situations in which individuals and groups are described as being socially excluded and yet are often well integrated into society, for example in households, communities and markets, but who are on very unequal terms with the rest of society through discrimination, abuse, violence or exploitation.

It seems clear that equity in wealth, access to services, employment, land distribution and decision-making processes would improve the lives of poor people. It is not right that people are prevented from living their lives in dignity and are deprived of their fundamental rights.

Addressing inequality therefore requires a process of promoting values, relations and institutions that enable all people to participate in social, economic and political life on the basis of equality of rights, equity and dignity. This paper looks at some of the different ways that inequality manifests, how states can and do respond to it and how far it should be a priority in development.

1.3 Methodology

This paper is part of Christian Aid's attempts to deepen its understanding of different types of inequality and, in particular, to learn about inequality and the role of the state. We analysed textual and statistical secondary data on inequality and development and found that a large proportion of the literature looked at income inequality. The relationship between income inequality and poverty is well publicised, but there is less analysis of the relationship between inequality of opportunities, poverty and development.

We developed a survey to assess perceptions of staff and partner organisations on how inequality manifests itself and how their government responds. This paper uses primary data collected by Christian Aid staff around the world and our findings give an indication of perceptions and dynamics of inequalities. Our staff and partners are development experts and their experiences help inform the work of our organisation. We received 70 responses from 29 countries² and gained valuable qualitative data. See Appendix 1 for the results of the survey.³

Measuring relational structures and causes of poverty is problematic and not easily quantified. There is voluminous literature on the measurement of income inequality, which has led to the widely recognised Gini coefficient. Yet methods of measuring inequality between groups of people and using non-income dimensions of inequality have only recently begun to receive attention. We have included social data analysis on educational access at various levels, health outcomes, employment, land and other assets. To analyse political inequalities we used data on the distribution of positions within parliament, government and bureaucracy.

We are working with organisations in Colombia, Burundi and Israel to conduct detailed research of the dynamics of inequality and exclusion in their countries. This work will deepen our understanding of the links between inequality, conflict and human insecurity. We hope this research will inform our Accountable Governance policy and programme and provide strong evidence for a policy report in the second half of 2009.

1.4 Structure

This paper examines the economic, political and moral arguments for governments and donors prioritising inequality.

Section two discusses the characteristics of vertical and horizontal inequality, in particular, the way in which poverty is manifested and systematised through horizontal inequalities. Section three studies the effect of inequality on poverty and economic growth. Our analysis found evidence that challenges the view that inequality is favourable to economic growth. It can be argued that lower levels of inequality can create faster growth. Section four analyses the role of states in tackling inequality. It looks at key opportunities for tackling inequality and the policy implications. Section five explores links between inequality and violent conflict. Drawing on the studies of horizontal inequalities by CRISE (Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity), it investigates some of the risks posed by not addressing inequalities. Finally, Section six analyses how the key donors are addressing inequality in their work and includes some initial reflections on recommendations that might strengthen donor intervention.

Section two: vertical and horizontal inequalities

‘Boundaries are fluid and there is mobility but basic inequality between groups underlies distribution and access.’ (Christian Aid staff member, Ghana)

This section studies different measures and types of inequality. Inequalities can be identified not just between individuals but also between groups of people with a shared identity.

Inequality is increasingly debated in terms of vertical and horizontal inequalities. Standard definitions of inequality refer to disparities measured between individuals and households ordered in a vertical line from richest to poorest. While vertical inequality refers to disparities in wellbeing, it is most commonly expressed in terms of income and wealth. Horizontal inequality describes disparities between groups and is most often expressed in multidimensional terms, with political, social and economic elements.⁴ There is a large range of types of groups: national, racial, ethnic, religious, gender and age are some obvious important ways in which people are categorised.

Horizontal inequalities are not only historically entrenched, but they are reinforced and perpetuated by institutional patterns and practices, including a lack of accountability. They are characterised by restrictions to both goods and services and the means to participate with freedom and dignity in society. They may be manifested across a wide range of socio-economic dimensions of public life, which can be organised into three main categories.⁵

- political participation (including effective franchise, participation in government and representation in the police, military, public services, and so on)
- economic assets (including income, access to land and capital, aid and government infrastructure)
- social aspects (such as access to education and health services).

Vertical measures of inequality relate to ranking of individuals within a country and can often mask social discrimination unless they are disaggregated further. Vertical income inequality is only one part of the story. In this paper we are particularly interested in horizontal inequalities as a way in which poverty is manifest and systematised.

Research by Overseas Development Institute⁶ discovered that inequality in middle-income countries had a strong horizontal component. It found that inequality reflects persistent differences in opportunity between groups defined on racial and gender lines, for example, rather than merely differences that might be expected within any market economy.

2.1 Marginalised groups

Group identity may be self imposed, a result of legal factors (citizenship), externally imposed or a combination of these factors. Most people have multiple identities and affiliations – some location based, some family based, some age or class based, and some culturally differentiated.

The survey compiled by Christian Aid captures respondents' perceptions of identity distinctions and where inequalities emerge. We asked which groups people feel are privileged or deprived, and which are favoured or disfavoured by the government.

- The groups identified as those with the most relative power were the political groups and the groups with substantial economic power. The types of groups that were identified as particularly vulnerable were women and people living with HIV/AIDS (PLHA).
- Labels people identify themselves with most importantly are ethnicity and religion (and caste where applicable).

'The spirit of nationality has deteriorated and ethnicity has become the number one identity people identify themselves with, followed by religion and geography.'
Christian Aid partner organisation staff member, Ethiopia.

'People very much cling to the word "Lebanese" except everybody understands it differently – usually in terms of religion and class. Money and appearance define us and religious and tribal allegiances are engrained in our mind.'
Christian Aid staff member, Lebanon.

There does not appear to be a direct link between those who are marginalised and those who have power. Respondents who identified women or PLHA as the most vulnerable did not consistently identify a particular group that discriminated against them.

This need not imply that there are no specific cases of deliberate oppression; evidence would point to Sudan as an obvious example.⁷ There are, however, two main, quite different types of extreme horizontal inequalities. In one type, as in Sudan, one group's dominance is more or less directly at the expense of (or at least in relation to) another group.

The other main type of horizontal inequality is that in which certain groups are so marginalised that their marginalisation is a constant against an otherwise changing political, social or economic context (such as women and PLHA). No political party or policymaker is going to address their marginalisation, yet nor do they particularly desire the marginalisation. The marginalisation is due to the absence of policies that protect the vulnerable and address inequality. There is a need for policies that address horizontal inequalities, regardless of the group with relative power.

Section 3: Inequality, poverty and growth

'The increasing gap between the rich and poor is not just solely an economic one but extends to education, health, community services and land tenure security.' (Christian Aid partner Urban Poor Associates staff member, The Philippines)

This section explores the effects of inequality on poverty and economic growth, and why this is important. It presents evidence that lower inequality can create faster economic growth. The section analyses the role of policies and growth patterns that improve distribution of resources and address inequality in the fight against poverty.

While growth is necessary for poverty reduction, there is evidence that it is less effective in highly unequal countries.

The literature revealed there are two ways in which inequality is linked to poverty and growth.

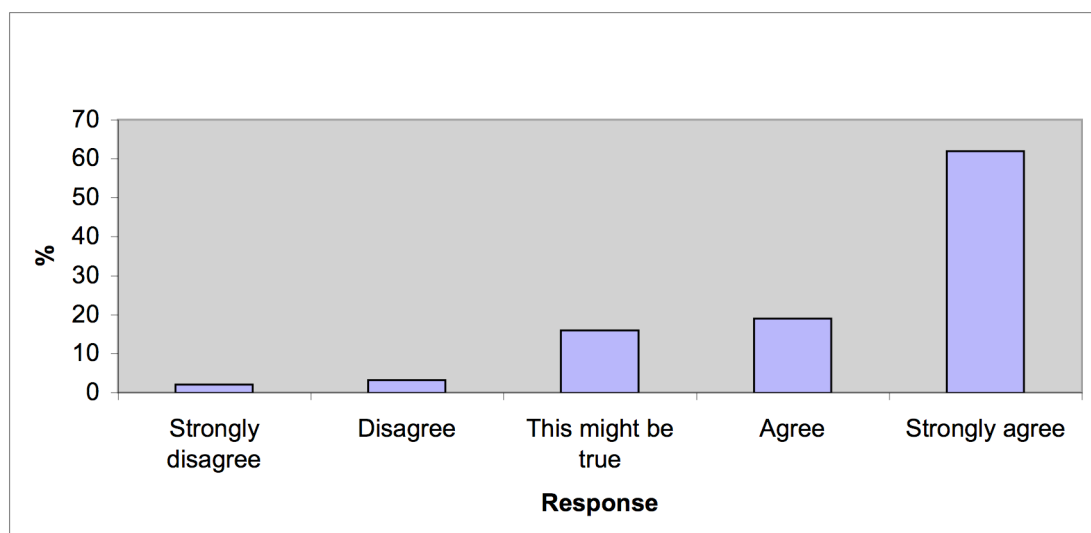
3.1 Inequality prevents poor people from benefiting from growth

There are, broadly speaking, two competing definitions of pro-poor growth in circulation. On the one hand, growth is only pro-poor if it results in the incomes of the poor growing (proportionately) faster than the incomes of the non-poor. In this case, growth serves to effect a redistribution of income and lower inequality carries some intrinsic value, and is a goal in itself. On the other hand, pro-poor growth is defined as simply growth that contributes to a reduction in poverty. This can, as in Brazil, be comparable with widening income inequalities and lower inequality has no intrinsic value in itself.⁸

Inequality causes poverty in particular people, leading to higher rates of poverty among affected groups. Even though an economy may grow and general income levels may rise, some groups of people are likely to be left behind, and make up the increasing proportion of those who remain in poverty. Despite the increases in national income, these increases are not shared proportionally. These people are poor in terms of income, health and education through restrictions in access to services.

Christian Aid's research measured people's perception of whether the gap between the richest and poorest in their country is getting bigger. Eighty per cent of respondents to our survey felt the gap is widening.

Figure 1. The widening gap between richest and poorest



India

'Many Indians of the corporate world are counted as billionaires and, at the same time, many millions go to bed with an empty stomach or entire families live on \$1 a day. While the riches of the

rich and powerful keep increasing, the poverty and the misery of the poor is increasing.’ (Christian Aid staff member, India).

In India rapid economic growth has produced only modest progress in poverty reduction. High economic growth has not translated into accelerated progress in cutting under-nutrition. Fifty per cent of rural children are underweight for their age – roughly the same proportion as 1992.⁹

Economic growth in middle-income countries such as India, China and Brazil has led to higher average incomes, yet high levels of inequality mean these countries also contain a significant proportion of the world’s poorest people. For example, India accounts for 35 per cent of the global total number of people living on less than \$1 day.

Mozambique

A regional disparity in economic growth can increase inequality. For example, the World Bank cites Mozambique as ‘an example of successful reform’ due to GDP growth rates of an average of 8.4 per cent.¹⁰ But growth is predominately concentrated in Maputo and in mineral-energy enclaves. United Nations Development Programme figures show that in Maputo from 1997 to 1999 ‘real GDP per capita’ rose from \$1,076 to \$1,189, but in the same period the equivalent indicator in Zambezia (the most populous region in Mozambique) fell from \$106 to \$96, and the ratio between richest and poorest provinces increased from 10:1 to 12:1. By 2000 the real GDP per capita for Zambezia had fallen to \$78, and the richest to poorest ratio had increased 14:1.¹¹

3.2 Inequality restrains growth

Growth that is accompanied by rising inequality will not deliver the same benefits in terms of reducing income poverty as growth that is accompanied by falling inequality. A serious concern with the pursuit of growth is that the quality of growth has not been considered, and hence through rising inequality the effects on poverty have been substantially less than might have been possible.

Two types of analysis emphasise this point: those that assess the potential effect of growth (*ex ante*), and those that assess the actual effects of growth (*ex post*).

By looking at the mathematical implications of different initial levels of income poverty and inequality, researchers have considered the effects of growth in reducing poverty.¹² Unsurprisingly, they find that growth in mean incomes will have hugely different results in different situations. In particular, where the mean income in a country is not far above the poverty line (in poorer countries), then higher levels of initial inequality dramatically reduce the contribution of growth to poverty reduction.

Researchers have examined periods of positive and negative growth in low- and middle-income countries between 1984 and 2001.¹³ They found that substantially more of the periods of positive growth can be characterised as ‘anti-poor’ than as ‘pro-poor’, in terms of their impact on per capita household consumption or income.¹⁴

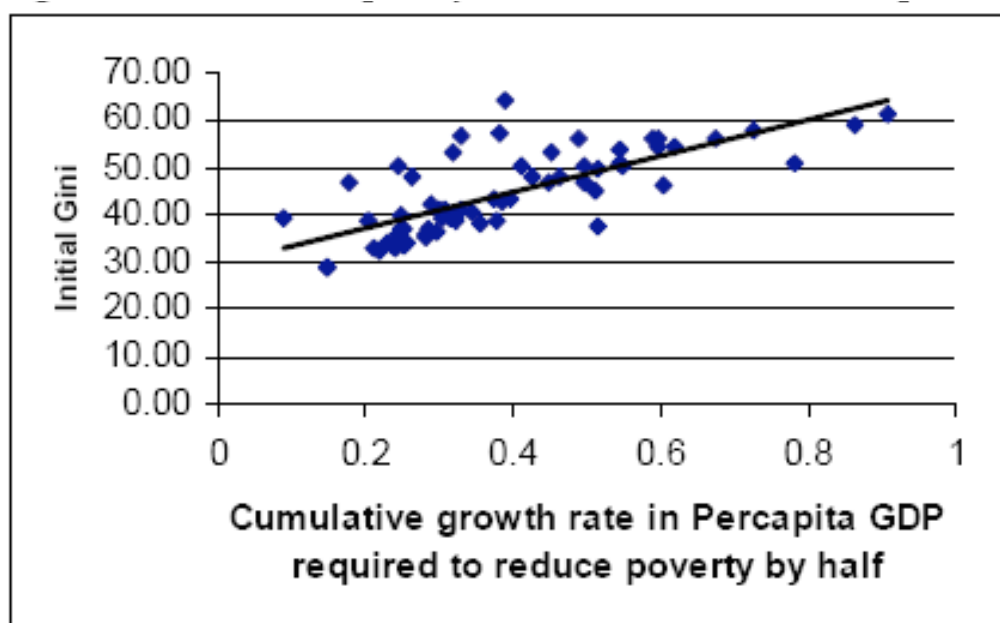
On this basis, analysis of the appropriate development policies in a country must take into account the impact of initial inequality and poverty on the likely poverty-reduction benefits of any growth achieved, before committing to the pursuit of growth as a

priority. Recognising that poverty is not simply a question of income, analysis must also consider whether growth is pro- or anti-poor in terms of broader development indicators such as education and health.

Latin America would have half as many people living in poverty today if it had enjoyed East Asia's more equal distribution of assets in the 1960s¹⁵.

Studies by the Economic Commission for Africa investigate the role of inequality in affecting the growth required to meet the millennium development goals (MDGs) in a neutral growth scenario.¹⁶ The results below demonstrate that countries with higher initial income inequality would need a higher acceleration in per capita GDP to meet the MDGs. The higher the initial level of income inequality, the lower the efficiency of economic growth in reducing extreme poverty.¹⁷

Figure 2. Initial inequality and overall growth required to halve poverty by 2015



Source: ECA, 2004.¹⁸

Bigsten and Shimeles show poverty outcomes for four countries – Ethiopia, Mozambique, Uganda and South Africa – under two hypothetical growth scenarios.¹⁹ One scenario is that income inequality remains unchanged (distribution neutral growth, DNG) and the other scenario is that additional income is equally distributed (equally distributed growth, EDG). In each case, the reduction in poverty is substantially greater under EDG than DNG.²⁰ The evidence highlights the impact of growth on poverty in Ethiopia would have been substantial during the mid-1990s, were it not for the worsening in the distribution of income.²¹ Further research also showed how rising inequality dampened the effect of economic growth on poverty in Burkina Faso and Nigeria.²²

Section four: What can states do to challenge inequality?

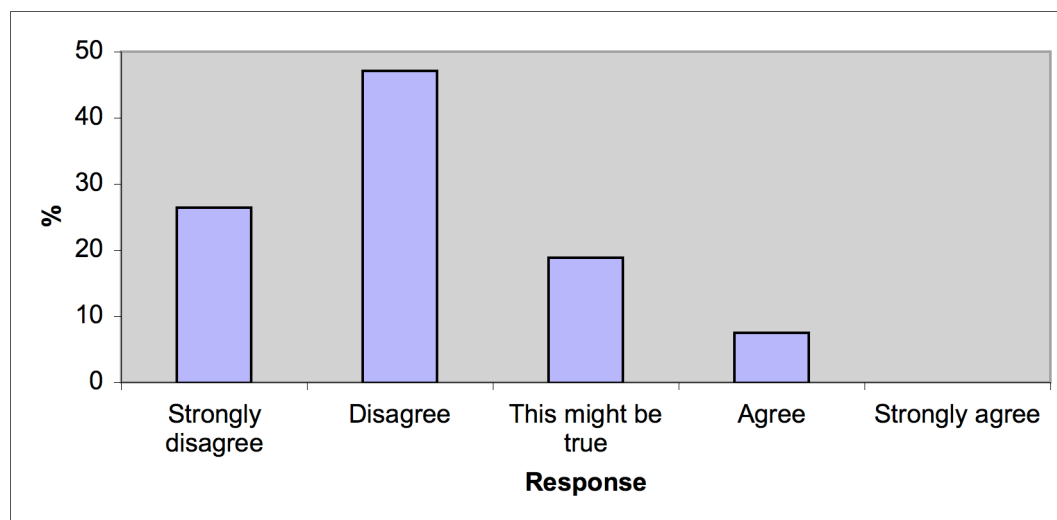
‘Despite the fact that the economy in Colombia has boomed in the past few years, land and wealth inequality has grown significantly and there is no sign from the government of policies to reverse it.’
(Christian Aid staff member, Colombia)

This section presents some policies our investigation identified that can be successful in reducing inequality and promoting equal access to resources and opportunities. It would seem that the embedded nature of inequality needs more than simple refinements of existing social policies, but a deeper consideration of inclusive growth and a rethinking of how development operates.

Tackling inequality requires a political response but often political structures themselves explain inequality. The removal of discriminatory legislation and the introduction of legislation that positively discriminates is a starting point for action to promote the equal rights and identities of disadvantaged groups. The introduction of legislation that levels out the playing field between excluded people and communities is an important tool to actually redress those inequalities.

During Christian Aid’s research we asked whether people felt that the government’s actions in their country decrease inequality. Seventy-three per cent of respondents did not feel their government had an effective policy framework to tackle inequality.

Figure 3. Does government action decrease inequality?



4.1 Political inclusion and representation

Eighty-five per cent of respondents to our survey identified that improving the voice, participation and influence of ordinary citizens is an effective response to tackling inequality.

Our partner organisations support meaningful participatory processes that focus on both formal political representation and broader consultative processes. For partners working in insecure contexts, participation at the policy formulation stage is often felt to be the first stage in greater representation of discriminated groups.

‘Tackling inequality first and foremost requires informed and organised citizens capable of challenging the state to play its duty of rooting out inequality. It cannot be accomplished as a voluntary act of those in power.

It is important to establish a national consensus that overcoming poverty is the precondition for national development and that every citizen has a role to play.’ (Christian Aid staff member, Kenya)

The representativeness of governments is an important building block in ensuring policies challenge rather than entrench inequalities. Yet only 15 per cent of respondents felt that their cabinet was representative of the country as a whole. Nineteen per cent perceived their government to be representative, and only 14 per cent perceived the judiciary to be representative.

Participation of each group in the political arena and access to power appears to be an important element of political inclusion to tackle inequality. Research has identified the establishment of a politically inclusive government that incorporates representatives from all the major identity groups at the political level, as of utmost importance in mitigating conflict.^{23, 24} Political exclusion is likely to alienate group leaders, and give them more incentives for group mobilisation against the state.

In Kenya, horizontal inequalities were heightened following a sharp drop in representation of the ethnic groups Luo and Kalenjin in the cabinet in 2005. CRISE believe these political and economic inequalities between ethnic groups were the cause of the violent clashes in 2007. Tensions flared around the elections in 2007, largely based on the convergence of political inequalities with wealth and asset differentials between groups. CRISE use statistical analysis both of land holdings and the ethnicity of cabinet members to demonstrate the sharp political and economic inequalities between ethnicities within Kenyan society.²⁵

In India, the constitution enshrined special quotas to facilitate the participation of women and people from scheduled tribes and castes. Having a constitution or legal provision does not, by itself, guarantee that people will be able to take up their places however. A large part of Christian Aid’s programme in India aims to help people take up their places, *panchayats*, at the local government level. Realising this is both transformative and empowering, people feel more confident to engage with decision-makers, authorities and upper caste members of the *panchayat*. It has also helped bring about material benefits, for example ensuring that local development funds are allocated to more vulnerable groups. It does not by itself guarantee equality, especially while discrimination against lower castes is embedded deeply in Indian society, but has been a crucial step along the way.

4.2 Taxation and redistribution

It appears possible to reduce inequality through progressive taxation. Previously some economists had been concerned that using the tax system to influence inequality risked reducing economic growth. Experience over the past decade suggests this is by no means inevitable²⁶. In South Africa, progressive taxation has

reduced the Gini coefficient from 0.68 to 0.64. Research shows that higher levels of tax and income redistribution do not necessarily lead to lower economic growth.²⁷

Malaysia has implemented comprehensive fiscal and non-fiscal measures in order to address horizontal inequalities between the country's main ethnic groups, particularly the indigenous Malays (Bumiputera) and Chinese Malays.²⁸ Between 1970 and 1990, Malaysia's fiscal policy was shaped by the overarching New Economic Policy (NEP), devised in the wake of serious ethnic rioting provoked by the 1969 general election. The NEP was expressed in terms of two broad objectives – the elimination of poverty irrespective of ethnic background, and the 'elimination of the association between race and economic function'. Over the NEP period, Malaysia enjoyed very high average economic growth rates, and horizontal inequality reduced markedly.

Despite problems with the implementation of many policies, the Malaysian experience clearly indicates the potential for fiscal policies to contribute to the correction of horizontal inequalities. While average Bumiputera incomes remain below those of non-Bumiputera, and Bumiputera remain under-represented in a range of professional occupations, the improvement in their performance across the board is remarkable.²⁹

The development of an effective taxation system can create a stronger state-citizen relationship. Citizens who pay tax are more likely to hold their governments to account for the way in which they spend their money. It can lead to greater involvement in society and bring disparate groups together with a common interest of ensuring their taxes are spent effectively. There is evidence of a link between tax, services and representative institutions.³⁰

4.3 Social services

The realisation of a social system that widely spreads the benefits of progress, providing socio-economic growth among all groups in society is an important way to tackle inequality. The benefits of universal access are well documented but policies and programmes must be carefully designed and implemented to address the causes of inequality and exclusion of particular groups. Universal access to services can be understood as a means of 'operationalising' human rights commitments at the national level. The aim is to translate abstract social rights into concrete entitlements.³¹

The example of Northern Ireland shows how socio-economic horizontal inequalities and the disparity in access to services can be successfully reduced through policy responses. Following centuries of strong discrimination and persistent horizontal inequalities, the government made a concerted effort from the late 1970s through housing policy, education policy and fair employment legislation, reserving their contracts for firms that did not discriminate. From the late 1970s to the late 1990s, inequality in the share of the population in the high income category between Catholics and Protestants went from 0.55 to 0.77, the ratio of Catholics to Protestants in higher education moved from 0.39 to 0.81, and inequality in the proportion of the population in houses with three or more rooms from 0.5 to 0.9. By 2004, inequalities in higher education and in access to basic health services had been eliminated.³²

Corruption prevents the correction of horizontal inequalities by restricting access to services for vulnerable people. For example, research in Peru found that poor people spend disproportionately more of their income on bribes than wealthier people.³³ The poor and excluded in society are often required to pay small bribes to access

services that should be free. Poorer communities also suffer a reduction in the quality of services due to misallocation and misappropriation of funds by state officials.

‘Access to resources and services by the poor has become very difficult. Corruption... and oppressive measures by the government against people who voice for the poor contribute to the widen gap between the rich and poor.’ (Christian Aid partner OfERR staff member, Sri Lanka)

4.4 Jobs, livelihoods and land

Universal access to services, including education and health, are critical elements of policies to reduce inequality. However, in the absence of measures to support equal opportunities to decent work and equal access to markets and land, actions to promote equality will only focus on reallocations of public funds to compensate for lack of dynamism, inequalities and discrimination in labour markets.

Promoting equality of opportunity requires governments to work with the private sector to extend labour standards and support skill acquisition that individuals need to complete in the labour market. Short-term contracts and increases in casual labour mean that employers do not have incentives to invest in their employees’ training. Measures to lower the costs of establishing and operating a business are emphasised by the UN, mainly to discourage businesses from shifting from the formal to the informal economy.³⁴

‘The increase in micro credit schemes has filled in a finance gap that has existed in the country. The availability of these funds is benefiting the economically poor. This is something that should be encouraged as a means of decreasing the gap between the poorest and richest.’ (Christian Aid partner AIDS Care Education and Training staff member, Uganda)

Governments have used their ability to recruit staff and purchase services to give a helping hand to marginalised groups. In India, as in many other countries, there is legislation requiring the state to positively discriminate in favour of people from particular tribes and castes. While in Malaysia the government used positive discrimination in business to address inequality between indigenous Malays (Bumiputera) and Chinese Malays who dominated the economic market in the late 1960s. The government used public procurement preferences for both Bumiputera businesses and other domestic providers. This was part of a strategy to generate investment-led economic growth which, together with redistribution, secured greater stability between ethnic groups. Linking preferences to growth ensured that the Bumiputera businesses could be strengthened without squeezing out those belonging to Indian and Chinese minorities.³⁵

In rural areas, land is fundamental to people’s livelihoods, but often individuals and communities are prevented from securing access to the land they need. In India, legislation such as the recent Forest People’s Act has given people who lived in forest areas access to land. As ever, the law is often only the starting point. Now people across India are engaging with their authorities and taking up legal cases to actually get the land.

4.5 Human rights framework

A human rights framework that incorporates many of the above policy actions to secure economic, social and cultural rights can be a useful basis for developing policies to reduce inequalities. A human rights approach can be a powerful tool to tackle structural inequalities in opportunities and reduce horizontal inequalities between groups that have faced discrimination. It establishes the responsibility of the state not merely not to discriminate in its own actions (for example in the provision of public services), but also to protect marginalised groups against discrimination by third parties in social and economic relations (such as in terms of access to employment, housing, credit and so on).³⁶ At present, however, very few states develop policies in this way

4.6 Which responses work well?

Our survey highlighted how the positive impact of inclusive policies is felt in some countries. A representative government, legal recognition for minority groups, free access to services and increasing the participation of the community in decision-making processes have been perceived to be successful actions by the state in tackling poverty in Burundi and Ethiopia.

While only 27 per cent of people who responded to our survey felt that the government's actions in their country decrease inequality, 47- per cent of respondents perceive their governments as willing to reduce poverty. It would seem the policies mentioned above are being pursued by governments with varying degrees of willingness and success. The lack of resources and weak implementation of policies was often cited as the reason for ineffective government action. Tackling inequality remains a significant challenge facing many governments.

It can be argued that a significant barrier to increasing social expenditure and taxation in many countries is a lack of solidarity and political commitment to redistribution rather than concerns about GDP or ability to implement a progressive taxation system.^{37 38} Our survey findings support this position as 53 per cent of respondents perceive their government as unwilling to reduce poverty. With corruption, greed and big business interests cited as some of the reasons for government's unwillingness, there needs to be pressure and encouragement from civil society, other governments and donors for greater accountability and governance.

We measured whether people thought their government was implementing effective policies to tackle inequality by asking:

- what response does the state use to respond to inequality?
- what response to inequality works well?

The table below is an indication of whether people perceive their government to be tackling inequality effectively. When asked whether their government 'increases the distribution of central government funds to regional and local levels', 25 per cent of respondents agreed. When asked if the same policy response works well, 65 per cent of respondents agreed. The deficit of 40 per cent indicates that 40 per cent of respondents do not perceive the government to be addressing inequality effectively through this policy response.

The deficit suggests that governments are not doing what people think they should be doing. People indicated that they think each of the policy responses has a role to play in address inequality, but the government's use of the policy is applied less

consistently. We would expect the evaluation of the policy response used by the government and the response people feel to be effective to achieve a similar score if the government was doing what people wanted it to do – that is, there would be little deficit.

Our research found that people perceived decentralisation of funds as a response to inequality works least well, yet it is used most frequently by the state. Increasing participation was identified as the most effective response to inequality, yet it was felt this was not used enough by the state.

Table 1. Respondents’ attitudes to state responses to address inequality

State response to address inequality	State uses this response	This response works well	
Increasing the distribution of central government funds to regional and local levels	25%	65%	- 40%
Improving social safety nets	12%	68%	- 56%
Increasing access to services	20%	83%	- 63%
Increasing rights to land and employment	10%	76%	- 66%
Improving voice, participation and influence of ordinary citizens	15%	86%	- 71%

To redress the imbalance of power that causes inequality the state needs to take proactive action. The state is responsible for implementing social policies that benefit all of society and ensuring people’s human, social and economic rights are not violated. The next section looks at the risks and dangers when the state cannot or does not address inequality.

Section five: What are the effects of inequality on state fragility?

‘The gap between the rich and the poor is the trait that defines the economic structure of my country and is the main reason for 36 years of internal war.’ (Christian Aid staff member, Guatemala)

This section looks at the relationship between state fragility, human poverty, inequality and conflict. Evidence demonstrates that failing to tackle severe horizontal inequalities increases the risk of violent conflict and social unrest.

This paper has looked at how severe horizontal inequalities between groups have economic and political consequences that can be highly damaging to development. In 2005 the UN highlighted that economic and political inequalities, especially struggles over political power, land and other assets can create social disintegration and exclusion and lead to conflict and violence. CRISE has extensively studied the group dimension of human wellbeing and social stability, and argues that severe inequalities among groups are highly undesirable as they can lead to violent conflict.³⁹ When horizontal inequalities are political as well as economic; when the inequalities are widening; when there are a few large groups, rather than smaller

ethnic communities and where the government is rigid in their policy, then conflict is more likely to occur.⁴⁰

Nine case studies by CRISE⁴¹ concluded that where ethnic identities coincide with economic or social ones, social instability of one sort or another is likely to occur. In these situations, ethnicity does become a mobilising agent and the divisions are enhanced. There are two distinct situations:

- those where the political and economic/social deprivations coincide (such as in the US, Brazil and Northern Ireland)
- those where the politically powerful represent the relatively deprived (such as Malaysia, Uganda, Sri Lanka). The first type of situation tends to lead to protests, riots or rebellion by the disempowered and deprived. In the second category, conflict may result from the politically dominant attacking the economically privileged (such as in Rwanda).

Horizontal inequality between ethnic groups seems to be positively related to domestic armed conflict, whereas there is little evidence of a relationship between vertical inequality and conflict. Case studies of several conflicts illustrate how the conflicts are deeply rooted in historically entrenched grievances that result from a long history of horizontal inequalities.⁴²

Research has investigated whether countries with severe horizontal inequality are more prone to internal armed conflict and further supports the argument that exclusion of groups from economic, political and social opportunities can escalate into violence and conflict.⁴³ The author analyses the relationship between social, economic and health-related inequalities among the two largest ethnic groups in 33 countries and their effects on the incidence and onset of domestic armed conflict. The study concludes that horizontal inequalities between ethnic groups seem to be positively related to domestic armed conflict.

Sudan

Sudan is characterised by state fragility, human poverty, inequality and conflict.⁴⁴ There is a distinct regional disparity in government expenditure and this is mirrored in health and educational outcomes.⁴⁵

The pattern of regional exclusion appears to stem in significant part from deliberate government policy and a charged political discourse. The fragility of the state in Sudan can be seen in the failure to provide for the human rights of citizens and in the evidence of an apparently systematic undercutting of the human development opportunities of the majority of citizens in marginalised regions.⁴⁶ The inequality gap is widening and has led to ongoing conflict and fragility as groups in different marginalised regions find common cause against the regime.

India

Many people would be stunned to hear India described as a fragile state, but with phenomenal growth has come a widening gap between richest and poorest. Many people are poor because of who they are – a dalit, an adivasi, a girl – and the discrimination they face in that country. There is an enabling legal framework, but getting laws fully implemented requires concerted action by a large number of civil society organisations, including many Christian Aid partners, often to no avail. Some people are responding violently to exclusion: terrorist attacks by extremist groups are common as seen in the attacks in Mumbai in November 2008. Naxalites, a group influenced by Maoist ideology, engage in violent reprisals against powerful people who are deemed to have misused their power. They are also increasingly taking

power by the ballot box. It is possible to ask whether India is sowing the seeds of its own destruction by promoting a model of growth that pays so little attention to the have-nots.

There has been limited research into the links between high levels of horizontal inequality and state fragility and violent conflict, but we believe it is an issue that should be considered more in development thinking. Our research found inequality is a significant cause of social unrest and violence in a number of countries.

Section six: How far are the actions of the international community helping to overcome, or to increase, inequality?

This section looks at the ways in which the actions and non-actions of donors can impact upon the inequalities and structures that create excluded groups in recipient countries.

It seems clear that inequality is not top of the donor agenda. There has been some recent flagship policy papers particularly focused on vertical inequality, such as the World Bank's World Development Report 2006: Equity and Development.⁴⁷ However, there was a strong sense from our survey that donors failed to take inequality seriously in some situations. In fact 25 per cent of respondents felt that donor policies actively contribute to inequalities.

'Some donors do not make a serious and systematic analysis of society and are not aware of exclusion, inequality and discrimination. The policies end up contributing to inequality and discrimination.'

(Christian Aid staff member, India)

DFID's policy on social exclusion recognises that discrimination against groups often leads to them being excluded from society, the economy and political participation.⁴⁸ The analysis looks at how social exclusion causes higher rates of poverty among affected groups and how it reduces the productive capacity of society as a whole. By viewing people as 'out of society', however, this approach can miss some of the relations of power through which individuals are bound together through kinship networks and communities as well as in patron-client, employer-employee and other unequal relations.⁴⁹

DFID has also attempted to deepen its understanding of power in a country using their 'Drivers of Change' approach.⁵⁰ It analyses the way power works in a society and seeks to understand the formal and informal institutions and incentives that drive change or maintain the status quo. Such analysis is vital to understanding how and why inequality, discrimination and marginalisation manifest and identifying policies to overcome it.

International aid can play an important role in reducing horizontal inequalities. On one hand, it has the potential for a negative role where aid distribution favours privileged regions. Research by CRISE studies how aid distribution in Mozambique shows a strong bias toward the relatively privileged south.⁵¹ Our discussion of the regional disparity in economic growth in Mozambique in Section three demonstrates the possible effects of unequal aid distribution. On the other hand, aid can potentially reduce inequalities of income assets in recipients by promoting a more pro-poor pattern of public expenditure.

Where governments are committed to tackling inequalities, aid in the form of direct budget support may be the most appropriate mechanism for helping to reduce inequalities. Where governments are unwilling or unable to implement inequality-reducing policies, there is a risk that budget support may simply entrench inequalities so project aid might be important to ensure basic service provision to relatively deprived areas.

The role of donors is to work with governments, civil society and the private sector to facilitate the formation of policies and alliances in favour of redistribution. There is consensus that policies are more likely to be effective if they are developed with meaningful opportunities for the participation of those they are likely to affect. Poverty and Social Impact Analysis (PSIA) is a useful tool with which to analyse the distributional impact of a policy that seeks to build country ownership. Strengthening the poverty impact assessment process allows governments to effectively judge differing impacts that a certain policy would have on different groups of people. PSIA should enable governments to reduce inequality as it specifically includes a dimension to consider how different groups will be affected by a policy reform.

India's social equity audit

Christian Aid's programme in India has worked hard with DFID and other donors on the issue of social exclusion. It has argued that this should be the focus of their programmes, as it is largely responsible for the poverty seen in the increasingly wealthy India. As part of the Tsunami response the team commissioned a social equity audit, to see how representative organisations are in terms of staff, governance structures and activities. Christian Aid has carried out the audit itself, as well as with many partners. It is trying to encourage donors and other international NGOs to undertake the audit in order to demonstrate practically that these organisations do not accept the inequality seen in India. As well as thinking about what donors do, it is important to reflect on how they are and how they work.

Some initial recommendation for donors based on this analysis could be:

1. Ensure that their country teams are, as far as possible, representative.
2. Recognise that horizontal and vertical inequalities are a significant cause of poverty. They need to be addressed in development strategies.
3. Recognise that addressing horizontal and vertical inequalities can help generate economic growth and ensure state stability.
4. Consider the distributional impacts of the policies they promote.
5. Ensure, as far as possible, a reversal of marginalisation, while encouraging the construction of a stable system of revenue mobilisation that can eventually provide the baseline provision necessary.
6. Require and support governments to secure disaggregated poverty analysis to ensure people in the country can see whether the benefits of social and economic development are being enjoyed increasingly equitably.
7. Strengthen country and comparative analysis of the distributional impacts of policies that can redress different inequalities.
8. Ensure governments are able to introduce policies that positively discriminate if evidence shows they could work.
9. Support civil society groups to use a range of approaches (legal, campaigning, advocacy) to influence governments to promote inclusive growth and reject discrimination.

Conclusion

Christian Aid's research has shown that there is a direct relationship between inequality and poverty.⁵² Inequality is both a cause and effect of poverty, thus the fight against poverty and inequality are inseparable.

Eighty per cent of people who responded to our survey perceived the gap between the richest and poorest within their country as getting bigger. Statistics and measures of income inequality indicate that the gap is in fact increasing in fewer countries than people felt.⁵³ This disparity between the inequality gap people perceive, and the gap measured by the income indicators, highlights that there are factors beyond income that are important for perceptions of inequality.

Poverty and inequality need to be analysed in dimensions other than income. While income inequality and the number of people living on US\$1 and US\$2 a day is decreasing in some countries, non-income inequalities and access to opportunities are increasing. In Colombia, for example, income inequality has reduced a small amount, yet the disparity in land ownership has hugely increased.

Inequality is, at times, caused by discriminatory policies against certain groups and, at other times, by non-inclusive, equity-blind policies that do not benefit all groups in society. It is possible to identify groups of people with shared identities that are excluded in both cases. These may be ethnic, political, gender, age, or other social identities.

Severe horizontal inequality between groups with a social identity is a cause of violent conflict in some situations. Social and political unrest can result from groups feeling excluded and resentful of large disparities in wealth, assets and opportunities (for example by the southern Sudanese and the Hutus in Rwanda). Political unrest can also occur when the relatively privileged attack the underprivileged, fearing that they may demand more resources and political power. Research findings that link conflict and state fragility with the combination of deprivation and discrimination emphasise the critical role of horizontal inequalities in constructing a framework for approaching state fragility.

Evidence shows that politically and economically inclusive states have more sustainable and equitable development, and reduce the likelihood of conflict. States must consider the distributional impact of the policies they promote. Inclusive states and institutions can deliver better services to the entire population, build human and social capital, reduce dependency, and generate transparency and rule of law.

Endnotes

- 1** Eighty-six per cent of respondents to Christian Aid's survey felt that inequality creates major problems in tackling poverty. Full survey response available in Appendix 1 (below).
- 2** The 29 countries surveyed were Kenya, South Africa, Ghana, Burundi, Ethiopia, Malawi, Zambia, Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola, Tanzania, Uganda, Sierra Leone, India, Lebanon, Egypt, Sri Lanka, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Iraq, Philippines, Cambodia, Brazil, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Haiti, El Salvador and Guatemala.
- 3** This data is a set but, statistically, is not a sample.
- 4** Vertical inequalities are also multi-dimensional, but they are rarely measured in a multi-dimensional way. See F Stewart, G Brown L Mancini. *Working Paper 19: Why Horizontal Inequalities Matter: Some Implications for Measurement*, CRISE, 2005, p 3.
- 5** F Stewart, G Brown L Mancini. *Working Paper 19: Why Horizontal Inequalities Matter: Some Implications for Measurement*, CRISE, 2005, p 3-7.
- 6** Overseas Development Institute, *Inequality in Middle Income Countries*, Briefing Paper, ODI, 2004, p 1.
- 7** A Cobham, 'Cause of conflict in Sudan: testing the black book', *European Journal of Development Research*, 2005, 17, 3, pp 462-480.
- 8** ODI, *Inequality in Middle Income Countries*, Briefing Paper, ODI, 2004, p 2.
- 9** United Nations Development Report, *Human Development Report 2007/2008. Fighting Climate Change: Human Solidarity in a Divided World*. UNDP, 2007, p 25.
- 10** N Stern. 'The Role and Effectiveness of Development Assistance' paper for the UN conference on Financing for Development, 18-22 March 2002, World Bank, Washington DC.
- 11** J Hanlon. 'Are donors to Mozambique promoting corruption?' paper submitted to conference on Towards a New Political Economy for Development, Sheffield, 2002.
- 12** S Klasen, M Misselhorn, 'Determinants of the growth semi-elasticity of poverty reduction', paper presented at the World Bank, 2007.
- 13** Hyun Son, Nanak Kakwani, 'Global estimates of pro-poor growth', *World Development*, 2008 26, 6, pp 1048-1066.
- 14** The definition of 'pro-poor' growth is growth in which the poor enjoy the benefits proportionally more than the non-poor.
- 15** Department For International Development, *Reducing Poverty by Tackling Social Exclusion*, DFID, 2005.
- 16** United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, 'The challenges and prospects of achieving MDGs in Africa' mimeo, Economic and Social Policy Division, 2004.
- 17** C Okojie, A Shimeles, *Inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa: a Synthesis of Recent Research on Levels, Trends, Effects and Determinants of Inequality in its Different Dimensions*, ODI, 2006, p14.
- 18** C Okojie, A Shimeles, *Inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa: a Synthesis of Recent Research on Levels, Trends, Effects and Determinants of Inequality in its Different Dimensions*, ODI, 2006, p15.
- 19** A Bigsten, A Shimeles, *Prospect for Pro-Poor Growth Strategies in Africa*, WIDER Research Paper 42/2004, WIDER, 2003.
- 20** 10 per cent more in Ethiopia, 12 per cent more in Mozambique, 13 per cent more in Uganda and 9 per cent more in South Africa.
- 21** A Bigsten, A Shimeles, *Prospect for Pro-Poor Growth Strategies in Africa*, WIDER Research Paper 42/2004, WIDER, 2003, p 13.
- 22** C Okojie, A Shimeles, *Inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa: a Synthesis of Recent Research on Levels, Trends, Effects and Determinants of Inequality in its Different Dimensions*, ODI, 2006, p 15.

- 23 G Ostby, *Horizontal Inequality and Civil War*. Department of Political Science, NTNU, 2003.
- 24 F Stewart, G Brown, A Langer, *Working Paper 42: Policies Towards Horizontal Inequalities*, CRISE, 2007, p 12.
- 25 F Stewart, an ODI/All Party Parliamentary Group on Overseas Development presentation 'Horizontal Inequalities: Illusions from recent conflicts in Kenya' on 15 July 2008 at House of Commons.
http://www.odi.org.uk/events/2008/07/horizontal_inequalities/
- 26 ODI, *Inequality in Middle Income Countries*, Briefing Paper, ODI, 2004, p 2.
- 27 Social Watch, *Indignity and Rights: Making the Universal Right to Social Security a Reality*, Social Watch, 2007.
- 28 F, Stewart, G. Brown. *Working Paper 65: The Implication of Horizontal and Vertical Inequalities for Tax and Expenditure Policies*. CRISE, 2009, pp 26-34.
- 29 F, Stewart, G. Brown. *Working Paper 65: The Implication of Horizontal and Vertical Inequalities for Tax and Expenditure Policies*. CRISE, 2009, p 34.
- 30 See Christian Aid Occasional Paper No 1 for evidence that raising taxes without simultaneously increasing the improving service delivery generates discontent or even conflict. See Olivia McDonald, Kadi Jumu, *Occasional Paper No 1: Can Tax Challenge Bad Governance?* Christian Aid, 2008.
- 31 Ferguson, C. Promoting Social Integration, mimeo, 2008, p 31.
- 32 F Stewart, G Brown, A Langer, *Working Paper 42: Policies Towards Horizontal Inequalities*, CRISE, 2007, p 19.
- 33 Christian Aid, *From Local to Global: Stopping Corruption from Stunting Development*. Christian Aid, 2008, p 8.
- 34 UN. *Report on the World Social Situation 2005: the Inequality Predicament*, UN, 2005.
- 35 Christian Aid, *Buying Power: Aid, Governance and Public Procurement*, Christian Aid, 2008.
- 36 ODI, *Inequality in Middle Income Countries*, Briefing Paper, ODI, 2004, p 3.
- 37 Ferguson, C. Promoting Social Integration, mimeo, 2008, p 27.
- 38 F Stewart, G. Brown. *Working Paper 65: The Implication of Horizontal and Vertical Inequalities for Tax and Expenditure Policies*. CRISE, 2009, p 91.
- 39 F Stewart, G Brown L Mancini. *Working Paper 19: Why Horizontal Inequalities Matter: Some Implications for Measurement*, CRISE, 2005, p 5.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Uganda, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Northern Ireland, Chiapas, Fiji, US, Malaysia, Brazil. F Stewart. *Working Paper 1 Horizontal Inequalities: A Neglected Dimension of Development*, CRISE, 2003.
- 42 Sakiko Fukuda Parr. *Rethinking the Policy Objectives of Development Aid: From Economic Growth to Conflict Prevention*, Research paper 2007/32 United Nations University – WIDER, 2007, p 6-7.
- 43 G Ostby, *Horizontal Inequality and Civil War*, Department of Political Science, NTNU, 2003.
- 44 F Stewart, G Brown, *Working Paper 51: Fragile States*, CRISE, 2009, p 83.
- 45 The data on healthcare provision for births using data available for 1999/2000 in Sudan states that doctors attended half of births in the north and more than 40 per cent in Khartoum, compared to just 10 per cent in the west. Female life expectancy data also shows similar disparities. Life expectancy for women varied from 49.2 years in the south, 53.6 years in the east and 56.4 years in the west, up to 58.8 in the north and 59.8 in Khartoum.
- 46 F Stewart, G Brown, *Working Paper 51: Fragile States*, CRISE, 2009, p 90.
- 47 World Bank World Development Report: Equity and Development, 2006.
- 48 DFID, *Reducing Poverty by Tackling Social Exclusion*, DFID, 2005.
- 49 C Ferguson, Promoting Social Integration, mimeo, 2008. p 10.

50 DFID, *Reducing Poverty by Tackling Social Exclusion*, DFID, 2005.

51 F Stewart, G Brown and A Langer, *Working Paper 42: Policies towards Horizontal Inequalities*, 2007, p 16.

52 Eighty-six per cent of respondents to Christian Aid's survey felt inequality creates major problems in tackling poverty.

53 GINI coefficient, World Bank Poverty Analysis Tool, Development Data Group – The World Bank, UNDP Human Development Report.

Appendix 1: Survey responses

These are the responses to a survey to assess perceptions of staff and partner organisations on how inequality manifests itself and how their government responds. We received 70 responses from 29 countries. This is the results of 57 respondents in English. 13 responses in French, Spanish and Portuguese are not included below but are available on request. They do not significantly change the results.

1. My country is a...							
answered question							56
skipped question							1
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	This might fit	Agree	Strongly agree	Rating Average	Response count
Democracy	4.4% (2)	20.0% (9)	20.0% (9)	42.2% (19)	13.3% (6)	3.40	45
Dictatorship	25.7% (9)	42.9% (15)	22.9% (8)	2.9% (1)	5.7% (2)	2.20	35
Developmental state	6.1% (2)	18.2% (6)	36.4% (12)	33.3% (11)	6.1% (2)	3.15	33
Fragile state	10.3% (4)	23.1% (9)	12.8% (5)	38.5% (15)	15.4% (6)	3.26	39
Conflict state	22.5% (9)	17.5% (7)	20.0% (8)	25.0% (10)	15.0% (6)	2.93	40
Developing country	0.0% (0)	6.5% (3)	19.6% (9)	39.1% (18)	34.8% (16)	4.02	46

2. Which of the following descriptions best applies to your government?			
answered question			54
skipped question			3
		Response Percent	Response Count
Capable and willing to reduce poverty		25.9%	14
Capable but unwilling to reduce poverty		35.2%	19

2. Which of the following descriptions best applies to your government?			
Incapable but willing to try to reduce poverty		20.4%	11
Incapable and unwilling to reduce poverty		18.5%	10

3. 'This is very important for my government to do.' Looking at the following factors, to what extent do you agree with this statement?							
	answered question						54
	skipped question						3
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Not important factor	Agree	Strongly agree	Rating Average	Response Count
Hold free and fair elections	6.1% (3)	4.1% (2)	6.1% (3)	28.6% (14)	55.1% (27)	4.22	49
Set budget with clear social goals	3.9% (2)	7.8% (4)	3.9% (2)	31.4% (16)	52.9% (27)	4.22	51
Ensure basic territorial control and security	2.0% (1)	6.1% (3)	18.4% (9)	46.9% (23)	26.5% (13)	3.90	49
Ensure basic services for those in extreme poverty	4.2% (2)	8.3% (4)	8.3% (4)	14.6% (7)	64.6% (31)	4.27	48
Ensure ability of government to engage in bilateral negotiations	2.0% (1)	7.8% (4)	11.8% (6)	49.0% (25)	29.4% (15)	3.96	51
Ensure accountability of state organizations	3.9% (2)	11.8% (6)	5.9% (3)	17.6% (9)	60.8% (31)	4.20	51
Ensure management of conflicts	2.1% (1)	10.6% (5)	12.8% (6)	27.7% (13)	46.8% (22)	4.06	47

3. 'This is very important for my government to do.' Looking at the following factors, to what extent do you agree with this statement?

between groups and reduction of discrimination							
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4. 'There is a large gap between the richest and the poorest individuals in my country.' To what extent do you agree?

answered question	53	
skipped question	4	
	Response Percent	Response Count
Strongly disagree	5.7%	3
Disagree	1.9%	1
This might be true	5.7%	3
Agree	11.3%	6
Strongly agree	75.5%	40

5. 'The gap between the richest and poorest is getting bigger.' To what extent do you agree?

answered question	53	
skipped question	4	
	Response Percent	Response Count
Strongly disagree	3.8%	2
Disagree	3.8%	2
This might be true	18.9%	10
Agree	20.8%	11
Strongly agree	52.8%	28

6. 'Poor people in my country are getting poorer.' To what extent do you agree?			
	answered question		53
	skipped question		4
		Response Percent	Response Count
Strongly disagree		3.8%	2
Disagree		3.8%	2
This might be true		20.8%	11
Agree		35.8%	19
Strongly agree		35.8%	19

7. 'People in my country identify themselves in terms of...' To what extent do you agree that each of the following labels is important?							
	answered question						45
	skipped question						12
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	This might be true	Agree	Strongly agree	Rating Average	Response Count
Ethnicity	4.9% (2)	9.8% (4)	14.6% (6)	29.3% (12)	41.5% (17)	3.93	41
Geography	0.0% (0)	12.2% (5)	19.5% (8)	53.7% (22)	14.6% (6)	3.71	41
Class	2.5% (1)	20.0% (8)	25.0% (10)	37.5% (15)	15.0% (6)	3.43	40
Religion	2.4% (1)	14.6% (6)	17.1% (7)	39.0% (16)	26.8% (11)	3.73	41
Nationality	0.0% (0)	19.5% (8)	34.1% (14)	26.8% (11)	19.5% (8)	3.46	41

7. 'People in my country identify themselves in terms of...' To what extent do you agree that each of the following labels is important?

Gender	2.6% (1)	15.8% (6)	34.2% (13)	36.8% (14)	10.5% (4)	3.37	38
Age	0.0% (0)	36.8% (14)	26.3% (10)	26.3% (10)	10.5% (4)	3.11	38

8. Are there groups in the following categories which you think have more relative power than most other groups? Please indicate which type of group(s) from the list below:

	answered question	43
	skipped question	14
		Response Percent
		Response Count
Social		34.9%
Economic		67.4%
Political		81.4%
Gender		32.6%
Cultural		7.0%
Religious		34.9%
Ethnic		58.1%
Geographic		32.6%
Age		16.3%
Class		34.9%
Nationality		11.6%

10. If there are clearly defined groups, have they changed over time?

	answered question	41
	skipped question	16

10. If there are clearly defined groups, have they changed over time?			
		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes		31.7%	13
No		58.5%	24
Don't know		9.8%	4

11. Looking at the type of groups below, do you think that any of these are particularly vulnerable groups in your country?			
	answered question		43
	skipped question		14
		Response Percent	Response Count
Women		83.7%	36
Young people		62.8%	27
Older people		58.1%	25
Disabled people		74.4%	32
People living with HIV/ AIDS		83.7%	36
Religious minorities		27.9%	12
Ethnic minorities		60.5%	26
Geographic minorities		32.6%	14

14. Do you think your state protects and delivers appropriate services for vulnerable groups?			
	answered question		45
	skipped question		12
		Response Percent	Response Count

14. Do you think your state protects and delivers appropriate services for vulnerable groups?			
Yes, the state delivers for all vulnerable groups		2.2%	1
Yes, the state delivers for some vulnerable groups		28.9%	13
Yes, the state delivers for vulnerable groups by tackling poverty overall		2.2%	1
No, the state cannot deliver for vulnerable groups due to resource constraints		22.2%	10
No, the state cannot deliver for vulnerable groups for other reasons		24.4%	11
No, the state is unwilling to deliver for vulnerable groups		20.0%	9

16. 'This institution is very representative of the country as a whole.' Looking at the following institutions, to what extent do you agree?							
	answered question						46
	skipped question						11
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	This might be true	Agree	Strongly agree	Rating Average	Response Count
Cabinet	15.0% (6)	47.5% (19)	22.5% (9)	12.5% (5)	2.5% (1)	2.40	40
Government	9.3% (4)	44.2% (19)	27.9% (12)	14.0% (6)	4.7% (2)	2.60	43
Parliament	7.0% (3)	30.2% (13)	20.9% (9)	37.2% (16)	4.7% (2)	3.02	43
Local government	6.8% (3)	20.5% (9)	31.8% (14)	36.4% (16)	4.5% (2)	3.11	44
Civil Service	5.0% (2)	42.5% (17)	32.5% (13)	20.0% (8)	0.0% (0)	2.68	40
Judiciary	11.4% (5)	45.5% (20)	29.5% (13)	11.4% (5)	2.3% (1)	2.48	44

16. 'This institution is very representative of the country as a whole.' Looking at the following institutions, to what extent do you agree?							
Police	11.6% (5)	39.5% (17)	25.6% (11)	18.6% (8)	4.7% (2)	2.65	43
Media	4.8% (2)	35.7% (15)	35.7% (15)	23.8% (10)	0.0% (0)	2.79	42
Civil society organisations	0.0% (0)	6.7% (3)	33.3% (15)	44.4% (20)	15.6% (7)	3.69	45

17. 'This institution entrenches existing inequalities.' Looking at the following institutions, to what extent do you agree?							
	answered question						44
	skipped question						13
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	This might be true	Agree	Strongly agree	Rating Average	Response Count
Cabinet	0.0% (0)	12.2% (5)	12.2% (5)	51.2% (21)	24.4% (10)	3.88	41
Government	0.0% (0)	9.3% (4)	14.0% (6)	53.5% (23)	23.3% (10)	3.91	43
Parliament	0.0% (0)	23.3% (10)	16.3% (7)	44.2% (19)	16.3% (7)	3.53	43
Civil Service	0.0% (0)	10.8% (4)	32.4% (12)	45.9% (17)	10.8% (4)	3.57	37
Local government	0.0% (0)	25.0% (10)	27.5% (11)	37.5% (15)	10.0% (4)	3.33	40
Judiciary	4.9% (2)	12.2% (5)	29.3% (12)	36.6% (15)	17.1% (7)	3.49	41
Police	2.4% (1)	19.5% (8)	22.0% (9)	34.1% (14)	22.0% (9)	3.54	41
Media	2.4% (1)	35.7% (15)	21.4% (9)	33.3% (14)	7.1% (3)	3.07	42

17. 'This institution entrenches existing inequalities.' Looking at the following institutions, to what extent do you agree?

Civil Society Organisations	17.1% (7)	48.8% (20)	19.5% (8)	12.2% (5)	2.4% (1)	2.34	41
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18. 'This response to inequality works very well.' Looking at the following responses, to what extent do you agree?

	answered question						44
	skipped question						13
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	This might be true	Agree	Strongly agree	Rating Average	Response Count
Increasing access to services	2.4% (1)	7.3% (3)	7.3% (3)	39.0% (16)	43.9% (18)	4.15	41
Increasing rights to land and employment	2.5% (1)	10.0% (4)	10.0% (4)	27.5% (11)	50.0% (20)	4.13	40
Improving social safety nets	2.5% (1)	12.5% (5)	17.5% (7)	22.5% (9)	45.0% (18)	3.95	40
Increasing the distribution of central government funds to regional and local levels	2.4% (1)	9.8% (4)	24.4% (10)	19.5% (8)	43.9% (18)	3.93	41
Improving voice, participation and influence of ordinary citizens	2.3% (1)	4.5% (2)	6.8% (3)	18.2% (8)	68.2% (30)	4.45	44

19. 'The state uses this response to inequality.' Looking at the following responses, to what extent do you agree?							
	answered question						42
	skipped question						15
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	This might be true	Agree	Strongly agree	Rating Average	Response Count
Increasing access to services	7.5% (3)	57.5% (23)	15.0% (6)	15.0% (6)	5.0% (2)	2.53	40
Increasing rights to land and employment	19.5% (8)	53.7% (22)	17.1% (7)	7.3% (3)	2.4% (1)	2.20	41
Improving social safety nets	12.5% (5)	50.0% (20)	25.0% (10)	10.0% (4)	2.5% (1)	2.40	40
Increasing the distribution of central government funds to regional and local levels	12.2% (5)	36.6% (15)	29.3% (12)	17.1% (7)	4.9% (2)	2.66	41
Improving voice, participation and influence of ordinary citizens	25.0% (10)	42.5% (17)	17.5% (7)	10.0% (4)	5.0% (2)	2.28	40

20. 'The government's actions in my country decrease inequality.' To what extent do you agree?			
	answered question		45
	skipped question		12
		Response	Response

20. 'The government's actions in my country decrease inequality.' To what extent do you agree?			
		Percent	Count
Strongly disagree		28.9%	13
Disagree		44.4%	20
This might be true		20.0%	9
Agree		6.7%	3
Strongly agree		0.0%	0

21. 'Inequality creates problems for the state in tackling poverty.' To what extent do you agree?			
	answered question		43
	skipped question		14
		Response Percent	Response Count
Strongly disagree		4.6%	2
Disagree		7.0%	3
This might be true		4.7%	2
Agree		39.5%	17
Strongly agree		44.2%	19

22. 'This reflects donors in my country.' Looking at the following statements, to what extent do you agree?							
	answered question						45
	skipped question						12
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	This might be true	Agree	Strongly agree	Rating Average	Response Count
Donors do not take	6.8% (3)	38.6% (17)	29.5% (13)	18.2% (8)	6.8% (3)	2.80	44

22. 'This reflects donors in my country.' Looking at the following statements, to what extent do you agree?							
inequality seriously in my country							
Donors have good analysis about inequality	2.2% (1)	24.4% (11)	40.0% (18)	31.1% (14)	2.2% (1)	3.07	45
Donor policies contribute to inequality	4.5% (2)	34.1% (15)	36.4% (16)	20.5% (9)	4.5% (2)	2.86	44
Donor policies help overcome inequality	0.0% (0)	25.0% (11)	45.5% (20)	25.0% (11)	4.5% (2)	3.09	44
Donors hold my government to account for worsening inequality	9.3% (4)	48.8% (21)	27.9% (12)	14.0% (6)	0.0% (0)	2.47	43
Donors are able to influence my government to change	4.5% (2)	27.3% (12)	34.1% (15)	20.5% (9)	13.6% (6)	3.11	44

23. 'Civil society organisations in my country do this.' Looking at the following activities, to what extent do you agree?							
	answered question						45
	skipped question						12
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	This might be true	Agree	Strongly agree	Rating Average	Response Count

23. 'Civil society organisations in my country do this.' Looking at the following activities, to what extent do you agree?							
Analysis of trends	6.7% (3)	15.6% (7)	20.0% (9)	48.9% (22)	8.9% (4)	3.38	45
Campaigns	0.0% (0)	6.7% (3)	28.9% (13)	57.8% (26)	6.7% (3)	3.64	45
Legal cases	0.0% (0)	2.3% (1)	25.6% (11)	65.1% (28)	7.0% (3)	3.77	43
Rights awareness	0.0% (0)	2.3% (1)	15.9% (7)	63.6% (28)	18.2% (8)	3.98	44
Delivering services	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	6.7% (3)	73.3% (33)	20.0% (9)	4.13	45
Policy engagement	0.0% (0)	4.5% (2)	27.3% (12)	63.6% (28)	4.5% (2)	3.68	44

24. 'Civil Society Organisations should do this activity.' Looking at the activities below, to what extent do you agree?							
	answered question						45
	skipped question						12
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	This might be true	Agree	Strongly agree	Rating Average	Response Count
Analysis of trends	0.0% (0)	2.2% (1)	4.4% (2)	35.6% (16)	57.8% (26)	4.49	45
Campaigns	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	2.3% (1)	36.4% (16)	61.4% (27)	4.59	44
Legal cases	0.0% (0)	4.7% (2)	2.3% (1)	37.2% (16)	55.8% (24)	4.44	43
Rights awareness	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	36.4% (16)	63.6% (28)	4.64	44
Delivering services	0.0% (0)	13.3% (6)	26.7% (12)	28.9% (13)	31.1% (14)	3.78	45
Policy engagement	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	4.5% (2)	27.3% (12)	68.2% (30)	4.64	44

25. Thinking about how to reduce inequality in your country, what one thing would you recommend most?			
	answered question		42
	skipped question		15
		Response Percent	Response Count
	More representative political parties and governments	7.1%	3
	More equal access to services such as health and education for all citizens	38.1%	16
	Direct cash transfers to the poorest	2.4%	1
	More equal access to public jobs	0.0%	0
	Progressive taxation	0.0%	0
	More equal access to assets such as land and finance	19.0%	8
	More equal social standing and respect between all individuals and groups	11.9%	5
	Social and economic policies that discriminate in the interests of marginalised groups	21.4%	9

26. Do you think that the experiences of your country are unique, or are they similar to other countries?			
	answered question		45
	skipped question		12
		Response Percent	Response Count
	Yes, my country is unique	35.6%	16
	No, my country is like other countries	57.8%	26
	Don't know	6.7%	3

28. Which of the following categories best describes your position in relation to Christian Aid?			
	answered question		44
	skipped question		13
		Response Percent	Response Count
	Christian Aid staff	47.7%	21
	Staff member of partner of Christian Aid	29.5%	13
	Staff member of network Christian Aid is part of	2.3%	1
	Staff member of organisation Christian Aid works with	18.2%	8
	Staff member from another organisation	2.3%	1

29. Which of the following categories best describes the kind of work your organisation does?			
	answered question		41
	skipped question		16
		Response Percent	Response Count
	Mainly service delivery in specialised area (geographically or by type)	7.3%	3
	Mainly service delivery, but also some advocacy work	43.9%	18
	Specialised in advocacy work (national)	14.6%	6
	Specialised in advocacy work (national and international)	19.5%	8
	Network organisation, bringing different groups together	14.6%	6