

Social Exclusion in the ESCWA Region

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Part I: Introduction

1.1 Background

The Millennium Development Goals have placed the welfare of the global poor and their right to development at the center of policies and programmes of UN and other major development agencies. They follow a generalized and over-arching trajectory of commitment to human rights broadly conceived and to sustainable economic growth that benefits the less advantaged. The United Nations Development Account Project, “Interregional Cooperation to Strengthen Social Inclusion, Gender Equality and Health Promotion in the Millennium Development Goals,” was initiated in 2006 and involves all five UN Regional Commissions.¹ This multi-regional project aims to provide “policymakers with a set of additional targets and indicators within the existing MDG framework that would help them measure the progress made toward the Millennium Development Goals in a way that takes into account the empowerment of women, the inclusion of vulnerable social groups and the comprehensive functioning of health systems.”²

The project, thus, aims to supplement the MDGs with specific targets and localized indicators that take into account the challenges and differences facing the different regions in their progress towards the MDGs. The premise of the project is that certain disadvantaged groups in different societies are not adequately addressed by the general targets of the MDGs; that women, despite the gender-specific indicators already included in the MDG framework, continue to lag behind in terms of equality and empowerment; and that “adequate” health care remains not only inaccessible for many, but it is *unequally* so. The project then posits at the outset that a focus on the “poor” broadly defined does not address the needs and experiences of many groups in society whose disadvantage, lack of access, and inequality cannot be explained by, or limited to, economic deprivation or underdevelopment. Discrimination, whether legal or cultural, stigmatisation, institutional and environmental barriers to equal access and equal opportunities, all play a role in excluding some more than others from the developmental benefits articulated in the MDGs and their meaningful realization in empowerment, increased social and economic participation, and improved quality of living.

Like that of all other regional commissions, ESCWA’s work on social exclusion will ultimately feed into an inter-regional workshop where region-specific targets and indicators will be refined and adopted as supplements to the MDG targets and indicators, with the understanding that important variations among different countries within a region are accorded weight in the design and implementation of each regional project. The ultimate aim is to provide high-level public sector decision-makers and senior advisors in relevant ministries, as well as members of civil society organizations working on issues and topics relevant to the project, with a deeper understanding of the needs and challenges facing excluded groups, and with targets and indicators that could be integrated into national development planning and policy formulation.

¹ The five Commissions are: the Economic and Social Commission for Asia Pacific (ESCAP), the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), and the Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA).

² ESCAP Project Document.

1.2 Regional Context:

Tackling poverty and underdevelopment continue to be the cornerstones of national and international development initiatives in the ESCWA region. They are seen as the entry point to tackling a myriad of social problems, from illiteracy and gender gaps in political representation and the marketplace to the unemployment of youth and political disaffection. Reducing poverty is expected to lead to the inclusion of all in a community of national well-being where people are educated, employed, and enjoy the developmental benefits of a prosperous society. In other words, economic well-being is perceived as the generator of social well-being.

In this context, the understanding of poverty continues to be determined by mostly economic terms of income and access to resources and services. The poor emerge within the parameters of this understanding as a homogenous group to be lifted up to the level of full citizens by poverty eradication programs that have historically also been seen as programs of nation-building in the post-colonial era. The Millennium Development Goals appear as a supportive continuation of this approach, providing countries with the monitoring mechanisms and the added international push to ensure that developmental benefits in health, education, and economic sustainability reach all.

And yet, tackling poverty and underdevelopment and working towards the MDGs through policies that aim at increasing quality services and employment opportunities does not necessarily ensure that all will enjoy these services and opportunities equally. Building more schools in the impoverished rural south of Egypt will not necessarily result in the equal enrolment of girls and boys in schools just as poverty will not explain why more boys still manage to attain an education than girls. Poverty eradication campaigns in Yemen will help improve the quality of life of many citizens but will not necessarily result in the acceptance of the ethnic group the Akhdam as citizens of equal worth in schools and the marketplace. Providing quality health services across a country is not sufficient to ensure that Persons Living with HIV/AIDS will be able to access those services with dignity and lead full and productive lives. Discrimination and stigma on the basis of gender and ethnicity and social status are here at play and not only issues of economic deprivation and the lack of access to services.

In addition to inequalities among citizens, many in the ESCWA region will remain outside the reach of the developmental benefits of poverty eradication programs and the MDGs precisely because they lack the status of citizen. This is a grave concern in a region with long and short-term refugee problems and a significant migrant labour force. GCC countries may register high per capita income ratios but boast higher ratios of foreigners (Arab and non-Arab) to nationals in the labour force. Egypt, Lebanon, and Syria have long-term and inter-generational communities of Palestinian refugees many of whom have never known and have no hope in the near future of knowing another home. Somali, Sudanese, and Iraqi refugees are spread across the region, creating pockets of poverty, despair, and alienation whose impact on their basic human rights and on the social, economic, and political well-being of the various host societies has yet to be properly assessed. The concerns of those groups will also not be addressed by what are supposed to be the universal goals and targets spelled out in the MDGs.

Thus, there are many groups and categories among the poor who face obstacles beyond or in addition to poverty and who stand to lose out on the benefits articulated in the MDGs and in

national poverty eradication programs. These groups and categories are not only poor: they suffer burdens and disadvantages related directly to their group identity or social status rather than their economic status. In other words, their group identity or social status places them at an unfair disadvantage from others similarly situated, resulting not only in further economic deprivation but also in their disempowerment. It is due to that intersection of poverty generally conceived and the discrimination they face on the basis of their group identity or status that they become differentiated even among the poor, and they are less able to be active members of the societies they inhabit. It is those people and that intersection of economic-based deprivation and processes of discrimination and disempowerment that this report will try to capture through the concept of **social exclusion**.

- Poverty is not always the primary cause of exclusion from spheres of participation, opportunities and access to services: gender, stigma on the basis of ethnic or racial characteristics or background, are examples of causes of exclusion.
- Aiming at poverty eradication or addressing the developmental needs of communities will not necessarily address the roots and means of exclusion, or the biased societal and institutional processes that produce some groups as vulnerable.
- A social exclusion analysis allows for a focus on discrimination and its relation to inequality, providing a more refined understanding of inequality generally.

1.3 Social Exclusion: Defining the Concept

The term social exclusion was coined in Europe to address issues of disadvantage within mostly developed countries. In France in the 1970s, social exclusion referred to a “rupture of the social bond” or “solidarity” as a new class of the poor emerged on the outskirts of mainstream society, unable to integrate into a highly changing and globalizing economy. Considering the existence of a welfare system supposed to guard against plunging entire families into poverty and to guarantee a minimum and adequate access to social services, a new concept was needed to approach this phenomenon of the disenfranchised. The European Union and the United Kingdom also adopted the term with some variations but overall the term social exclusion was meant to refer to something more than material deprivation; its focus was socio-economic:

Europeans conceive of social exclusion as distinct from income poverty. Poverty is a distributional outcome, whereas exclusion is a relational process of declining participation, solidarity, and access. For some, exclusion is a broader term encompassing poverty; for others, it is a cause or a consequence of poverty. The two may even be unrelated.³

³ Silver, Hilary and S.M. Miller. “Social Exclusion: The European Approach to Social Disadvantage.” *Indicators* 2.2, Spring 2003.

Some critics have argued that this socio-economic conception of social exclusion is in fact quite similar to what debates on poverty generally have been about in the developing world; “The debate on ‘social exclusion’ has mostly taken place in developed countries, but closely mirrors the debate on ‘poverty’ in the developing countries: both stress the problem of multiple deprivation, the psycho-social factors, and the importance of agency and participation in the widest sense.”⁴ Within these various views a lot depends on the understanding of poverty: poverty perceived in strictly economic terms is considered to be one aspect of social exclusion, whereas poverty conceived as an economic and social condition is seen to overlap largely with social exclusion.⁵

The concept has, however, migrated outside Europe and has been used to analyse the experiences of various disadvantaged groups in developing countries in Asia and Latin America. Along the way, the concept has been reformulated and refocused but always to capture a multiplicity of factors and an intersection of processes that produce inequality among the poor and disadvantaged. According to Naila Kabeer, the concept of social exclusion evolved as it was picked up by analysts and researchers working in the field of development. Regardless of its origins in developed European economies, social exclusion provided the conceptual and analytical possibility of bringing together two strands of work within development: a focus on poverty by economists and a focus on discrimination by sociologists. Social exclusion was thus a lens to view the interaction of “resource-based models of injustice” which focused on individuals and households and material deficits, and “identity-based models of injustice” which focused on discrimination faced by groups and categories and the interpersonal and institutional dynamics of social interaction.⁶ According to Kabeer,

social exclusion reflects the multiple and overlapping nature of the disadvantages experienced by certain groups and categories of the population, with social identity as the central axis of their exclusion. It is thus a *group* or collective phenomenon rather than an individual one. It gives rise to what Stewart calls a ‘horizontal’ model of inequality, one that draws attention to disparities within different income or asset strata rather than simply across them.⁷

Thus, while in Europe the concept was used mostly to explain why some were plunged into intergenerational poverty and alienation despite the existence of a comprehensive welfare system, in the developing world the concept is used to merge an economic and sociological analysis of multi-

⁴ O’Brien, David, Joanna Wilkes, Arjan de Haan, and Simon Maxwell. “Poverty and Social Exclusion in North and South.” *IDS Working Paper 55*. Institute of Development Studies and Poverty Research Unit, University of Sussex.

⁵ According to Mouna Hashem, “although the general symptoms may appear to be similar to those of industrialized societies, the nature of exclusion in low-income countries should be investigated independently. The new interest in social exclusion comes at a time when an evaluation of the latest experiences of development is badly needed, especially since problems of poverty are increasing and participation in social rights (such as education and employment) seem to be shrinking.” See Mouna H. Hashem. *Goals for Social Integration and Realities of Social Exclusion in the Republic of Yemen*. ILLS Research Series 105 (1996).

⁶ Kabeer, Naila. “Social Exclusion: A Critical Dimension of Institutionalized Inequality.” Paper presented at the Expert Group Meeting on Social Exclusion, UN ESCWA, Beirut, August 1-2, 2008.

⁷ Kabeer, Naila. “Social Exclusion and the MDGs: The Challenge of ‘Durable Inequalities’ in the Asian Context.” *IDS Bulletin* (2006). <http://www.eldis.org/vfile/upload/1/document/0708/DOC21178.pdf>

dimensional poverty by looking at the links between inequality and identity among the poor. In other words, while in Europe the concept of social exclusion was meant to explain the differences between the poor and the majority non-poor, in the developing world the concept has shifted to explain inequality among the poor. Such a shift is necessitated by the fact that in the struggle to access basic rights and services articulated in the MDGs, and in the attempt to make use of various developmental opportunities in development plans, some groups and categories of the poor in the region have a harder time than others. More importantly, they can trace that difficulty not to poverty alone but to characteristics that define their experiences and differentiate them from others.

ESCWA's Approach to Social Exclusion:

ESCWA's premise is that such inequality cannot be relegated to natural or inevitable processes but to discriminatory mechanisms that have been allowed to continue without being checked by appropriate social equity policies. To that end, ESCWA's focus is on social exclusion, on socially or institutionally biased processes which differentiate unequally between various groups *within* society placing some outside the spheres of political, social, and economic access, participation and consumption. Social exclusion in this context pertains to characteristics, specific attributes which mark a subject as different and places him or her at that unfair and dis-empowering disadvantage.

Social exclusion is thus a process and a condition. It is a power relationship that places some at an unfair disadvantage from others, and it also names the condition, the state of being unfairly disadvantaged. The processes and the content of that disadvantage may vary for various groups but common to all is **discriminatory inequality**. It is not the lack of access to services that defines exclusion, and it is not necessary for a subject to have limited social *and* political *and* economic rights to be deemed excluded. Rather, according to the working definition of Social exclusion used in this report, subjects must not only face deprivation or barriers to empowerment, but must also be marked with enough specificity so that the contours of the group can be easily identified: *the disabled* and *refugees* are two examples.

The field work on social exclusion presented in this report shows that excluded groups and individuals suffer discrimination, deprivation, as well as disempowerment. Bias in institutions (whether state or social institutions), asymmetrical relations based in inequality, cultural norms that stigmatise particular attributes, all erect barriers to equal access and equal opportunity and result in the disempowerment of individuals and groups: they are exclusionary. Exclusion then not only deprives individuals and groups from equitable access to services, goods, and participation in social, economic, political, even cultural life, but is based in discriminatory structures, attitudes, processes, and institutions. And exclusion

Social Exclusion places a subject at an unfair disadvantage from others similarly situated; it results in the curtailment of that person's social, economic, and/or political rights, his or her ability to access services and goods, as well as the ability to be an active member in society.

manifests itself in disempowerment, in a weakened sense of agency.

For example, while it might be argued that women's lack of participation in political life and in the labour market can be traced to the disempowerment of women in many societies, it remains true that the dis-empowerment of women itself results from discriminatory social, institutional, cultural and legal processes that undervalue the experiences and productivity of females. It is due to that discriminatory inequality that a female's sense of agency and her ability to initiate and effect changes in her personal life and the conditions around her is diminished.

Box 1

Ingredients of Social Exclusion

Discrimination: names social, institutional, legal, or cultural processes that unequally differentiate among people according to involuntary attributes like sex, religion, ethnicity, disability, illness, language, status (ex. refugee), location, etc. Discrimination may erect barriers, or added obstacles to social mobility, to access to social services and goods such as healthcare or education, to political participation, and to entry into the labour market.

Deprivation: names not only material deprivation due to the inability to satisfy basic needs or to provide for oneself and one's family, but also diminished rights and lack of acknowledgment of that right to basic social services such as education and health. An excluded person may be deprived of standardized general knowledge such as that provided in public schools, deprived of shelter or the ability to form a proper home and belong to a community.

Dis-empowerment: names a diminished agency whereby a person or a group, due to discriminatory processes and/or conditions of deprivation is/are restricted from effecting changes in their conditions of living, or in the public sphere of the community as a whole. Dis-empowerment is here related not only to a perception of personal lack but to non-belonging, to a lack of social cohesion or to strains in the social fabric of a community.

Social exclusion, therefore, as a concept and an experience, brings together deprivation, discrimination, and disempowerment. It is the intersection of all three that produces the experience of social exclusion. For example, many are poor but not marked by stigmatised characteristics; on the other hand, many are discriminated against but not necessarily deprived and dis-empowered. While poverty, both as an economic and a social condition, accompanies the experience of social exclusion among the categories studied in this project, *poverty—as well as underdevelopment—name a state or a structure within which people may or may not be socially excluded*. Since social exclusion refers to discriminatory inequality which results in diminished access and in disempowerment, its root causes differ from those of poverty generally conceived or of underdevelopment. Addressing processes of poverty or underdevelopment will not necessarily address the social, cultural, legal, or institutional processes that discriminate among various groups in society on the basis of specific attributes. Social Exclusion is therefore the intersection of

discriminatory processes and conditions of deprivation, and this intersection leads not only to impoverishment or marginalization, but to the disempowerment of individuals and groups: this is the working definition of social exclusion used in this report.

And it is thus that the definition of social exclusion adopted by ESCWA will supplement the general thrust of the MDGs, by shedding light on discriminatory differentiation among social groups, all of whom might be addressed homogeneously through poverty reduction or developmental policies; *poverty reduction or developmental policies do not necessarily take stock of such differentiation and its effects on these groups' ability to access benefits and services equally*, as the example in Box 3 will illustrate. Development programmes may be geared towards the increase of employment opportunities or schools in certain areas. This, however, will not address racial or ethnic bias, for example, in a society that reproduces the marginalization of specific groups at every entry point or threshold in the educational system or the marketplace.

Box 3

Profile of an Impoverished Family:

A farming family in an impoverished rural area might suffer from poverty and lack of access to various social services and goods, including access to education. Poverty and lack of access to social services may be the result of a developmental lag in agricultural practices, or a government's failure to revive the agricultural sector, or of macro economic forces, all of which will have a negative impact on the welfare of the family as a whole.

Distribution of Power and Resources within the Family:

However, looking at the distribution of power relations within the family, it might be observed that social norms, which privilege male children, organize the distribution of resources and of value generally, placing the female child at an observable longer distance from access to education in comparison to her brother. While her brother continues to go to school, the female child is pulled out of school because of insufficiency of funds, because she is needed for help on the farm, or because the parents believe that investing in male children has more potential than investing in female children. Poverty and lack of access do not in this case affect all the members of the family equally. It is this *unequal and discriminatory* distancing of the female child from the spheres of rights and access and opportunity that is the focus of a gender-based social exclusion analysis.

In the above example, it is not lack of education that determines the little girl's exclusion although it may be indicative of disadvantage. What determines the dis-enabling conditions of lack in this case are skewed cultural or social norms that privilege male children and undervalue females and their contributions, as well as gender norms that assign a larger share of work within the household and on the farm to females than males. Poverty is here an accompanying or a contextual determinant not a primary one: poverty is part of the enabling environment within which parents would choose to send the male child to school at the expense of his sister's lack of education.⁸ The

⁸ In her theorization of social exclusion, Naila Kabeer argues that "[D]isadvantage results in social exclusion when the various institutional mechanisms through which resources are allocated and value assigned operate in such a way as to

little girl is uneducated, and her lack of education is related to her deprivation or the poverty of her entire family. But it is exclusionary cultural values and processes—as well as the warped workings of the market places which are also informed by such values and processes--which finally decide that she remain home while her brother attends school. Deprivation and discrimination here yield disempowerment not simply because the girl is uneducated and her lack of education could be disempowering; disempowerment is related also to the unequal distribution of resources within the family that position the girl as less worthy or of less potential than her brother.

In this case it is not enough to measure the enrolment of children in rural areas in school or even to disaggregate data by sex, or to build more schools. Such an approach provides aggregate indicators at the macro level/system level to measure the extent to which girls in general have been mainstreamed in the educational system. A more refined indicator to measure equal or unequal access to basic social services, however, should account for or measure results of possibly exclusionary micro or macro conditions/power structures that discriminate against girls on the basis of their characteristics. In this scenario, a social exclusion approach will entail the following:

“A focus on processes of exclusion is a useful way to think about social policy because it draws attention to the production of disadvantage through the active dynamics of social interaction, rather than through anonymous processes of impoverishment and marginalization.” —Naila Kabeer

- Identifying and assessing the cultural, societal, institutional and legal norms that devalue the role of females generally and the role of educated females in society and the marketplace;
- Identifying entry points to address the imbalances created by such norms. Those entry points may include tailored programs to rectify shortcomings in the education of females, the provision of incentives for female enrolment in schools, quota initiatives to guarantee an equitable representation of females in higher education, reallocation of other resources or assets, etc.
- Accounting for and elaborating the institutional mechanisms necessary to check discriminatory norms and ensure that boys and girls are equally positioned to access and benefit from educational opportunities in their communities.

Social Exclusion thus has the potential for better targeting and localized strategies to tackle disadvantage and inequality.

To sum up, as an analytical tool, social exclusion does not ask what makes a subject excluded: for example, lack of education, unemployment, or lack of political participation. Rather, a social

systematically deny particular groups of people the resources and recognition which would allow them to participate fully in the life of that society.” Kabeer, 9.

exclusion analysis asks what **structures, systems, norms** situate a subject at a disadvantage and at a distance from access and opportunity. Those structures, systems, and norms may be legal, cultural, social or even built-in dynamics of the marketplace. They may be part of official or public institutions—like state organizations or schools—or dominant institutions in society like the family. It is the codes of those institutions, **written and unwritten codes**, that become the focus of a social exclusion analysis and it is their effects on a subject's equitable right to access and opportunity that is measured: they are what determines the exclusion of a particular subject or the **determinants of exclusion** in that subject's case.

For example, to what extent do cultural traditions that frown on female labour outside the home and alongside men limit the ability of single mothers to work in available industries and provide for their families? To what extent does the lack of legal status deny a migrant worker or asylum seeker the ability to seek protection or access to a recourse system rendering him or her the subject of exploitation or abuse and isolating him or her further from others in society? Accordingly, points of intervention, both short and long term, must address the underlying causes and forces of exclusion and not simply its manifestations, taking policy makers away from a model of service provision to a model of equitable and integrated social policy.

1.4 Methodology:

ESCWA's approach to social exclusion is a drive to clarify as much as possible the parameters of this phenomenon while respecting its complexity. The project uses a combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis necessitated by the novelty and complexity of the concept of social exclusion in the region. Qualitative analysis was essential in order to map out the parameters of a new concept, to give it form, to establish the ingredients that give it content. It was important to listen to individual stories, to record observations, and to analyze narratives in order a) to understand what social exclusion means for disadvantaged groups in the different countries considered, and b) to zero in on powerful and common determinants of exclusion that emerge across the various narratives considered. Quantitative analysis then becomes the crucial next step to elaborate methods of measurement that would in turn provide us with indicators that are usable and meaningful for policy makers and researchers, and that can be integrated into the framework of the MDGs.

- Literature reviews were conducted by ESCWA to identify different uses of the concept of social exclusion, to contextualize it within regional and methodological considerations in order to come up with a working definition of social exclusion.
- Three country studies were then designed and launched to ensure a minimum regional representation within the time frame and means available. To that end, studies on social exclusion in Lebanon, Egypt, and Yemen were conducted. Lebanon was chosen to represent a conflict-ridden society; Egypt represents a diversified economy and a highly populous country; and Yemen represents a Least Developed Country.

- A guide was developed for monograph interviews and used with slight variations in the three country studies. The guide seeks to determine the causes and effects of exclusion by focusing on conditions, perspectives, and coping mechanisms of the individuals profiled in each category. It reflects two distinct approaches:
 1. questions of assessment that determine objective as well as subjective conditions of exclusion; thus the questions regarding the quality of living conditions and the ability or willingness for participation in political parties or unions which could shed light on issues of access and opportunity as well as disadvantage and marginalization.
 2. questions of exploration that allow for unexpected or analytically unforeseen information; thus the questions regarding “protection” and intergenerational links which could shed light on the issue of mitigating circumstances, on hope and empowerment, on the concept of change and mobility.

- Using the findings of the literature review, assumptions were made about who could be thought or said to be excluded. Within each country study, a national consultant established a short list of disenfranchised or disadvantaged groups that may be termed socially excluded. The lists are in no way exhaustive: they are preliminary lists designed to be as diverse and regionally representative as possible, covering most geographical areas within a country and a wide range of attributes that mark a group as excluded. In a follow-up phase of the project, either more groups or more acute degrees of exclusion may be identified in each country.

- Working closely with NGOs and social workers in respective fields, representatives were identified for each category, and arrangements were made to meet with those representatives. Considering that the categories identified are susceptible to social exclusion, the subjects interviewed were vulnerable in multiple ways and thus less likely than others to share their stories. Multiple visits were often necessary to put these subjects at ease and to gain their trust.

- From the outset, a focus on gender guided the design of this project and so a male and a female representative from each group were interviewed. Questions relating specifically to women’s access to resources, to decision-making and to bodily integrity were included in the guide.

- Content of each interview was analyzed to identify determinants of exclusion. Those determinants were tabled and given a measurement from 1 to 3 according to their reported overall effect in the cases studied: 1 signified a very strong determinant. Finally, the determinants for each category were classified as primary triggers of exclusion, accompanying conditions, or as part of the enabling environment for exclusion.

1.5 Excluded Groups:

The groups considered below share distinct commonalities despite their diversity and the differences in their historical, geographic, and social placement. While their conditions of exclusion tend to be manifested similarly—lack of access to social services and goods, unemployment or irregular employment, lack of trust in state institutions, poverty—the triggers of exclusion across the various groups lend themselves to distinction and nuance. Four broad categories of the excluded may be identified. This categorization is still preliminary, and its refinement may be key to the elaboration of an overarching analytical framework for social exclusion in the region.

1. **Vulnerable non-citizens**: Refugees, the Undocumented, and Migrant Workers are excluded not only from adequate access to services and goods, but they are excluded from the sphere of rights all together. Some are more properly rightless: they do not enjoy social, civil, political, and economic rights, and more importantly, they do not exist from a legal perspective. The Undocumented are shadow figures known to themselves and their families, maybe in some cases to their immediate communities, but from the point of view of schools, hospitals, police stations, the formal market place, they are invisible, unknowable, and therefore, in situations that bring them into contact with state security, they are suspect. Migrant workers, those who enter the country legally as well as those who enter the country illegally, are to a certain extent equally unprotected by the law. A foreign maid in Lebanon who flees the home of her abusive employers becomes a fugitive from the law instead of enjoying the right to seek the protection of the law. The absence of legislation that regulates the working conditions of domestic workers in particular and provides the institutional mechanisms to address their grievances, effectively renders the human rights of these workers in their host countries null and void. Likewise, refugees are all prohibited by law from participating in the political, economic, and civil life of their host countries in such a way that they are unable to lead productive lives. While the argument may be made that non-citizens everywhere cannot expect to enjoy the rights of citizens and nationals, the counterargument must be made that refugees usually do not have the choice or mobility to return “home”, and therefore legal prohibitions that apply to non-citizens are in the case of refugees a violation of their most basic human rights.
2. **Vulnerable citizens**: While it could not be said that women and children are excluded groups in society, and while it may not be theoretically or pragmatically viable to speak of women and children as groups, field work on social exclusion indicates that the social positioning of women and children in certain societies and under certain conditions as minors lacking the ability to access rights and resources unmediated, renders them likely to be excluded. Thus, rural women in the south of Egypt, for example, burdened by cultural traditions and social disadvantages, are disempowered politically, socially, and economically. Likewise, unwanted children or children in abusive homes are left unprotected, and their dependency becomes fraught with danger and risk. As dependent minors, they are then forced to deal with conditions of neglect, abuse, and exploitation, unaided. Living in the street or working underpaid and unregulated jobs, they are simultaneously denied the chance to build their defences and prepare for their futures in

caring and educational environments, further reducing their chances of leading healthy and productive lives in the future.

3. **Persons with special needs and reduced health:** Persons with Disability, Persons Living with HIV/AIDS, Patients suffering from Leprosy, can trace their exclusion to similar sources: the lack of a comprehensive policy to address their physical and social needs. In the cases of the three groups profiled, such a policy is identified as the necessary mechanism to combat their exclusion. Such comprehensive policy would address not only the physical infrastructure necessary for the integration of these groups (ex. hospitals, roads) but also the social infrastructure, support and legal backing necessary (ex. educational programmes, intervention against stigma and discrimination in the workplace, service provision sectors, and society at large). The recognition, by all relevant actors, that the needs of persons living with physical or health challenges must be adequately addressed by policy and infrastructure, is a necessary element in the recognition of such persons as active and productive members of the societies they inhabit.
4. **Historically disadvantaged minorities and unsettled populations :** The Akhdam and the Hjur in Yemen share a history of systematic disadvantage at the level of state and society. They face reported discrimination and stigma on the basis of their ethnicity and skin color, and the major impediment to their inclusion is the intergenerational poverty and lack of resources they suffer from: they own no land, no homes, and are therefore unsettled populations at the risk of removal and displacement. This lack of traditional settlement in towns and villages also affects their ability to organize as a community and lobby effectively for infrastructure and services. Similarly, maqaber residents also suffer from the lack of traditional settlement and specifically the lack of a proper home. Residents of the maqaber are not only extremely poor: they are poor and homeless, and their placement in the maqaber renders them socially abnormal.

1.6 Gender and Social Exclusion:

Women are not a homogenous group, they enjoy different rights and suffer different violations in different places and different contexts. For different women, religion, class, ethnicity, race, position within the family or the community, may draw a different sphere of power, influence, or conversely subordination within which a woman may make her choices and exercise her options. In some cases, women belonging to a particular ethnic group may experience their exclusion more in terms of their group identity rather than their gender, and their sense of empowerment may stem from the networks they form within their group and the collective action they form rather than from a generalized notion of women's empowerment.

However, and based on the three studies undertaken, two points must be stressed in relation to gender and social exclusion. First, there is an overarching biased power structure within which females are situated and within which they negotiate their rights and opportunities and exercise their agency. In some cases, that biased-power structure is especially restricting and disempowering to the point where women do become excluded from the political and economic sphere. This

manifests itself especially in their limited access to legal institutions and the rights enshrined within them. On the one hand, women seemed to lack knowledge of their rights (lack of access to knowledge generally and rights specifically) and on the other hand, laws were actively discriminatory against women (ex. citizenship laws). ESCWA's focus on discriminatory inequality and its relation to exclusion is here helpful, for exclusion in this context could also be understood as conditional or restricted inclusion, inclusion on unequal and disempowering terms: the women are included in the institutions of family, community, even the market, and definitely state institutions, but their inclusion is severely limited and can be highly and implicitly conditional on subordination.

Second, gender influences the form of exclusion experienced by individuals within a group. In the cases profiled, gender often appeared as a differentiating marker in the access to services and goods and in the construction of power relations between individuals as well as in the structure of dominant institutions such as marriage and the family. Although in some cases it cannot be argued that gender plays the primary role in producing the experience of exclusion, in almost all cases gender as a social identity and a construct of the above mentioned power relations and structures contributed to the specific *form* of exploitation or marginalization and to the production of vulnerability. For example, while some refugees (both male and female) suffered exploitation in the workplace—degrading treatment, unequal pay, unfair termination—for the female subject, an element of sexual harassment permeated her interactions with her employers; that sexual harassment is possible in part due to the subject's vulnerability as a refugee *and* as a woman who lacks recourse to protective mechanisms and institutions. Likewise, while young male street children were often sexually exploited by older male peers, female street children continue to suffer the sexual exploitation of their male peers in adulthood and must continue to seek the protective guardianship of a male in the group; even in adulthood, the fact of being female renders them especially vulnerable, a vulnerability that makes them highly dependent members of their social group.

Below, systematic gender biases across the various categories profiled in this study will be examined in relation to the following:

1. Access to and control over resources
2. Access to reporting and recourse systems
3. Mobility
4. Access to the decision-making process.

2.1 Access to resources: Lack of access to both tangible and intangible resources was in some cases related to gender and not simply an accompaniment of poverty. Two females, both originally from the south of Egypt, were incredibly poor yet unemployed; their unemployment, however, could not be explained simply by reference to underdevelopment or lack of job opportunities—both were reported to be unemployed because of traditions that frown upon female labour outside the home or do not sanction female involvement in the limited available occupations.

Access to resources is also constrained by tendencies in some cases to deny educational or training opportunities to females and by social constraints on women's work. Many of the women interviewed were untrained and illiterate—as females, they were denied access to education or their

education/training was not considered a priority by their parents—and had difficulty accessing resources when placed in the position of head of the household.

However, it is not only access to resources but control of resources that is significant. One of the rural women interviewed owned a fishing boat after her husband's early death and the operation of the boat did bring in money—however, due to traditions that prevented women from working on fishing boats, the female owner had to entrust the operation of the boat to male relatives (brother and then sons). This effectively prevented her control of both the boat as resource and of the income the boat generated.

In two cases profiled, women bargained for that crucial control of resources when placed in the position of head of the household. For one woman in Egypt, who worked as a cleaning woman and whose wages were routinely confiscated by her alcoholic husband (thus she accessed cash but did not control it), the relatively recent divorce law of Khulu' was a way for her to gain personal and financial independence from her husband. The law, however, stipulates that she must relinquish all her legal and contractual marriage rights (which crucially identify her financial rights as a married woman) in order to get her divorce. Another woman was only able to gain control of the almost non-existent economic resources of her household when her abusive husband abandoned her and their children. Significantly, in both cases this newly-gained control of resources and relative independence excluded the husbands' payment of child support and the women were left to their own resources in caring and providing for their families.

2.2 Access to reporting and recourse systems: Almost half the females interviewed experienced severe physical abuse at the hand of husbands or other male relatives, and none had access to reporting and recourse systems. And while it could be argued that male subjects who suffered various forms of exploitation or violence also seemed to lack that access—that the lack of reporting and recourse systems is a sign of ineffective legislative structures or non-existent civil society and a weak human rights regime—in the cases of females the violence was *sanctioned* by the surrounding environment. This sanctioning is obvious in the lack of intervention of other family members who were made aware of the abuse; family members of three of these abused females thought the woman should be “patient” with her husband and bear his abuse.⁹

Thus, an environment could be identified in which a husband's abuse of his wife is not considered abnormal or unduly disruptive of the norms and codes of the community. Abuse in such cases is not seen to violate an inalienable right of the woman to bodily integrity or to violate the community's codes of proper behaviour within the institution of marriage. (And a similar case could be made in relation to sexual harassment of females in the workplace, especially those engaged in low-paying jobs within homes.)

⁹ In one case, the woman herself expressed a clear desire to return to her abusive husband in order to escape the state of divorce; this attests on the one hand to her lack of resources and independence as a divorced woman forced to reside with male relatives and incapable of providing for herself and her children, and on the other hand to the continuing cultural dominance of marriage as the “natural” state for women.

In fact it could be argued that this implicit sanctioning of the violence from the immediate social environment (family members) works to curtail or render inconceivable the attempt to seek recourse at the level of the state through the police or court system. The abused women did not attempt to reach out to an institutional or public body or to seek outside protection.

2.3 Mobility: For some women profiled in this study, constraints on their mobility structured their social interactions as well as economic activities, and thus had significant implications for their independence both social and financial.

For these women, mobility might signify the subject's ability to transcend the borders of the community and therefore perhaps transcend the laws that underwrite the organization of that community as well as the unwritten codes that map the possibilities and limitations of different individuals within that group. For the women profiled, constraints on their mobility manifested themselves as the limitations on the women's abilities to transcend those laws and codes: rural women who were prevented by local traditions from engaging in the only two industries available in their area could not leave to search for other employment opportunities elsewhere or to seek the anonymity of the city.¹⁰

Mobility, however, is not only to be understood as spatial. In the case of the female subject who lived in the maqaber—geographically far away from the Southern traditions that do not view a woman's work outside the home favourably—the woman continued to organize her actions and behaviours according to traditions and codes associated with a place she has geographically transcended. This indicates that mobility or lack of it must also be read socially or even culturally.

In the context of disability, both physical and mental, the cases profiled as well as a number of social workers emphasized the added and sometimes severe limitations placed on the mobility of the disabled female: in comparison to a disabled male, a disabled female is seen to be at a higher risk of violation or sexual exploitation by others. Parents routinely cite their fears for their disabled daughters as a reason to restrict their mobility. Thus, females are inadvertently criminalized for a vulnerability (perceived or real) that is implicated in codes of both parental protectiveness as well as the community's dynamics of honour and shaming. Therefore, while disabled males suffer constraints on their mobility related to the specific conditions of their disability or lack of accommodating infrastructure, disabled females suffer added constraints established by family and cultural values.

2.4. Access to the decision-making process: Limited or lack of access to the decision-making process, while it does not only pertain to the female subjects interviewed, was most pronounced in their cases, whether at the level of the household, the community, the market, or the state. Three points must be emphasized.

¹⁰ A number of factors may be responsible for this lack of mobility. One, unlike men who routinely leave their villages and homes to seek better or more diverse opportunities elsewhere, women's traditional roles as primary caretakers of the family and the household necessitates their continuous presence within the family home. And two, the relative social abnormality and vulnerability of women living alone also works as a deterrent. (Also financial capacity?)

- a) Limited or lack of access to the decision-making process is related to the limited or lack of access to resources, especially intangible resources such as knowledge, contacts, extra-household affiliations and activities. Here the lack of legal awareness or knowledge is particularly telling: even where laws exist to protect individuals or to provide them with access to services or goods, the lack of awareness of the law on the part of the subject as well as sometimes the person who would enforce the law rendered it null and void. An example is a rural woman who did not know that she had the right to see her children or even have custody after she was divorced. She was unable to exercise her agency in terms of her wants or her rights.
- b) Social or local traditions that establish the norms and limits of females behaviour in other spheres could in turn limit the ability of females to participate in the decision-making process or to exercise their right to do so. For example, because the community's notions of honour and a segregatory regulation of male-female interactions in the public sphere, a rural woman was unable to access the decision-making process when it comes to her source of income, the fishing boat she owns. Her role in the marketplace was mediated by the males in her family. Likewise, her relationship with the state—visiting government offices, applying for licenses, even bribing officials—had to be mediated by a male figure in community. In Egypt, for example, one of the women interviewed had a voting card or ever voted, although it must be noted that all but one of the men interviewed also did not have a voting card. However, it was the females themselves who expressed the collective opinion of their communities that “women do not vote”, gesturing to a cultural lag in political participation that pertains more to women than to men.
- c) The scope and measure of access to the decision-making process and the exercise of agency within does not match the productive labour of females within the household and the community. Many of the women interviewed were head of the household: they worried about, cared for, their families, provided them with food, with shelter, kept the peace between the family's members, yet that extensive labour was not matched by the extensive authority to make decisions in the house. Mothers did not feel they could enforce rules regarding the behaviour of the family members, or that they had the power or the clout to question their sons about their spending habits (which has direct implications for the economic well-being of the family as a whole).

Therefore, considering the limitations that continue to structure women and girls' access to resources, to reporting and recourse systems, to mobility, and to the decision-making process, a biased power structure that dis-empowers these females remains in place and must be addressed across the various categories of the socially excluded considered and across the determinants of social exclusion identified. The specificity of this gendered exclusion is encapsulated best by the gendered concept of protection as it appeared in some of the monographs: the concept of protection as it emerged in the interviews is not linked to government bodies like the police. According to the women interviewed, protection signifies often a *male* partner or *male* family member; alternately, it signifies family-like group affiliation. None of the subjects interviewed indicated that they would

seek police protection, and although they almost all did not criticize the police, they simply did not see a relationship between themselves as citizens and the police as public servants whose job it is in part to protect citizens. This understanding of protection placed women in particular at a disadvantage: in the absence of a male partner or close male family member, or in cases where abuse or exploitation came from such male figures, women lacked a protective agent in their lives and were left defenceless.

Part II: Findings

2.1 Findings of the Qualitative Studies by Group:

2.1.1 The Undocumented, Lebanon

In Lebanon, the undocumented fall into three categories:

- The children of a Lebanese mother and a non-Lebanese father, residing in Lebanon, and where the marriage was not registered with the father’s embassy or with the proper channels in the father’s homeland. Lebanese law does not allow the mother to pass citizenship on to her children.
- Children born outside of marriage, a state that affects the children of rape, prostitution, and what are considered socially illicit sexual relations.
- Children whose parents are historically Lebanese but the ancestors failed to get proper identity documents and continue to exist in remote areas of the country as undocumented.

For subjects interviewed, the non-traditional nature of the family they were born into determined their status as undocumented and severely limited their opportunities and the quality of their lives. What is traditional, however, depends to a large extent on the institutional, and patriarchal, framework in place to recognize families. To be recognized as a Lebanese citizen, the child must have a Lebanese father; the father must be willing to acknowledge the child as his offspring; and the father must carry the proper documentation. If these three conditions—that are independent of the child and the mother—are not met, the child loses all status as a citizen and is barred from accessing the most basic of social, political, civil, and economic rights.

“I cannot get married because my children will never be able to go to a school or vote or get a real job. I cannot even move around freely. I stay in the neighbourhood and do not venture out...”

--Jamal, 25, undocumented., Lebanon

Determinants:

Lack of access to rights: An undocumented person cannot be enrolled in school, cannot access social services such as subsidized healthcare, cannot apply for a public sector (and often a private sector) job, and cannot vote in elections, to name the most striking limitations. He or she is severely restricted in their mobility and moves around with an informal document provided by their local mukhtar that offers no protection from harassment or arrest. The lack of education is especially debilitating as it tends to affect an individual's ability and capability to lead a decent and dignifying life.

Stigma: An undocumented person faces a severe social cost affecting his or her ability to form extensive social relations as well as private ones such as marriage. Interestingly, and considering the patriarchal nature of the institutional framework for the recognition of citizens, undocumented females have more of a chance to escape their own lack of recognition through marriage: they could obtain legal papers and their children could be recognized through their father, while undocumented males do not have that option.

The conditions of an undocumented person are exacerbated by two factors: *poverty and conflict*. Subjects interviewed noted that they or their families failed to take the legal steps necessary to remedy their status due to a lack of funds. Money is needed to hire lawyers, to track information, or to prove ancestry. And in the Lebanese context, conflict placed a particular burden on the undocumented person, for conflict implies increased presence of security personnel, further restrictions on the movement of residents, and an atmosphere of heightened suspicion that finds in an undocumented person an accessible target.

2.1.2 Migrant Workers

The migrant workers considered in this study include those who entered Lebanon legally through agencies that import cheap foreign labour from mostly Asian and African countries. The workers who enter Lebanon in this way tend to be mostly female and they work as maids or nannies. Migrant workers also include those who entered Lebanon illegally, mostly men from Arab and African countries who work low-paying jobs as doormen or gas station attendants or cleaners. Despite the difference in legality of status, both groups of migrant workers lack the legal protection necessary to avert their abuse and exploitation by employers, the low pay they receive, and the vulnerability and arbitrariness affecting their lives.

I cannot go out now because the police will arrest me and will treat me as a criminal. And I cannot go home to my family because I have no money and I have no passport. I have nothing here....

-Serena, 35, from Sri Lanka

Determinants:

Lack of legal protection: foreign labourers are not covered by the legal framework in place to regulate the labour of nationals and no separate framework exists for foreign labourers in the country. Effectively, this means that a migrant worker cannot appeal to the Lebanese labour code to address problems or issues faced in the workplace or related to employee-employer relations, or to working conditions generally. Maids whose presence in Lebanon depends on the sponsorship of their employers can only escape horrible workplace conditions and seek protection elsewhere by violating the terms of their stay in Lebanon and leaving the homes of their sponsors. In that case they are already seen to be breaking the law. Likewise, for those workers who are in the country illegally, no violation or exploitation they experience can be addressed through legal channels, since the law does not recognize their presence and employment. Many migrant workers therefore face highly discriminatory laws and the absence of protective laws or exist in a legal vacuum.

Exploitation in the workplace: Dependent upon the lack of legal protection, exploitation in the workplace is rampant and enforces other disadvantages faced by migrant workers. Low payment as well as the withholding of payment are commonly reported by migrant workers causing them to face inadequate access to food and healthcare services. Their lack of legal protection may also indirectly result in their social isolation as they are unable to move around freely for fear of their employers or of arrest by the police. Since a migrant worker is often and entirely at the mercy of the Lebanese employer, his or her chances of leading a minimally decent life are completely arbitrary.

2.1.3 Refugees

- **Palestinian Refugees in Egypt:**

Palestinians in Egypt include those who arrived in the interwar period, in 1948, in the 1950s, and in 1967. Significantly, the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, mandated to care for Palestinian refugees following the 1948 war, does not operate in Egypt, and Palestinian refugees there are on their own. Unlike Palestinian refugees in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and the Occupied Palestinian Territories, they are not serviced by an international body and they are treated as foreigners by the Egyptian government—their refugee status is thus mostly ignored and no provisions are made to address their needs as long-term refugees. It is difficult to find accurate information regarding the Palestinians in Egypt—estimated at around 70,000—and this difficulty is itself a sign of the lack of organization and networks of service and support for Palestinians in the country.

Palestinians in Egypt face similar hardships to Palestinians in other Arab countries, with restrictions on employment, education, residency, and mobility. As foreigners, Palestinians, with some exceptions, are unable to attend public schools; this effectively means that poor Palestinians cannot send their children to school and many remain illiterate or are forced to drop out. In university, Palestinian students must pay foreigners' fees in foreign currency making college education inaccessible by regular means. At various times, various regulations restricted the ability of Palestinian students in university to study in key or important fields such as medicine.

Palestinians also are limited to work in the informal sector since Egyptian law restricts foreign labour to about 10% of the national labour force making it nearly impossible for Palestinians to secure work legally. Their work in the informal sector makes them susceptible to discrimination and exploitation and unfair termination or treatment.¹¹

Notably, relatively recent amendments by the Egyptian government to citizenship laws allowing children of Egyptian mothers to take on Egyptian nationality exclude children born to an Egyptian mother and Palestinian father.

“I pay electricity bills, I pay phone bills, I pay water bills, but I cannot have my children with me and I cannot get my eyes fixed. Why?”

--Abu Hasan, 75, Palestinian

“My mother is Egyptian, my husband is Egyptian, my children are Egyptian. I was born here but I cannot get a job to help my family.”

-Afaf, 35, Palestinian

Determinants:

Lack of social and civil rights: Inability to pay residency fees or to prove eligibility for renewal of residency is a burden and in the two cases studies resulted in the *break up of families*. Harsh restraints on legal employment of Palestinians generally and some *restraints on the employment possibilities* of Egyptian children of Palestinian mothers has severe economic and social consequences on Palestinian families and individuals.

Lack of education: Lack of education or restraints on educational opportunities for Palestinians are especially debilitating. Many Palestinians cannot gain an education or attend a post-secondary because they cannot afford private school fees and must pay enormous sums of money in University. Poorer Palestinians are thus poorly educated or in some cases illiterate, making their chances of being gainfully employed slim or non-existent.

Lack of adequate income: Due to restrictions on employment of Palestinians, they are unable to secure employment and they lose out on the benefits of legal employment.

Exploitation in the workplace is also attendant to restrictions on employment and an additional marker of insecurity and vulnerability. For Palestinians, this exploitation is often understood as marker of differentiation or discrimination by a hostile Egyptian market place.

▪ **Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon:**

Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, like most refugees in the region, do not have social, political, and civil rights. And despite their status as long-term refugees and the fact that most have been born in

¹¹ See Oroub El Abed's "The Palestinians in Egypt: An Investigation of Livelihoods and Coping Strategies." Forced Migration and Refugee Studies, American University in Cairo, September 2003.

Lebanon, they do not have the right to work and they are barred from many professions. UNRWA in Lebanon ensures that most refugees are able to attend schools, but university education remains largely out of reach.

Constraints on the Palestinians' ability to secure work are made worse by their historical misfortune of being both refugees and stateless. The principle of reciprocity which the Lebanese government adheres to in determining the rights and obligations of foreign citizens on its soil (extending to them the same rights offered to its nationals by the other government) cannot benefit Palestinians in Lebanon for obvious reasons. This means that foreigners other than Palestinians in Lebanon are able to enjoy privileges that cannot be extended to Palestinians because of their special status; and yet that special status does not protect them from treatment as simply foreigners, not taking into account their long-term presence in the country and their lack of mobility.

I have the skills but I do not have the right to take on big jobs. My problem is that I am a refugee in this sectarian country. I could provide better for my family if only I was allowed.

Abo Jihad, father of 6, displaced from Nahr El Bared camp

Determinants:

Lack of social, civil, and political rights: limited to the contours of the services offered within refugee camps by UNRWA or by Palestinian or charitable organizations, Palestinian refugees do not enjoy rights as such. Their political participation is also limited to Palestinian political bodies and activities, thus aiding in their exclusion from Lebanese society at large, and ensuring their inability to lobby the government effectively to change their situation. Outside the camps, the Palestinians do not exist from an institutional point of view, and their exclusion is thus spatial as well as political and social.

Lack of adequate income: Due to harsh restrictions on their employment opportunities, most refugees are either unemployed or work informal low-paying jobs, keeping entire families in intergenerational poverty.

▪ **Sudanese Asylum Seekers in Egypt:**

In Egypt, Sudanese refugees generally and asylum seekers specifically face difficulties and undergo exclusionary experiences different from Palestinian refugees. They live in legal limbo ever since UNHCR decided to halt Refugee Status Determination interviews leaving those awaiting an interview and those newly arrived in a state of constant anxiety: they may be deported at any moment and they are not able to avail themselves of the already meagre protection and services meted out to recognized refugees.

The issue of racism has also been a constant narrative among Sudanese refugees and asylum seekers although many researchers and NGO workers report a self-imposed social isolation by Southern Sudanese, some of whom may be historically anti-Arab.¹² Anti-Sudanese sentiment is in turn fuelled by the lack of job and educational opportunities for Egyptians who may perceive Sudanese as competitors for low-paying jobs in the informal sector. Such sentiments and the near impossibility of full assimilation in Egypt, drives the desire of many Sudanese for resettlement to a third, preferably Western, country, a desire that culminated in the ill-fated Sudanese protest in the fall of 2005.

A climate of fear and mistrust dominated among Sudanese subjects interviewed for this study and it resulted from the fragility of their status in Egypt either as unrecognized refugees or as refugees fearing involuntary repatriation to Sudan. This perceived fear, even if not legitimate in all cases, is augmented by the debilitating lack of social and civil rights to create an experience of exclusion that is only partly self-imposed. The lack of social and civil rights restricts the ability of these subjects to assimilate even if marginally in the society they fled to: all interviewed expressed a strong feeling of non-belonging. Exploitation in the work place is also common as a result of inability to access employment legally and to access police protection. For the subjects interviewed, this state of vulnerability is compounded by the unavailability of a family in a society where family is often an elemental provider of protection and support. It is boosted specifically by the lack of reporting and recourse systems for subjects whose instincts for self-preservation prevents them from approaching the proper authorities in cases of conflicts or emergencies.

For **women**, especially, the compounded lack of legal status and social and civil rights places them in an especially vulnerable state: sexual harassment in the street and the workplace is particularly strong. As many Sudanese women are only able to access work as domestic workers, and marked by their lack of legal status in the country, they fall prey to sexual exploitation and harassment from employers who may perceive them as easy and defenceless prey. Again the lack of a reporting and recourse system is significant.

“Egyptians say Sudanese and Egyptians are the same but that is all lies; we have no life here, we have no future here.... Even if things in Sudan got better, I cannot go anymore. I sold everything to come here, how can I go back? I own nothing now.”

-Boutrous, 30, Sudanese Asylum seeker

“It is impossible for me to be part of society here—it is like I am in one place and they are in another place.”

-Amenah, 30, Sudanese Asylum seeker

¹² See “A Tragedy of Failures and False Expectations.” Forced Migration and Refugee Studies, American University in Cairo, June 2006.

Determinants:

Lack of legal status: The threat of deportation is a constant source of anxiety for Sudanese and hugely restrictive in terms of mobility, work, and socializing. The lack of legal status is often a barrier to the person's ability to seek police protection, compounding his or her sense of vulnerability and non-belonging.

Lack of social and civil rights: Lack of access to education, health services, employment and residency, restricts subjects to services provided by Sudanese organizations and charities. The lack of access to education especially contributes to a social isolation as Sudanese parents send their children exclusively to non-Arabic schools often run by Sudanese and church organizations.

Lack of resources/adequate income: most Sudanese refugees in Egypt live in abject poverty, leading them to reside in cramped quarters with other refugees and restricting their access to various services and goods.

Accompanying restrictions on legal employment and the lack of legal status is *exploitation in the workplace*: it contributes to feelings of insecurity and non-belonging. This exploitation is partly made possible by the *lack of reporting and recourse systems*; this lack enables the environment of sometimes self-imposed isolation of Sudanese refugees and asylum seekers

▪ **Somali Refugees in Yemen:**

The total number of registered refugees in Yemen is 55,573 of whom Somali refugees compromise more than 90%. The majority of these refugees live in urban areas, in Sana'a, Aden, Taiz, Hodeiba, Dhammar and Mukalla. Job opportunities for refugees are limited to intermittent work in the informal sector. They lack adequate income and adequate access to services and goods. They also face racial discrimination as Somalis and are culturally perceived as promiscuous and dangerous people, morally suspect. For example, such racism often manifests itself in accusations of immorality-related contraction of the AIDS virus, rendering them suspicious outcasts.

I sit inside and do not go out, because of what they call me in the street. My life will not improve in Yemen and I am afraid I will die and leave my children alone here. I just want them to be able to go to school, to be secure.

-Hawa, 30, divorced mother of two

Determinants:

Lack of social, civil, and political rights: Like other refugees, Somalis in Yemen are unable to access basic social services and are as a matter of fact deprived from lobbying state institutions for

these services. The fact that most chose to live outside the UNHCR refugee camps which they find intolerable, renders them less likely to access the minimum services and goods needed for a healthy and dignified life.

Racial discrimination: Because of their darker skin, Somalis in Yemen are often the victim of racial slurs or derogatory treatment in the street. Many are unable to speak Arabic, and forced to work informal insecure jobs like washing cars, which further marks them as inferior outsiders who can be easily exploited.

2.1.4 Rural Women, Egypt

The 2006 *MDG Indicators Report* for Egypt noted visible gender gaps where women lagged behind in political representation and literacy especially. Women in the south of the country and in rural areas remain at even clearer disadvantage.¹³

In many rural areas girls could be more likely to miss out on education because schools may be too far away from home and the parents' constraining protectiveness of females often keeps them close to home. Rural women often lack education, employment opportunities, awareness of their legal rights, and the ability to advocate for their rights or to seek enforcement of such rights. Many NGOs are currently working on precisely that point, training women to recognize that they do in fact have rights even if such rights are discriminatory. That is one of the biggest challenges in the south especially, where cultural traditions are more effective in the organization and management of social relations than legal changes at the national level might be.

The women interviewed were uneducated and unemployed; they had no employment options and yet were single heads of households. They lived in underdeveloped areas where the only industries were fishing and mining, both closed to women. They were forced to depend on their brothers and sons to provide income and in the case of the divorced subject, a home. They not only lacked access to basic social services and needs, but also access to knowledge, both legal and financial. These women were deprived of basic necessities of life as well as of a decision-making role at home. One subject was the victim of severe spousal abuse and yet expressed all willingness to go back to her abusive husband so she can escape what she termed the "humiliation" and incapacity of a divorced woman with no social or economic options.

"I am willing to put up with my husband's abuse again, it is better than this humiliation. It is ok if I can see my children again."

-Zeinab, 38, divorced mother of four

"Girls do not go to school...but now it is a bit different".

-Sabah, 45, widowed mother of five

¹³ See *Millennium Development Goals Indicators for Egypt—2006 Report*:
<http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/Data.aspx?cr=818>

Determinants:

Lack of access to resources: Divorced, widowed, and single women remain in a state of dependency on family members if they are not able to own a home to house themselves and their children. Women living with their parents-in-law or with their brothers are often at the financial and physical mercy of others. In the cases studied, lack of education had direct implications in terms of women's ability to understand economic and legal processes affecting their lives and the lack of training or skills rendered them less capable of taking care of their families or of gaining independence from abusive or unsympathetic males in their families.

Social and physical vulnerability of women:

- Abuse: Physical and verbal abuse of females is compounded by a relatively passive cultural acceptance of violence against women in the communities visited. This acceptance is most clearly manifested in the lack of adequate family support for abused women or, in one of the cases, the woman's own acceptance of the abuse for a long time and her willingness to return to her abusive husband. The lack of family support is especially debilitating considering the inability or unwillingness of women to seek police protection.
- The inability of women to take charge of their family's source of income or to be in financial control of the household even in the absence of a husband also places women in a position vulnerable to exploitation and renders them powerless in relation to other family members such as sons or brothers.

Social restrictions on women's work: in the Sa'eed this factor works in conjunction with the lack of employment opportunities for women. Fishing especially is closed to women as is work in the mines, two key industries in the south. The power of shaming is internalized by many women as their inability to do work usually done by men. And financial powerlessness translates into social powerlessness as women remain unable to make crucial decisions that affect themselves and their families.

Lack of awareness of or access to legal rights: A great barrier to empowerment, the lack of awareness of or access to legal rights renders laws that aim to protect and enable women relatively irrelevant.

2.1.5a Street Children, Egypt

The term "street children" could cover a number of categories of children who work or live on the streets. It includes those who have dropped out of school and work to support their families; they go home to their families at the end of the day—those may work cleaning cars or selling small items. It also includes those children who may leave school and their homes and villages to seek seasonal work elsewhere for a limited period of time and then go back home—those may work in garbage collecting or bottle sorting, for example.

The most vulnerable, however, and those that are interviewed in this study are those children who make of the street their home: *they live on the streets, they make their living on the streets, and are unable or unwilling to go home.*¹⁴

In this study, those most vulnerable of street children were interviewed in Cairo. They are concentrated in Cairo but hail from all parts of Egypt.

Children interviewed ran away from abusive homes where one or both parents were physically and verbally abusive. On the streets violence is a constant in these children's lives to the point where it is normalized and the bodies of interviewees bear the marks of street violence. On the street, however, children often empower themselves by affiliating with group leaders who also exploit them. In cases studied, both male and female interviewees experienced rape on the street and then gradually became socialized into a state where the differentiation between consensual and non-consensual sex ceases to be clear. Sexual exploitation or assault may come from leaders of group one is affiliated with, from "protectors", as well as from others outside the group. Prostitution is also a way for both males and females to make money.

These children are uneducated, exploited in the workplace (traditional and non-traditional work), and they learn to fear and mistrust the police. They thus have no one to turn to and remain in a state of extreme vulnerability and danger. Street children rarely seek medical attention, are severely undernourished and mostly illiterate; they lack access to basic social services and goods. Addiction is a marker of life on the street, and severely diminishes the possibility of securing employment and improving the life chances of these children.

For **females** life on the street necessitates a protective affiliation with a male member of the group; in cases where such protective affiliation is non-existent, females on the street must deal with their sexuality and bodies as a burden or a source of income, usually both. While their situation could be similar to younger boys on the street, it is their gender and not their age that determines their status on the streets as minors seeking protection. Their sense of dependence is often augmented by pregnancy, and when pregnant, these females do not receive any prenatal care and often will give birth on the street. Their children stand to face a similar or worse life on the street.

"No one looks after anybody, it is everybody for themselves."

-Sherine, 18, pregnant mother of one.

"[My mother] wasn't a real mother, not like other mothers.... I am too powerful for her now, because I am on the street, I am like the kids on the street now."

-Walid, 15

¹⁴ See UNICEF's *Children Beyond Boundaries of Protection: An In-depth Study of Street Children in Greater Cairo*. (In Arabic).

Determinants:

The *lack of a safe and nurturing home*, most specifically represented in physical and verbal abuse, is the single most determinant of exclusion for street children profiled. Humiliating treatment by parents and forcing the child to work also appear as elements in rupturing the relation of trust with parents and destroying the sense of security at home.

Lack of education and access to social services and goods: boosts the lack of a safe and nurturing home and is often a secondary determinant of exclusion: lack of education places the child with no safe and nurturing home at a disadvantage in terms of access to employment opportunities or knowledge generally.

Lack of effective state intervention is part of the enabling environment for the abuse experienced at home and the exploitation and violence on the streets. The lack of effective state intervention through legislation, and/or the lack of enforcement of existing legislation to protect children from abuse and exploitation and to guarantee universal education aids in the production of street children. In cases of abuse or neglect, the child could not be helped by an outside agent—this absence of state intervention, either through the educational system or law enforcement agencies, increased the vulnerability of children in abusive homes.

The fact that children interviewed attached great value to what they perceived as their “independence” on the streets speaks to the disabling dependence they experienced at home. This disabling dependence proceeds in large part from the lack of effective state intervention as the child is left at the mercy of his or her parents. Two elements result from such disabling dependence: the child lacks any protection; the child lacks any direct relationship with the state as a citizen owed protection.

2.1.5b School Dropouts and Child Labourers, Lebanon:

The phenomenon of street children who make of the street their home is less evident in Lebanon than in Egypt. Mostly, children are driven to drop out of school and work at an early age to support themselves and their families but they tend to continue to live in the family home. A rather distinctive factor that came up in the course of the study in Lebanon, however, was the lack of documentation which in some of the cases studied was a primary determinant for a lack of education and the enabling environment for turning a child out onto the streets.

I feel different from other kids.... Children should not work or think about work. If my parents were still together my life would be different. They would give me money. Now I have nothing, no money, no education, no job, nothing.

-Fawaz, 15

My parents did not send me to school. They kept saying they had no money. Now I want to learn to be a hairdresser but I am not allowed to do that and I am not allowed to go out....

-Wadad, 14

Determinants:

Lack of a safe and nurturing home: Familial problems, the break-up of families, and violence in the home were cited by children interviewed as primary reasons for their lack of schooling, their labour, and their time on the streets.

All the children interviewed referred to the breakup of family or to this lack of a safe and nurturing home generally as the reason they are deprived of a normal and happy childhood. And in the absence of this safe and nurturing home they also become easily the victim of violence or abuse in schools, training centers, the market place, and the street, emphasizing that the only place a child can seek protection and welfare continues to be the family home. And when that home is itself unsafe or not nurturing, there is nowhere else for that child to go except the unsafe streets.

2.1.6 Al Akhdam

The Akhdam, meaning literally servants, are an ethnic minority in Yemen, whose origins are in dispute. Theories abound as to their ancestry and historical presence but they are definitely seen as distinct in Yemeni society: they have features that are more African than other Yemenis, and while they share the dominant language and religion around them, many see them as descendants of Christian Ethiopian invaders of Yemen.

The Akhdam live in rural and urban areas, carrying out jobs generally considered degrading or of low status in Yemen: garbage collecting, scavenging, cleaning, the removal of human waste, etc. They live apart from other Yemenis, and in urban areas they occupy slums and ghettos lacking basic infrastructure. The majority are illiterate, unable to pay school fees or to dispense with the income working children bring.

The striking feature of the social experience of the Akhdam, however, is their isolation. They are almost untouchable: they do not form relations of friendship or marriage or business with others and are looked down upon even by beggars who are not of the same ethnic group.

“The Akhdam are at the very bottom. Everyone treats us like that. If a beggar is white, they are not called Khadameen...”

- Fatma, 45

Determinants:

Ethnic discrimination: Their distinct ethnic background and physical features renders the akhdam outsiders, inferior, and to a large degree untouchable. Ethnic discrimination against the akhdam manifests itself in spatial isolation and historical constraints on their employment opportunities. The opportunities of a child from the akhdam group is thus to a large part determined at birth: he or she will end up a beggar or a refuse collector, or engage in a similar, seen to be degrading, occupation.

He or she will not be considered free to marry a person from outside their ethnic group, or at least will only do so with great difficulty.

This discrimination affects almost every area of the life of a person belonging to this group. Living in spatial isolation from others feeds a communal feeling of exclusion from Yemeni society at large; inadequate or mostly absent educational services renders most of the akhdam illiterate and children are often heavily stigmatized at school to the point of dropping out; the low income generated by the activities of begging and cleaning keep the akhdam in a situation of *poverty* such that the children are often needed for work and parents cannot afford to send them to school.

Lack of proper home: The squalid conditions the akhdam live in act as an enforcer of their exclusion. Living in chaotic structures on the geographical margins of cities and towns, the akhdam lack proper sanitary facilities, and proper homes: their homelessness—in the sense of lack of traditional shelter—renders them abnormal and not only different. The fact that they exist in shelters that are at best make-shift, and on land from which they are often removed, they lack roots and social continuity in the geographical areas they inhabit, and are thus less able to develop as a community.

2.1.7 Alhjur

Considered as descendants of “Black” people, and hence non-Arab, the Hjur are from the southern lowland valley regions of *Wadi Hajar* in Hadramout. Landless peasants, the Hjur are involved in intermittent agricultural activity, and their status in Yemen has seen dramatic changes in the last half century. During the socialist regime of the Democratic People’s Republic of Yemen, members of this group enjoyed briefly land ownership and income security through land reform laws that aimed at their integration and empowerment. They had better access to health and education services. With the unification of Yemen, however, came the restoration of land to former owners and the disintegration of policies aimed at empowering this historically disadvantaged group.

The majority of Alhjur are illiterate and live in shanty towns and squatter areas close to Akhdam settlements. They keep to themselves and largely occupy areas lacking necessary infrastructure and services. They are generally engaged in seasonal low paying agricultural work and are otherwise unemployed and unemployable.

My neighbours are nice but outside the “Mahwa” they call me a slave!

-Hadia, 40

Determinants:

Ethnic discrimination: The Hjur face discrimination based on their racial difference from Arab Yemenis. Their tumultuous recent history shows that an institutional attempt to redress their

historical disadvantage can be achieved if there is a will and a vision to integrate the group into mainstream society. The Hjur are often called “slaves” in reference to their black skin; the name establishes their inferiority in relation to those who address them as such, and the interviewees expressed a strong feeling of non-belonging on the basis of such treatment.

This ethnic discrimination also affects their employment and educational opportunities, their access to services and goods, and their level of income. Their situation also highlights the adverse effects of historical *landlessness* in a country and a culture where genealogy is a significant marker of identity and belonging.

2.1.8 Maqaber Residents, Egypt

Deficient residences are many and varied in Egypt and they include “ashwaa’yat” (chaotic structures) which are unplanned areas lacking in necessary infrastructure, and unsafe buildings, buildings that do not comply with safety regulations. Deficient residences also include non-traditional housing structures such as shacks or “homes” created in stairwells. The Maqaber, however, are unique to Egypt (at least in the ESCWA region) and their residents number in the millions.

The Maqaber are entire areas of boxy structures that house the graves of a particular family’s members. There are no actual streets but dusty unpaved alleys. There is no sewage system, no phone lines, no amenities. Maqaber residents remain invisible not only from a social services angle but also from a societal perspective: the Maqaber lack the traditional forms of social organization present in other impoverished areas. They do not have political representation and have no options for growth or change. Those who enter the Maqaber thus fall into a black hole institutionally and socially.¹⁵

“My family and I are invisible to people and to the government; we have less value in Egypt than animals; we are dead.”

-Yaseen, 45, Maqaber resident

“Where will we go? What do I do with family? They want us out but we have no one and we have nothing. All I want from this world is a house for my family.”

-Om Ashraf, 50s, Maqaber resident

Determinants:

Poverty was the primary determinant in these cases, and it was intergenerational—the subjects’ parents lived in the Maqaber and their married children now live in the Maqaber.

¹⁵ Egyptian Center for Residence Rights, October 17, 2007. According to most NGOs and field workers interviewed, residents of the Maqaber numbered anywhere from 2.5 million as the most conservative estimate to 4 million. The 2006 census of the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and numbered them at 1.5 million. See www.capmas.gov.eg

The lack of a proper home for the family thus seems to generate the lack of possibility of a proper home for the children also. Poverty restricted the children's ability to access education, training and employment further reproducing spirals of poverty and deprivation.

Lack of social organization and potential for growth: Intergenerational poverty and the lack of a proper home create a cycle of deprivation that places the inhabitants of the maqaber farther and farther from the possibility of resuming life outside the physical and social space of the maqaber. In a society where adult children often live within proximity of their parents or with them, maqaber residents face a non-possibility of community building or extension and even the physical structures they inhabit cannot support additions. Thus children often fail to move on and away from the maqaber and to create new homes for themselves, affecting not only their access to basic social services and goods but also the social relations they may forge in terms of marriage and establishing a family of their own.

2.1.9 Persons with Disabilities (Lebanon, Egypt, and Yemen)

For the purposes of this study, interviewees included those suffering a physical disability as well as a non-severe learning disability or mental disorder. Socially, both subcategories of the disabled remain largely invisible, spoken of either with derision or pity: for many social workers or advocates for the rights of the disabled, the lack of understanding in society of the experience of disability (its kinds, its effects) and the assumption that the disabled person is an unproductive abnormality that may at best command pity, is extremely ostracizing as well as demoralizing for disabled persons.

All subjects interviewed had either never been to school or had been forced to drop out of school as schools explicitly rejected those students for inability to deal with their needs. Disabled persons were excluded not only from education but from a normal childhood and from employment opportunities in the future. Parents were often unable or unwilling to make the extra effort to identify or access limited resources available. In one of the cases the parents lack of awareness translated into a passive acceptance of the disability as a sign of "baraka", a sign of the sacred, a blessing from God (a common belief among some rural Egyptians and urban poor). This effectively negated the disabled person's ability to struggle against unfair institutional discrimination in terms of schools or services.

Unaccommodating physical infrastructure in public spaces renders those with special mobility needs spatially isolated. In most areas, pavements are too high, buses are unequipped for wheelchairs, and theatres, banks, cinemas, supermarkets rarely provide wheelchair access.

"My mother does not even like to take me to the vegetable market".

-Girgis, 20, has CB

"I don't let my daughter out because bad things could happen to her. It would have been different with a boy."

-Mother of Menna, 15, who has Down Syndrome

Determinants:

Lack of and comprehensive social policy for the disabled: this is the primary determinant and renders their relative lack of autonomy extreme as they are left entirely dependent on their families who maybe neglectful or unaware, an inhospitable educational system, and limited or inaccessible resources. Most specifically, this relates to the *lack of public schools capable of accommodating students with disabilities:* lack of appropriate academic programs tailored to the needs of students with learning or mental disabilities; lack of awareness and sensitivity training programs for teachers and administrators; and the lack of public schools that target students with less than severe mental retardation. It also relates to the *lack of accommodating physical infrastructure in private and public spaces:* Lack of mobility translates into lack of a social life and lack of participation in public events, social, cultural or political, aiding in the ostracizing effects of disability. And it also relates to the *unavailability of disabled specific programs:* where lack of a formal academic education is out of reach, for reasons to do with the unavailability of schools or for reasons specific to the disability itself, vocational training tailored to the needs and capabilities of disabled persons could have offered the disabled person the chance to be independent socially and economically and to feel productive.

Social stigma of disability: Lack of understanding among the general public of different types of disability and the association of the disabled person with the abnormal or pitiful was experienced as demoralizing and ostracizing for both the disabled person and his or her family.

In a situation where no clear social policy exists to cater for the needs of the disabled and to integrate them fully in society and the labour market, *poverty* works to intensify the experience of exclusion as the poor are completely dependent on a highly lacking public sector. Extreme or intergenerational poverty is often coupled with the parents illiteracy or low level of education which makes home schooling of the disabled child impossible. Parents in impoverished neighbourhoods where illiteracy or dropping out of school early is the norm, are also less capable of researching their child's needs and supplementing or complimenting the role of the school.

2.1.10 Persons Living with HIV/AIDS, Yemen

As of 2006, a total of 2,183 cases of people infected with HIV had been recorded in Yemen but the true figure is believed to be well over ten thousand. However, ignorance and fear hinder many from getting tested for HIV. Those known to be carriers of the virus are shunned socially, publicly, and even by family members. Institutionally they have also been harshly treated and reports of imprisonment by police and degrading treatment at hospitals have been made by patients. Ignorance about HIV/AIDS and specifically of how the disease is contracted and transmitted renders those who suffer from it social outcasts. Not only fear of contagion but also judgment on the perceived immorality of patients in a conservative society places patients at a distance even from sympathy or charity.

Those interviewed had been to varying degrees rejected by family and community. They moved away from their area of residence to live in the anonymity of the city and even there they tend to be chased out once their condition becomes known. Unable to find a job, they spiral into poverty dragging their children and immediate families with them.

My only friends now are people who have the disease. I do not tell anyone outside about it. Even my family has oppressed me.

-Ahmad, 37, widowed father of six-year old twin girls who also carry the virus.

Determinants:

Stigma associated with disease: Those interviewed report becoming untouchable once their disease is known. Judgment about their behaviour or what led to their contraction of the disease is compounded by the lack of knowledge and awareness among people about its causes and how it spreads. Subjects are abandoned by family members or friends once their status is known. Reports of being locked up either by family or police, are common among the community of PLWAs, and the stigma isolates them socially from the world around them.

Stigma in this case, however, also excludes a person from employment and education. While no actual institutional policy bans a person with AIDS or HIV from holding a job, no policy is effectively in place to protect the employment status of a person living with HIV/AIDS.

In Yemen, those interviewed often spoke of treatment or “cures” found outside mainstream medical institutions, and such treatment sounded mysterious and unknowable to the patient. The *lack of proper health services for HIV/AIDS*, either because it is not available in most regions, is inaccessible to patients, or because of a lack of trust in hospitals and their treatment of an HIV/AIDS patient drives those desperate enough to seek treatment in other, less known and less regulated ways.

2.1.11 Persons suffering from Leprosy

Known also now as residents of Madinet el Nour (city of Lights), persons suffering from Leprosy in Yemen face severe stigma and are socially and spatially isolated. The city they now occupy is on ragged hill outside the city of Taiz and is inhabited only by sufferers of the disease. Persons suffering from Leprosy are usually shunned even by family and friends, and many are forced to become beggars to sustain themselves.

The city of Lights was originally started as a compound by Mother Teresa in the 1970s to house sufferers who were rejected by society. The land is owned by the government but the hospital and literacy center are run by a national NGO with international financial support. Sufferers are sent to the city for treatment and for permanent residency and residents build their own homes in a scattered fashion with unpaved roads.

“The diseased person has no value among healthy people. But the diseased person among diseased people does not suffer.”

-Taqeia, 31, a ten-year resident of City of Light

Determinants:

Stigma associated with disease: The geographic isolation of the City of Lights speaks most graphically to the exclusion of these patients from mainstream society. They are seen as an abnormality and treated as such, excluded from employment, education, extensive social relations, and even physical mobility.

Lack of proper health care services: Leprosy is a treatable disease, and the lack of early diagnosis and treatment leads to unnecessary deformity and the consequent social rejection. Subjects interviewed were often sent to a traditional healer or alternately left uncared for, compounding the effects of the disease.

2.2 Quantitative Analysis: Possible Steps Forward

The ultimate aim of understanding social exclusion is combating the barriers to inclusion and ensuring the human, social, political, cultural and economic rights of individuals equally, as well as their equitable access to knowledge and opportunity. In that regard, the state, policy makers specifically, development agencies and other stakeholders must be able not only to understand social exclusion but to measure its reach and its impact, as well as the reach and impact of policies designed to combat it. Programmatically, the specific output required by the Development Account Project within which ESCWA works on social exclusion is to document context-specific development areas that could be considered for additional targets and indicators in the framework of the Millennium Development Goals.

Because a social exclusion approach is relational, and because it partakes not only of legal and institutional mechanisms but of social and cultural values and norms, social exclusion does not lend itself immediately to measurement. Experiences from other countries and other UN agencies have shown that social exclusion necessitates atypical measurement and scaling and a more adapted use of indicators. At a recent expert group meeting organized jointly by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA) and the Government of Finland, experts, academics and practitioners stressed the need for a more creative consultative process and acknowledged the need for subjective indicators, or indicators that are geared towards the *impact* of policies and processes.¹⁶ Work is therefore required to devise methodologies of research and measurement that are able to capture the complexity of social exclusion and at the same time produce viable data for

¹⁶ “Promoting Social Integration,” July 81-10, 2008, Helsinki, Finland.

statistical analysis. Surveys might prove crucial in this regard.¹⁷

Quantification remains a serious challenge but necessary to inform appropriate policies on the seriousness and the magnitude of social exclusion as it concerns particular individuals and groups. ESCWA's pioneering study in the ESCWA region was meant to be primarily qualitative and exploratory in nature (within the DA programme framework and budget constraints) and produced 36 in-depth monograph interviews. As it was clear from inception, the size of the observations had limitations for conducting a full-fledged sample-based statistical analysis of variables and determinants, which should form the bulk of continuing research. A preliminary quantitative analysis, however, of the 36 observations has produced enough striking results and trends to establish the importance of carrying on with a quantitative analysis of social exclusion. Even with a matrix of 36 respondents of diverse characteristics, a statistical rundown of the data gathered yielded results compatible with the qualitative analysis. It also highlighted possible significances not emphasized in the qualitative and which have the potential to be better explored with a more robust statistically representative sample of respondents. The statistical analysis (attached as Annex 2) showed interesting variations by country, by gender, and by economic status.

Country significance: There are three areas in which the country played a significant role in the results obtained. Overall, respondents from Lebanon were more likely to report adequate access to services and goods while respondents from Yemen and to a lesser degree Egypt were more likely to report inadequate or no access to social services and goods. This is a striking difference because it is potentially revealing of a different form of exclusion in Lebanon, one which is linked less to extreme poverty or the inadequacies of the public service sector than in Egypt and Yemen.

The second interesting variation by country is gender related and concerns women's likelihood to be in control of income and to have access to decision-making: female respondents from Yemen overwhelmingly reported lack of access to decision-making and control of income, while in Egypt and Lebanon the responses were much more varied. Here a comparative approach of the societal processes and institutional mechanisms that affect women in these different countries would be useful to understand the extent and impact of gender-related exclusion. A larger sample of respondents from Yemen and the other two countries would allow for cross-tabulation and the measurements of different values against each other to shed light on these differences.

And thirdly, while political participation is not entirely or predominantly captured in indicators such as voting in elections or belonging to a political party, it is overwhelmingly evident that respondents in Lebanon are more aware of the institutional workings of the political system: they are able to identify their representative in government, which may be more reflective of the local media-saturated public sphere in Lebanon and the frequency of elections, than on any enlightening socio-political dynamics. Again, more work is needed to explain the significance of such distinction.

¹⁷ Ireland, for example, has revised its measurement of consistent poverty to reflect the importance of factors of inclusion and participation. This has necessitated enlarging a list of goods and services considered essential for a decent living in Ireland. Questions, some of which could be considered subjective, reflect what in Ireland may be seen as socially necessary to reflect inclusion, for example, the ability to change outdated furniture or the ability to buy gifts for family and friends.

Gender Significance: Qualitatively and quantitatively, females interviewed appeared less able to use a language of rights, less likely to know their representative in government, and less likely to have any relevant skills that may render them employable or generate income. And across the three countries, female respondents found their employment opportunities to be restricted.

The strength of correspondence between the qualitative and quantitative attests partly to the strength of the barriers facing females' access to resources, be they financial or knowledge-based. But a statistical analysis may be able to draw clearer lines of association between variables. One such indication appears to be the relation of a respondent's educational level to her ability to control finances.

Economic Status Significance: Not surprisingly, the statistical analysis shows that the educational level and the availability of skills were lacking among the extremely poor, and that the extremely poor (those who earn less than \$1 a day), are more likely to live in areas lacking necessary infrastructure in terms of paved roads, electricity, sanitation, etc.

What was interesting, however, and not necessarily obvious in the qualitative analysis, was that the extremely poor are less likely or able to call on family for support. The importance of family support in the region was generally attested to in the interviews and it is intuitively and historically understandable in a region where family ties, obligations, and proximity is central in social relations. In this context, the inability or reluctance of the extremely poor to rely on family support gestures perhaps to the fragility of the social bonds and social networks of those plunged into extreme poverty. Whether it is economic shocks, or political shocks, natural disasters or personal tragedy, it may well be that those most poor are less able to form or preserve social networks and bonds that may help alleviate the costs of such shocks or tragedy. On the other hand, it may emerge that many in an excluded group actively depend on the support of family in the face of inadequate or limited access to services and goods or in the face of discrimination aimed at one's group. Qualitatively, at least, what is clear is that the lack of family support or the inability to call on one's family for support compounded the experience of exclusion.

Part III: Conclusion

In his paper, "Social Exclusion: Concept, Application, and Scrutiny," Amartya Sen argues that "the helpfulness of the social exclusion approach does not lie...in its conceptual newness, but in its practical influence in forcefully emphasizing—and focusing attention on—the role of relational features of deprivation."¹⁸ The qualitative work on social exclusion previewed above demonstrates unequivocally, that for a number of groups, deprivation cannot be understood separately from processes of discrimination and disempowerment. The groups considered are not only poor and unable to participate fully in the societies they inhabit because they are poor; their poverty is related to their vulnerability as non-citizens, the lack of recognition of their special needs from an institutional and policy perspective, their reduced ability to be full citizens due to cultural, societal

¹⁸ Sen, Amartya. "Social Exclusion: Concept, Application, and Scrutiny." *Social Development Papers No. 1*. Asian Development Bank, June 2000, p. 8.

and even legal norms that act as barriers to their full empowerment, and the intergenerational poverty and disadvantage that reproduces itself in a vicious cycle.

The inequality faced by these groups cannot be seen simplistically as part and parcel of macro-economic and historical processes of underdevelopment. The relational aspect of social exclusion necessitates that one understands and addresses the roots of deprivation, discrimination, as well as disempowerment. The relational aspect of social exclusion must thus affect the way we address social exclusion. It is not simply inadequate or wrong policies that contribute to an experience of exclusion—inadequate or wrong policies may very well contribute to an experience of deprivation. But it is discriminatory policies as well as discriminatory processes, that produce an experience of exclusion, that ultimately cause not only deprivation, but deprivation and disempowerment as well.

In considering social exclusion as it is experienced by the groups profiled in this report, a list of triggers of exclusion, of manifestations of exclusion, and of enablers of exclusion, can be compiled. Those triggers, manifestations and enablers are all culled from the narratives gathered and the analysis of those narratives provided above. It becomes immediately evident that policies addressing the manifestations of exclusion will not necessarily address the triggers of exclusion. But looking at the list below makes it also evident that exclusion has many forms and involves a combination of processes: institutional, legal, cultural, and attitudinal. It also becomes evident that reforming state institutions, and even social institutions, through legal means will not address issues of stigma and bias and discrimination. The term ‘policy’ must therefore reflect the relationality embedded in the social exclusion approach through a combination of short and long term focus, and a focus on output as well as impact in the design of policies and programs. Of necessity this means that the state cannot alone; civil society and social transformations are necessary to fully address discrimination, disempowerment, even deprivation as it appears in the experiences of excluded individuals.

To give an example, a key enabler of exclusion emerged in the narratives as the lack of reporting and recourse systems. As an overarching societal dynamic, it affected many of the respondents and necessitates a longer-term vision of policy changes as well as social transformations. The **lack of reporting and recourse systems** pertains to the abuse of wives in the home, the abuse of children by their parents as well as their abuse and exploitation in the marketplace, the exploitation of refugees, the undocumented, and migrant workers, the unlawful termination and discriminatory treatment of PLWAs, the discriminatory and derogatory treatment of the Akhdam in most public service sectors, and the rejection and discriminatory treatment of Persons with Disabilities in the educational system and the workplace. In every case, the lack of reporting and recourse systems presented itself in two ways. First was the unavailability of a reporting and recourse system, or at least the unpublicized and inaccessible presence of a reporting and recourse system. Second, in the cases where a reporting or recourse system presented itself, for example for the woman living in the maqaber, the “system” proved completely ineffective and added to the woman’s growing lack of trust in public institutions and her sense of helplessness.

Reporting and recourse systems had the potential to deter the abuse and exploitation of some subjects and to build their trust in state- or society-based systems of reporting and recourse, and thus ultimately their sense of belonging in society.

While an analysis of the reasons for such lack in all three countries considered is necessary and unavailable, it may be pointed out that such lack depends on both, a lack of institutionalization of such systems by the state, as well as a lack of elaboration of such systems and the lobbying for their importance by civil society.¹⁹

This emphasis on the role of civil society and social movements is related to the form and content of social exclusion as it emerged in this report. This report has established that deprivation cannot be understood apart from processes of discrimination and disempowerment and that the three often feed into each other. Discrimination cannot be addressed by legal means alone. And disempowerment cannot be handed down to people through policies. Combating exclusion necessitates socially equitable state intervention, a robust culture of rights, and an active environment of grassroots action and civil society participation.

Triggers of Exclusion	Enablers of Exclusion
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lack of a legal status 2. Lack of social, civil, political, and economic rights 3. Ethnic Discrimination 4. Lack of legal protection for migrant workers 5. Lack of a safe and nurturing home 6. Homelessness or the lack of a proper home 7. Social vulnerability of women/ subordination of women 8. Lack of a comprehensive policy for people with disability 9. Lack of a comprehensive policy and proper health services for PLWAs and People with Leprosy 10. Stigma associated with identity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Lack of reporting systems ▪ Lack of recourse systems ▪ Lack of awareness of rights, a weak culture of rights ▪ Lack of adequate family support ▪ Legal and institutional invisibility of non-citizens, coupled with a narrow and patriarchal conception of citizenship both as institution and practice.
	<p style="text-align: center;">Manifestations of Exclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Lack of access to social services and goods ▪ Exploitation in the workplace ▪ Fear of or lack of trust in state institutions ▪ Unemployment ▪ Lack of education ▪ Lack of political participation ▪ Lack of organization at the level of the community or potential for community growth.

¹⁹ Here it may be pointed out that traditionally reporting and recourse systems, where available, tend to be linked to the institution of the family or the tribe, and thus to a patriarchal system invested in the primacy of the collective, a system which has historically been more disadvantageous to women, children, and outsiders, than to male members of the family or tribe....

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Annex A

Case of a Street Boy Egypt

Walid is 15 years old, the fourth of 7 children, 6 boys and one girl. Walid left home at the age of ten, spending 6 to 8 months on the streets of Fayoum and about four and a half years now on the streets of Cairo.

Walid's dad leads the prayers at the local mosque in his village, and his mom does not work. They lived in a four-room house with a kitchen and one bathroom. The family members were constantly fighting amongst each other and they were the one house on the street where fights were routinely heard by all. Azza the girl is married now, and so is the eldest boy—they are both busy with their own families. The youngest boy remains at home. Walid's three other brothers have also left home: One works as a lorry driver near Cairo, one is married and works in Port Said, and the third, Mostafa, is living with Walid on the streets of Cairo.

Of the 7 children, only the eldest boy and now the youngest boy have ever attended school. Walid, his sister, and the other boys never went to school. Their parents did not bother to send them and no one in the family ever intervened to get them to attend school.



Walid was forced by his mother to work along with his brother Mostafa (two years older) as early as the age of 6. He worked as a mechanic's apprentice/helper in his village. He was paid 10 pounds a week plus 1.5 pounds a day for food. As the years went by and he gained more experience he would get paid 25 to 50 pounds a week. The mechanic he worked for in his village treated him well but Walid was unhappy. His mother would take what money he was paid by the mechanic and put it away. She did not spend money on him or his siblings and rarely treated them to a nice meal or clothes.

Walid describes his mother as violent, unkind and stingy, lacking the love and care of mothers: “She wasn’t a real mother, not like other mothers.” She often incited his father against him, telling him that Walid did not work enough or was not bringing enough money home. Walid did not believe that he should be working or bringing money and yet he did. What he could not bear, however, was the fact that his mother physically mistreated him and his brothers. When his older brothers gained in size they started hitting their mother. At that point she concentrated on hitting the younger children.. Walid proudly said that his mother cannot hit him now even if she wanted to: “I am too powerful for her now, because I am on the street, I am like the kids on the street now.”

When Walid was 10 his brother Mostafa left home. He took to the streets of the nearby city of Fayyoun. He was running away from his mother’s abuse. A month later Walid decided to join him. On the streets with Mostafa he learned to smoke cigarettes and to inhale glue through his mouth, habits he is addicted to now. The two brothers are still together and are very much attached to each other (creating a challenge for the social workers hoping to help either of them). During that period, their brother Ahmad who now lives in Port Said came looking for them. Ahmad had spent five years in jail in a shady public indecency case where he “confessed” to sleeping with a girl in the microbus he was driving at the time. When he was released from prison Ahmad found his brothers and returned them home and threatened the parents who were afraid of him and cautioned them that they were never to mistreat the boys again. However, after Ahmad left things got bad again at home and the boys ran away again. This time however they chose to run to Cairo.

In Cairo the boys set about creating a group of their own, with kids from Fayyoun; the group is still together almost five years later. Within a year of their arrival in Cairo they were approached by a social worker at the “Association” and since then Walid comes on a regular basis to the Association where he is able to bathe, change into clean clothes and eat one meal. On the weekend when the association is closed he spends the time hiding from the police or, if caught, in jail. At the Association he learned the alphabet and can now read and write his name and the names of his brothers. He also draws and paints and displays his work proudly. Some of his work has been bought by patrons of the Association or when there is an exhibit of work by the children.

The social workers at the Association tried to set Walid up with a mechanic in the area but Walid says the mechanic would employ him only in return for food and refused to pay him.²⁰ His brother Mostafa left with Ahmad to Port Said and he worked there also with a mechanic and the mechanic beat him up a number of times. His brother’s wife also beat him up and demanded that he bring more money into the house and so Mostafa left Port Said after 7 months and came back to rejoin Walid on the streets of Cairo. Since then Walid decided not to work for anyone anymore.

On the streets of Cairo Walid spends his days trying to get cigarettes and “Kulla” (glue) to satisfy his addiction. For a while he worked cleaning cars on streets but stopped that as well. Now he does what most of his friends do: they are under the protection of ring “leaders”, older street boys in their early twenties who organize the children in various criminal or begging or selling activities. With Walid’s group the primary source of income is theft of mobile phones which are then sold by the leaders and money is given to the

²⁰ According to the social workers at the Association, they have stopped placing kids with mechanics or craftsmen nearby because of a record of exploitation by those employers. They consistently mistreated the kids or refused to pay them properly and so the Association does not deem it safe anymore to place those kids in work situations in the area. And in the case of Walid, the social workers also refuse to take him back home considering the abusive situation he would be placed in and from which he would surely run away again.

younger kids who also act as decoys when the police arrive for a raid. In return, the older boys offer the younger ones protection from other street kids.²¹

Walid has been to jail numerous times, sometimes once a week or once every ten days. He is regularly picked up for being on the street in group raids and he spends a few nights in jail where he is often physically mistreated by the guards. On one occasion his father picked him up from jail. The other times it is usually a social worker from the Association.

In terms of violence on the street, Walid denies that he is a victim. He believes being on the street makes him stronger and he will only seek protection or help from other street kids he knows or from the people at the Association. It is the Association that took him twice to the hospital, once because he had a strong fever and once because his heart rate increased uncomfortably—he never had and never would approach a hospital on his own, and he is too distrustful of any government institution including hospitals. He has a pronounced mistrust of the police whom he despises or alternately ridicules. He has no dreams, cannot think ahead at all, and does not consider that it will ever be possible for him to marry or have a family.

²¹ Walid was part of a media story earlier in the year called “The Torbini 2” which was a huge public opinion scandal. A group of “leaders” had been investigated by the police and were then arrested and charged with various criminal activities among them having sex with the younger boys in the group. Walid was one of those younger boys and he and the others were examined by doctors and evidence was in fact found that those kids had been molested. The younger boys were then released. This story was told to us by the social worker and not by Walid. According to all social workers interviewed in relation to this and similar cases, sex for these minors is a part of life on the street and the kids do not usually see it as a violation or molestation but part of their relationship with each other and with their leaders.

Case of a Rural Woman Egypt

Sabah is a 45 year old woman, widowed. Sabah's father was a fisherman and her mother stayed home. Sabah has three sisters and one younger brother. Only the boy in the family went to school: "girls do not go to school", Sabah says "but now it is a bit different".

Sabah never worked. Her brother learned to fish with his father but the girls would only go on the boat on rare occasions and always with their father and brother. Sabah married at the age of 13 to her cousin and gave birth ten times, but has only five surviving children. One of her children drowned, one became "ill" (she couldn't tell of what exactly) and three were crib deaths. The five surviving children all attended primary and intermediate school: Ahmad who is now 25 and married, Haitham 20 and married, Howayda, 19, a girl who received a "Business Diplom" (the equivalent of a highschool degree but focused on vocational training), Taha now in his fifth year of a Business Diplom also, and a little girl, Bodour, in grade three. A huge change occurred in the village when a new factory opened nearby and many young people went to work there, including Howayda. However, after a few months rumors started that the factory owner was harassing some of the girls and all the families in the village, including Sabah, pulled their girls out and that closed the door at least for now on any employment prospects for Howayda.

Sabah's husband died in 1999 of a heart attack. However, he had been ill for a long time before that and his family sold a small piece of land that they owned to help pay some of his medical bills and help Sabah with the children's expenses. After her husband's death, however, Sabah was completely on her own.

Sabah says the only jobs available are in the mountains, mining, and women do not do that. If her husband had been a farmer she would have simply taken over from him and worked the land to support her family. Her husband was a fisherman, however, and women cannot fish: it is considered a huge source of shame in the Sa'eed for women to go on fishing boats (unlike other areas in Egypt where women can work boats by themselves or with their children). Sabah herself cannot conceive of the possibility of commanding the fishing boat herself: "it is not done" and completely unacceptable. "Men are there", she says, "and they raise their clothes up to go into the water and it is no place for a woman." The boat, however, is the only possible source of income for Sabah and her family, and so Sabah paid money to transfer her husband's fishing license to herself and she renews it every year for her children since the government would not issue new fishing licenses. Due to pollution of the Nile, mostly from industries and factories that dump their waste in the water, fishing resources are diminishing and the fishing industry is in disarray, threatening the livelihood of Sabah's community and others entirely dependent on fishing.

When Sabah's husband became terribly ill and her children were small, Sabah's brother would take her husband's fishing boat out to sea. He would come at the end of the day and give Sabah some fish or some money for fish he sold, and sometimes would say that he was not able to catch any fish. Sabah suspected that her brother was cheating her but had no idea or no way to prove that he was since she herself could not approach the shore or know what is going on: "I was completely dependent on him." When the husband died Sabah's children took command of the boat and they still do. Sabah renews the license in her name so her children can fish. But Sabah still has no idea of what money the boat was actually making since her boys also would come home and say they only made so much. Sabah noticed however that the boys started to smoke and she suspects that a chunk of the money is being spent on cigarettes but she is powerless to do anything. Now that the boys are married she has even less control or say over the family's income. "The boys do not care about the family," she says, but she has to. The income they bring in could be as little as a few pounds every week. A national charity gave her a cow that she milks, and she receives her husband's social security pension of 70 pounds a month. Sabah lives in her two-room house with her two married sons

and her other children: they pay electricity and water bills but have no fridge or stove or washing machine, only a small black and white television.

In order to renew her license, Sabah must pay a yearly fee. And she must also get a letter from the Securities Association. However, because no females could be identified as fisherwomen, all the females in the village have “farmer” stamped on their ID cards, despite the fact that no farming exists in the village. Thus, for Sabah to renew her fishing license she must get a man from the village to bribe some official every year so that he will issue a letter allowing for the renewal of her fishing license. Sabah gives the middleman what he asks for but has no idea what actually ends up being paid as a bribe and what ends up pocketed by the middleman.

A local NGO entered Sabah’s village and established a financial aid and awareness and training center to help fishermen mobilize. The NGO also offered residents no-interest small loans to make improvements to their homes. Sabah took a 1000 pound home-improvement loan in order to buy a safer boat for her sons, and to buy a new fishing net. She is supposed to pay back the money in monthly instalments to the head office in Menya over a period of 18 months. Since Sabah cannot read or write, she entrusts a neighbour, Ahmad, to make the payments to the NGO and to get receipts for her payments. After submitting seven payments, Sabah found out that she had only been issued four receipts. She has no way, however, of proving that she gave Ahmad the other three payments, and she gets extremely agitated when she speaks of her problem. Ahmad, for his part, denies that she gave him the money and Sabah is at a loss of what to do.

Sabah has no voting card, and knows absolutely nothing about politics except for the name of Egypt’s president. She never saw a doctor herself and only knows doctors from the time her husband was ill and she would sometimes go with him to a clinic in Minya.

Case of a Boy with Disability Egypt

Girgis is a 20 year old young man, confined to his wheelchair: he has Cerebral Palsy, suffers a lot of pain in his kidneys, and his legs are often in casts. Girgis lives with his mother and father in a 3 room apartment in a small building owned by his paternal grandmother.

Girgis's parents are both illiterate, originally from the Sae'ed. Girgis's father has never had a secure job; he works informally and intermittently. Girgis's mother does not work at all—"we are Sae'edis" she said and therefore women do not go out to work. Girgis has one sister only, two years older, and married. His sister went to school but left in grade six because parents could not afford to pay fees or for tutors.

When Girgis was born, no one in the family noticed any abnormalities. Girgis's mother and father are first cousins, but no else in the family was "like him". He was born at home, not in a hospital, and by a midwife not a doctor. It was when he was about 10 months that his mother first noticed that something may not be completely right with Girgis: he had yet to crawl, unusual for a baby that age. She took him to a doctor in the neighbourhood but he just told her to wait. It wasn't until Girgis was five years old that he was diagnosed with CB, a disease that could have been diagnosed much earlier.

Because Girgis was "slow to grow", his parents did not take him to school—they kept waiting for him to get better. At the age of eight an uncle insisted that the boy should go to school and he took Girgis to the local elementary school. The school said Girgis was too old to be enrolled and that he should be schooled at home and then come and attend the final exams. Another problem of course was that the school, an inner city school, was three floors high and had no elevator: Girgis would have had to be carried up the stairs to the classroom and down again. He would have had to be carried up and down also if he needed to use a washroom, even were he able to go to the bathroom by himself. The only schooling options open for Girgis would have been an expensive private school in the area which his parents could in no way afford, or home-schooling. His mother and father however were both illiterate and they could not afford to higher a teacher to school him at home. So Girgis has never been to school and is completely illiterate.

Girgis has had many operations: the operations were free because they were done at a children's hospital in Imbaba that specializes in similar cases. However, Girgis has no insurance of his own since he is not enrolled in school. He has only the monthly amount of 70 pounds usually paid to the disabled. And he cannot ride public buses or take public transportation because those are not equipped for people with wheelchairs and there is rarely space in them anyway for someone in his situation. He is thus forced to take taxis every time he goes to the doctor which is quite expensive. He is always in a lot of pain and only 25% of the medicine he needs is subsidized which puts a huge financial strain on the family. Now Girgis suffers pain in his kidneys and he needs a CT scan which he cannot afford. The Association he now frequents for free physiotherapy sessions has been campaigning on his behalf with the government but so far they have not had a positive response.

Girgis and his family live on the third floor of their building. This effectively means that Girgis is a prisoner in his home since the small building has no elevators and only narrow, difficult to navigate stairs. Girgis says he never ever takes outings: he only leaves the house to go to the hospital or to the Association for his physiotherapy. He has no concept of fun, of free time, of enjoying the city, of shopping, of going to the cinema. "My mother does not even like to take me to the vegetable market". Girgis does not speak with anger about his mother and he does not have an analytical view of his confinement; he simply notes that he does not go out and no one ever takes him out.

Girgis wakes up in the morning and must be helped out of bed by his mother. His father has no part in taking care of Girgis; he is solely the mother's responsibility. His mother takes him to the bathroom and then helps him sit in front of the television where he often watches a religious mass or sermon. Alternately he will watch cartoons. His mother will then lock him up inside the apartment and leave to buy things or visit with neighbours. "If I need to go the bathroom I must wait for my mother to come back", Girgis says. No one visits Girgis and he has no friends. Family members will sometimes drop by to "take a look at" him as he puts it, but they do not attempt to have a conversation with him even though Girgis speaks clearly and his mind functions well.

Girgis would like to take care of himself but does not know how. He does not have a relationship with the world around him as he lives almost in isolation. When he is in the street as his mother takes him to the doctor or to physiotherapy he does not look around and does not notice how people look at him or pay attention to what they say about him. The world appears to him a strange place and he is not of it. Girgis was unable to comment on or evaluate the way he is "treated" by the outside world since he has almost no connection with it. He does however feel that he wants to be more independent and he would have liked to go to school—that is the point that really makes Girgis sad. He also does not like it when people consider him "ill". Other than that he does not feel anger or sadness or bitterness or resentment.

(It was Girgis's mother who was able to comment on how he may perceive his disability. She recounted one story in particular: One time when her mother in law was demanding rent money from her, Girgis's mother got upset and said she had no money since her husband is not working. She then said that "had my son been able to work I could have paid you." At that moment Girgis put down his head and cried. It is moments like these when Girgis shows the emotional and social effects of his disability.)

Case of a Woman Residing in the Maqaber Egypt

Om Ashraf lives in the City of the Dead, the caretaker of her immediate and extended family. Om Ashraf does not now know how old she is but is probably in her fifties, the mother of two boys, Ashraf (25) and Jameel (18) who is “retarded”—she is not exactly sure of the scientific term for his mental disability but it is severe enough that he is unable to go to the bathroom by himself and she must always be there to look after him.

Om Ashraf was born in the Maqaber, and her father was also born in the Maqaber: both her dad and her grandfather were grave diggers, a profession that girls do not learn or inherit from their fathers. The family is originally from the south, from the Sa’eed and identify themselves as Sa’eedies, an identification pertaining to traditions and customs and dialect. Om Ashraf has no sisters but she has two brothers, both younger.

Om Ashraf married young and she and her husband, who was not from the Maqaber, lived together in a room on the burial site. Her husband treated her badly and hit her often. His violence increased and he rarely gave her any money to buy food or take care of her children. None of her male family members intervened to help Om Ashraf. When Jameel’s disability became pronounced, her husband divorced her and left. Since the divorce she has never seen or heard from him and he is now married and has another family in Helwan. Her husband’s family have also given her up and do not ask after her or her sons.

Om Ashraf does not work. She never went to school and was never allowed to go out and work: “the Sa’eedis do not send their girls out to work”, she said. She lives off of the disability income her son Jameel receives (70 Egyptian pounds a month, the equivalent of \$14 US) and a social security allowance of 70 pounds also. Her net income per month is thus the equivalent of \$28 US. However, part of that money goes to cover some of the medication her son needs and part of it goes to the care of her extended family members.

Om Ashraf’s brother Yaseen passed away of a heart attack two years ago and her other brother Mohammad suffered a stroke years ago that impaired his speech and weakened his body and is thus unemployed. Om Ashraf is the female head of a large household that includes her elderly mother, her brother Yaseen’s widow and her five children, two of whom also suffer a mental retardation, and her brother Mohammad, his wife, and their four children.

None of the women or girls in the house work. Mohammad’s wife was the only one who ventured out into the workplace after her husband’s stroke: she worked for one year in a factory that produces metal clothes hangers. She was paid 40 pounds a week and worked from nine in the morning to nine at night but was forced to quit when the contraceptive IUD (Intrauterine Device) she had had inserted caused her life-threatening bleeding.



Om Ashraf, center, with some members of her family.

Om Ashraf has never seen a gynaecologist “because they are all men” and she proudly claims that no male doctor has ever examined her. Her sister-in-law Kolthoom, Mohammad’s wife, has not removed her now 12 year-old IUD because lately every time she manages to go to the clinic and stands in line she discovers that the doctor is male and so she ends up throwing her number ticket away and going back home. Kolthoom never knew that she was pregnant with her youngest daughter Salma until she almost gave birth. All the women gave birth at home and none had any form of pre-natal care. Om Ashraf herself suffers from terrible back pain and she went to the hospital twice and “had her stomach opened”—all the women in the household confirm her story saying she had had two operations but when asked in detail, no one was able to say why or what was removed or what was treated.

Om Ashraf never sent her boys to school—she had no money for that she says. Ashraf who is now 25 is unemployed: sometimes he is able to get work but only temporarily. He got married and had a daughter but his wife could not stand to live in the Maqaber—she found it too spooky—and since Ashraf could not afford to rent an apartment they were soon divorced. Jameel of course cannot work because he must always be under the watchful eyes of his mother; she takes him to the makeshift bathroom and washes after him. Only two of her nephews and nieces have been sent to school, a girl who now stays at home and one boy who is now in primary school. The women cannot afford to send the kids to school and it is only because some kind people pledged to send Yasmeen and Ahmad to school that they have gone. The women sometimes make some money baking and selling bread to customers who know them and come to them. Sometimes also on religious holidays they may bake cookies to sell at festivals. Flour has become too expensive, however, and now they only bake special orders every now and then.

Om Ashraf and her family are threatened with removal by the owners of the burial site. They have no place to go however: “where will we go? What do I do with family? They want us out but we have no one and we have nothing. All I want from this world is a house for my family.” They also do not know how to deal with their housing problem. Om Ashraf heard once that the government was providing housing for poor people but when she went to apply she was told that she must bring her husband with her. She insisted that she was divorced but found no response. A couple of years ago and after the divorce of her son she visited the offices of a People’s Assembly member in a nearby area and she presented him with her case and her divorce papers and he promised to help her but she never heard from him again.



Playing among the dead...

The “house” Om Ashraf and her family live in is in a horrible state and lacks necessary amenities. There is no sewage system. The electricity is “stolen”—they take it illegally from nearby electricity lines and the same goes for water. There is an old used fridge, stove and washing machine, and someone donated a small television—“just for entertainment”. There is no telephone. No one in the house has a voting card or ever voted. The “neighbourhood” itself lacks any form of traditional social organization: there is no neighbourhood elder as in other impoverished neighbourhoods outside the Maqaber, no one to look after or vouch for or settle differences among the “residents”.

Om Ashraf lives in fear of being thrown out with her large family and into the street. She also worries about who will take care of Jameel when she is gone.

Case of a Female from the Akhdam Group Yemen

Fatma is a forty-five year old woman, married with eleven children. Fatma was born in a village in the mountainous area of Yemen, and she belongs to the Alakhdam group. She has two brothers and one sister and both her parents are deceased; her mother died giving birth to Fatma's sister. Fatma never went to school and neither did any of her siblings; there was no school in their village. Fatma's father was unemployed. Before he died, Fatma's father would work feeding animals that belong to other people but the work was intermittent. After both her parents' death, Fatma lived with her grandparents and she moved with them to Sana'a at the age of ten. The family was looking for better living conditions. In Sana'a, the family supported themselves by begging since the grandfather was too old and could not work, and the only thing the grandmother could do was beg.

In Sana'a, Fatma and her family lived first in Bab el Balaqa, an Akhdam settlement. Like other Akhdam settlements, this was a collection of shanty homes built on government land by the families. It was an unsettled kind of settlement since people were forced to leave their fragile homes every time the government decided it had need of the land. In 1987, Fatma's tent-like home was flooded along with other "homes" in the settlement in the wake of a big storm. The families moved temporarily to a school seeking shelter from which they were promptly and forcibly removed by the authorities. They and other families had to find new camping ground. They were threatened with forced removal again until finally the government gave each household a sum of 30,000 YR and dumped the entire community on barren land on the outskirts of the city. The area lacks any infrastructure and the people had to improvise their own sewage system. Now, many years later, they finally have electricity which they do pay for but they have no water—they buy their water in big jars on regular basis. There are no paved roads, no telephone lines, no water pipes, no sewage system, and no street lights.

Fatma was forcibly married at the age of 15. She was traded in a marriage deal whereby she was given in marriage to the brother of her own brother's intended bride. Fatma did not and does not love her husband. For four years after marriage she was unable to bear a child and she was taunted and called barren by her husband's family and others in the community. She was so hurt and confused by such taunts that she would often cry. She consulted many "rural" doctors and her treatment would often consist of bleeding her arms, but she herself does not understand the reasons for her lack of pregnancy or the purpose of the treatment she received. She also to this day has no concept of contraception and never used it. She had two miscarriages before she carried a baby to full term and in the 22 years she has been married she gave birth to eleven children.

At the beginning of their marriage Fatma's husband worked as a porter in the army but was not making enough money for them to live on, so Fatma turned to begging. She wanted to do something else and tried to work as a house-cleaner but was fired a week later. After that she was not able to find a job as a house-cleaner and she complains that such jobs often go to Ethiopians and Phillipinos. Her husband was let go from the army after falling ill—he was not allowed any sick leave and his condition worsened until he was finally unable to carry on with his duties. He tried to get a job with the local council but was also let go. He then turned to garbage collecting until three years ago when he became unable to work. The family now receives 6,000 YR a month (US \$30) from the social security fund, and Fatma and four of her children continue to beg. At the end of the day they visit grocers begging for veggies and once a year in Ramadan they receive some food from a charity organization.



The Akhdam compound on the outskirts of Sanaa where Fatma lives.

Even as a beggar, Fatma finds that as an akhdam woman she is at the bottom of the hierarchy. She says: “If a beggar is white, they are not called khaddameen.” (“White” is used in Yemen as a marker to differentiate most Yemenis—who are generally dark-skinned—from the Akhdam who bear more “African” features.) Even when not begging, Fatma says, she and people like her are called “Akhdam beggars”. This was one of the reasons her children had such a difficult time attending the school outside their akhdam area. They were often taunted and humiliated by others that some of her children refused to go to school anymore. The others also left after only a few years in school because Fatma could not afford to pay for school supplies and because the children were doing poorly in school. Four of her kids now beg along with Fatma to support the family. A benefactor once built a school within the settlement to service the families but the government was not involved in the project and the school was run entirely by volunteers. Now the volunteers are gone and the school does not function anymore.

A similar situation occurred in terms of health-service provision. There is a clinic in the settlement established by a joint government-international NGO effort, but it is barely functioning under the strain of financial difficulties.

Fatma has been sick for ten years and she has a number of tumors and cysts in her body—she is not entirely certain what exactly. She does not have money for treatment or tests. Two years ago she had one operation to remove one of the tumors from her “reproductive tract”. The operation was free but she tried to raise money and collect donations to pay for tests and medicine. Fatma reports varied treatment from people in the hospitals. Sometimes she is treated fairly and politely and at others the doctors or nurses are unresponsive and their treatment derogatory. She reports one incident where she inquired about the tumors in her body and she was only told that she was “not pure”, that the “akhdam eat with dogs and cats”.

Fatma does not believe that she belongs to the larger community. Her only friends and her only community are the other Akhdam families that live in her settlement. Outsiders look at them as inferiors and she does not believe that her sons could marry from outside the group. She does not feel that she has any recourse, however. She reports that the “Akel” of the settlement is too corrupt and the police will only interfere if they are bribed. She voted once thinking that elected politicians might work to change their situation but she now has no faith in the system. Fatma remains hopeless about her situation and that of her children.

Case of a Male from Alhjur group Yemen

Abdullah is a 65 year-old man, originally from the Hajr district of Hadramout, in Southern Yemen. When Abdullah was two, his family moved to Lahj to avoid the repercussions of a blood feud. In Lahj, Abdullah's father worked in the farms belonging to the Monarchy and the family lived in the Alhjur compound in the area.

Abdullah never went to school since his family was too poor and he was needed for work on, farming with his father until the age of 23. At 23 Abdullah joined the National Front fighting against British colonial rule for seven years. He received training in Taiz for two months on using weapons. After the revolution, however, he worked as a cleaner in a mosque for 15 years. He developed health problems (hypertension, leg embolism) and shifted to work in an oil mill where he continues to work now three days per week for a monthly salary of 3000 YR or \$15.

Abdullah got married at age 35 years to a young woman of age 17 years from his community. They had twelve children together in addition to a daughter who died of unknown reasons at the age of 2. Abdullah's wife works also as an agricultural worker and has been working now for 10 years. All of Abdullah's children quit school early. Abdullah cites two reasons. One, the family could not afford to pay fees and buy books; and two, the children hated school because they were often badly treated there. The children say they are often called slaves and humiliated by both teachers and other students. And so the daughters remain at home, unmarried and unemployed, and Abdullah fears his daughters should not work on farms until they get married so their husbands are able to protect them. One of his daughters has experienced mental problems for the past five years but Abdullah is unable to take her to doctors and he has not been able to secure financial support for her treatment from any government body or charitable organization.

Abdullah's sons work the fields as seasonal farmers or sell Qat in the streets. Abdullah believes that were he able to bribe officials he would be able to secure better employment for his sons, and he is very bitter and angry about the family's situation. He believes he and others from his community should have been rewarded for fighting the British and gaining freedom for all Yemenis. The rest of society, however, continues to look at them as slaves, and after the revolution, when the government redistributed the land, he and many others from his group were unjustly excluded on the assumption that they are slaves and have no right to own land.

Abdullah cannot afford to buy the medicine needed to treat his own health problems. The family's sole source of support is a yearly donation of food supplies in Ramadan by a charitable organization. He feels no one in authority will listen to him and that officials will not meet with them because they are Black. Abdullah is trying to help his people now by burying the dead in the cemetery without charge. He has good relations only with people in the compound and has no friends or relations with other Yemenis outside. Those he says will not shake hands with him because he is Black and will not let their children marry someone from his community.

Case of a Female Living with HIV

Yemen

Zahra is 22 years old, married for three years and living with her husband and his family of 8 members in a village of Lahj Governorate. She has a son aged 2.5 years old. She is an illiterate woman because her family did not believe that girls should go to school. She is a housewife and does not practice any work outside her house's duties. Zahra was born in a different village in Lahj (10 kms from the village she is living now). She got married at the age of 14 but was divorced two years later because she did not bear any children. Within the current marriage, she and her husband and their son lived in one room with a separate door to the yard of the house but they shared one kitchen and ate together with all members of the husband's family. Her husband worked in a turnery on a daily basis, and it was there Zahra says that he was infected with HIV because of an injury he sustained in his hand nine months ago. Staff at the local hospital, however, reported that he was one of a group of men practicing homosexuality in the village and so he was immediately fired from his job.

Two months ago, Zahra got tested for HIV on the advice of staff at the HIV program at the hospital, and her results confirmed that she is HIV positive. She knew that her husband is infected with HIV as he told her and so they were using condoms but there were times when the condoms broke. As soon the family found out that she is also infected, they changed their behaviour towards her. They now avoid her, do not chate with her, and certainly do not eat with her. Even her son is shunned and she often hears them shouting at him to go back to his disaster of a mother. Her husband's family closed all windows in her room and blocked the connecting door from her room to their living room with bricks. They built her a small place in the yard as a kitchen and do not allow her to use theirs. In case she asked for a cup or any tools for the kitchen from her husband's family to be used temporarily, the family will not take it back or will break it immediately. They often tell her to leave and go back to her family.

Zahra now is very distressed. She is always alone with her son. Her neighbours even are not visiting her and she does not visit them as before. Sometimes she will to go to her family in the other village to feel a bit better. Her family feel sorry for her and are generally kind, but they do nto intervene with her husband's family and do not visit with them anymore. But they do not want Zahra to be divorced.

Zahra loves her husband and wants to live with him and their son together; however, they can't move because they can't afford to do so financially, especially now that the husband is unemployed, so they have to live in this condition. Her husband is getting now 5,000 YR (\$25) per month from the Health Office in Lahj to support him and as an incentive to present his case in workshops.

Zahra is now undergoing treatment at the Cancer Center in Aden because she discovered lumps in her neck about a month ago and she is not sure exactly what she has. She is extremely depressed: "It is better for me to die than to live alone like this and shunned by everybody. But I am always thinking of my son and how he will live after my death". She is now either taking care of her son and home or watching TV or crying. The only place she can go is to her family or to the hospital to get treatment. She is not involved in any society organization and there is still no society for PLWAs in the governorate. Her husband is keeping her in the house to take care of him and his son, and does not involve her with his friends' families, even those who area also living with HIV/AIDS.

When interviewed, local council elections were taking place in the area. Zahra, however, had no interest in participating for she says nothing is changeable.

Case of a Male Somali Refugee

Yemen

Aiderous is 31 years old, from Somalia, who escaped to Yemen at the age of 23 because of the war. In Somalia he came from a middle-class background and Aiderous worked there as a teacher. He married young at the age of 14 and had one child. When the war started he moved from village to village to avoid the violence, often staying with relatives. Aiderous and his wife divorced and he decided to leave for Yemen, where his sisters and brothers had already escaped. He paid a dealer some money and came to Yemen by boat. He landed at the shore of Hadramout Governorate and was taken by Yemeni police to the UNHCR refugee camp. He stayed there for six days and was then transferred to another camp in Lahj where he was given a monthly food supply which he thought inadequate for about five months.

Aiderous was not working, not eating well, and unhappy and so he decided to leave the camp. He got a Refugee Card to allow him to live outside the camp and he sold his share of the monthly supply of food so he can travel to Aden where his sister lived in the refugee settlement of Albasateen.

Aiderous lived with his sister and worked hard as a porter and a car cleaner. He worked every day and then he married two Somali women, also refugees, because he wanted to have children. He rented a room and had two children, daughters aged 3 and 2. He was never able to get a regular job, however, and so the money was never enough. He could not be hired by anyone because he had no Yemeni ID and so he continued to do small jobs. He therefore decided to see if things were better in Sanaa and he had to leave his family behind in Aden.

In Sana'a City he was worked cleaning cars in the streets. He befriended other Somalis and together they rented an apartment for 28,000 YR (104 US\$) a month, among Yemeni people in front of a cemetery. The apartment is in the basement of a building with four small rooms, a kitchen and a bathroom with one water pipe and water tank at the entrance of the house. He has to buy water to fill the separate tank for himself. He brought his family from Aden and his wife got a job as a house-cleaner with a foreign family. She is satisfied with her wages but she works very long hours.

Aiderous pointed out that people call him Somali in the street and he is often told that he has come to Yemen to make the place dirty. He never answers because he is afraid to get into trouble. His Yemeni neighbours are nice to him but do not visit him and the families remain strangers. His daughters do not play with the other children and they do not know any Arabic. He is unable of course to afford to send them to school and so they remain home. He feels completely on his own and unable to prepare his kids for the future. He is demoralized and said he had to go beg his car customers for money just so he can fix his teeth when he was in a lot of pain. He is spending his free time either sleeping or watching TV. His wife suffers from terrible pain in her head but is only able to get pills from the pharmacy every once in a while, and she appears nervous all the time.

Aiderous and other Somali refugees went to UNHCR office in Sana'a to ask the officials there to help and support them so they can get better jobs and afford health and educational services. Their group, however, was shot at by police and the all ran back to their homes. A year ago he tried to convince UNHCR to transfer him to another country but was unsuccessful. He stated: "we are here tired and we want to go back to my country if the war stopped because the person's future is only in his country."

Case of a Female Migrant Worker Lebanon

Sirina is a 35 year-old married woman with a son that is 23 years old and a daughter that is 21 years old. Her daughter is married and her son is apprenticing as a rug-maker.

Sirina's husband became sick with diabetes which effected his leg and prevented him from working. Sirina and her husband were starting to build a home and she was forced to use her jewelry as a collateral for the bank to obtain a loan to pay for building costs. After her husband got sick, Sirina had to work so she can pay back the loan, get back her jewelry and continue building their home. So she registered with a service office in order to come to Lebanon and work as a servant. The office transported her to Lebanon without explaining to her the details of her contract but she thought it was for two years and even took her first month salary as a fee.

She arrived at the airport in Lebanon, and was immediately escorted by members of the General Security and placed in a room and her passport was taken away. Then a woman came (Sirina's employer) and was given Sirina's passport and she took Sirina with her to her home. Sirina arrived to her employers home around 4pm after a long trip and was asked to work immediately without resting first or even taking a bath. At 7pm she felt very tired and asked her employer if she could rest and was given permission to do so. Sirina was informed that she would be working there for three years, not two. She was not allowed to call her family so she wrote a letter to them and gave it to her employer to send for her but the letter never reached her family.

Sirina did not like the food she was given to eat since she was not used to Lebanese food so she was allowed to cook rice. Her employers did not treat her nicely and did not allow her to ask any question and she was forced to work from 6am to 11pm daily. The family she worked for had three children who also treated Sirina with disrespect. Sirina was not happy working for this family but she decided to complete the period of her contract because she needed the money and then she would return be able to her country. After three months of working Sirina still did not receive her salary so she asked her employers to pay her because she needed to send the money to her husband. She had to ask them many times to give her at least one months salary. She hated to ask because she felt like she was begging. After six months passed without any payment, she was given two months salary and this is how her employers continued to pay her. Every six months they would give her a maximum of three month worth of salary with the remaining three months still unpaid.

After a year and a half, Sirina became sick and had a lung infection with a cough and a high fever. She was not taken to a doctor and was not given the medicine (Ventoline) that she asked for. She remained sick for a month and a half and was not allowed during that time to rest so she could recover. She became afraid for her health and afraid that she would die if she stayed in that house. So she left the house and asked a taxi to take her to the Sri Lankan embassy. The driver did not know the address so he said he would take her to Dawra where she could ask because there are a lot of Sri Lankans there. There she met a Sri Lankan man to whom she told her story and asked to go to the Sri Lankan embassy. The man took her to a house where Sri Lankans live who could help her because he said the embassy does not help with these kinds of cases. The people she went to did in fact help her and took her to a doctor where was given antibiotics and was ordered by the doctor to rest for one and a half months in order to recover.

Her employers filed a complaint that Sirina ran away from their home and stole \$500 which was not true and in fact they owed her seven months salary. Currently, Sirina is considered a run away and is wanted by authorities for theft. She does not have her passport as it is still with her employers and she does not have

any money to return to her country or live in Lebanon. If she is stopped by police she would be placed in jail since she has no papers. All Sirina wants is to return home which she is unable to do.

Case of a Boy who Dropped out of School Lebanon

Fawaz is 13.5 years old. His parents were separated before his birth when his father ran away from justice to Brazil, so he lived with his mother until the age of 5. After that his father returned to Lebanon and his mother sent him to live with his father because she got married and her new husband did not want Fawaz to live with them. He lived with his father and his new Brazilian wife for two years. Fawaz's stepmother abused him and did not take care of him. He ran away to his aunts house where he tried to convince his mother (who was left by her second husband) that he would work and not cost her anything. However, his mother returned to her second husband who is Syrian and left to Syria to be with her husband without taking Fawaz since her husband does not want him.

Currently Fawaz lives in his grandmother's house after she passed away. He lives there with his mother and her two children from her second husband, and his divorced aunt with her seven children. The house has four rooms and a kitchen and is old with cracked walls and no heating. It has the basic appliances (refrigerator, oven, washing machine) as well as a television set but lacks any additional appliances. Fawaz shares a room with his mother and her children and his aunt and her children occupy the remaining rooms.

The family lives in a poor and densely populated neighborhood (Bab Ramel) in the city of Tripoli. The neighborhood has basic infrastructure and Fawaz but the streets are filthy. There are medical facilities in the neighborhood but Fawaz's family lacks any health insurance. Fawaz's mother is not insured even though she works for a cleaning company.

Fawaz entered a school in the neighborhood after his uncle registered him. However, after Fawaz left to live with his father, he was registered by his father in another school on a hill. He did not like this school and complained about the treatment of the teachers who would beat him and treat him badly. He also did not like to go home after school because his father would not be there and his stepmother also treated him badly, so he would go to his grandmother's house. He could not ask anyone to help him with his studies because his stepmother did not know Arabic and his grandmother was illiterate. Fawaz left school completely before reaching 8 years of age and was still in second grade, a grade which he was repeating. He said "I didn't learn how to read one letter in school, they used to hit us and yell at us and we were many in one class." So the choice to leave school and start working seemed like a good one since he was not learning anything anyway and since this would allow him to live with his mother and make some money.

Fawaz has been working since he was 7 years old and had many occupations: blacksmith, painting houses, painting cars, cleaner, electrician, hauler ... and would get a weekly salary of between 7, 10, 15 thousand Lebanese pounds (\$5-10). Recently, he worked in a supermarket as a carrier from morning until 2am with a weekly salary of 50,000 pounds (\$32). He kept switching jobs and could not stay in one position for a long time (the most he has stayed in a job was 5 months). This was because he would be exposed to physical and verbal abuse from his employers and older colleagues and he explained that he would be "pushed and kicked". In the beginning he liked to work because he could earn money but he discovered that "all work is tiring".

When he worked as a blacksmith, a colleague of his (his age) got his faced burned from the "Carbor" and he got very scared and told his mother and his mother said don't get close to the "Carbor". He did not receive health insurance through his work because he was considered a daily worker and these are not registered in insurance.

He stopped working 3 months ago and went to the Social Center (Center for vocational training and rehabilitation), to learn how to read and write. This center is trying to find a place for him to live because his mother has left and the only other place that he can live is his father's house which he refuses to go to. His father also expressed that he does not want Fawaz to live with him. According to Fawaz, his dad told him "I will make you sleep on the stairs when you turn 15" and keeps threatening to beat him and curses him often.

Currently Fawaz is learning how to read in the center and he is very happy that he has learned how to read well after only 3 months. He strives to learn a skill in the center but is not sure what yet but he might want to be a chef and open his own place. However, he does not know how he is going to pay for the training he needs later.

When he used to work he used to give his entire salary to his mother and she rarely gave him any allowance. She used to use all his money and consider it as a part of the family income.

Fawaz has three friends his age from his neighborhood who are all working in selling flowers and other things. He also has friends in the center and they "take walks together in the streets" which is the only recreational activity he does.

He says: "yes I know I am different from others, kids should not work or think about work. When you are young you should get educated, then learn a profession, then go to work." "Everything stands in my way, money stands in my way, if my mother and father were together my situation would have been better. I would have been educated in the best schools and my parents would have given me money. Right now I don't have anything: money, education, work. I don't know what to do after my mother left, I don't want to stay with my father and I don't know what to do. I am happy in this center because they teach us and they don't hit us and they don't yell at us."

Case of a male Palestinian Refugee Lebanon

Abu Jihad's grandfather came to Lebanon with the first waves of Palestinian refugees in 1948. His son, Abu Jihad's father, married a Palestinian woman, also a refugee and settled in Nahr El Bared camp in North Lebanon.

Abu Jihad was educated in UNRWA schools and got a grade nine certificate. After that he left school and apprenticed as a house painter. He worked inside and outside the camp and had a very difficult time securing jobs. As a Palestinian refugee, Abu Jihad does not have the legal right to take on jobs on his own or with other contractors. His work therefore was restricted to whatever jobs his friends handed him or as a day labourer working for someone else. He worked more hours than Lebanese workers and got paid less.



Alley in a Palestinian Refugee Camp in Lebanon

During the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, Abu Jihad was injured in his chest and his hand. At the time he belonged to the Democratic Front (he still does), and the Front was able to send him to Moscow for

treatment. He stayed there for nine months and on return to Lebanon he remained at home recuperating and was unable to work for five years. During those five years he received a modest allowance from the Front until he was able to work again. Abu Jihad states that he joined the Front because he believes in the group's integrity and because most are active in it for no financial gain and their only goal is to liberate Palestine and preserve the refugees' right of return.

In 1985, Abu Jihad got married and he and his wife had six children, the eldest a girl of 18 and the youngest 11. The eldest two are studying nurses and the rest are still in school.

Abu Jihad's wife has cancer and her treatment is about \$2600 every 21 days. UNRWA helps him to pay 50% and the rest he has to collect from friends, relatives, or other kind people who hear of his situation. He is very angry because he feels were he Lebanese or given the right to work he would be better able to provide for his family, especially since he has the skills.

Abu Jihad was displaced from his already humble residence in Nahr El Bared camp when the army clashed with a radical splinter group in the camp. His home was destroyed and he now lives along with his family in a kindergarten in Sabra camp, another Palestinian refugee camp. The Kindergarten has six rooms but houses 10 displaced families. Abu Jihad lives along with his entire family (9 people) in one room, affording no privacy and in conditions unfit for a family. The place is not too clean, there is not enough air, and the family gets one free meal a day provided by Hamas.



The destroyed Nahr El Bared camp.

Case of a Family with no Papers Lebanon

Ali married Saeeda, his second marriage. He has no papers since his dad also did not have any papers. The family lives in the Bekaa Valley and they move around with a paper signed by the local village elder identifying them by name.

Ali and Saeeda have six children, two boys and four girls and he has one boy and one girl from his previous marriage. Ali and Saeeda separated ten years ago and he married for a third time, had one daughter with his third wife who is currently pregnant, and is well on his way in his fourth marriage. All of his children from all his marriages have no papers.

Saeeda works as a cleaning lady in a magazine office and she gets paid 350,000 pounds a month (\$220). She has health insurance but it does not cover her children since her children are not registered. Every month she pays a lawyer 100,000 (\$70) to follow up on a case she filed to register her children. So far, Saeeda has paid about \$2000 and has been unsuccessful. The first lawyer cheated her and did nothing and so she was forced to hire another lawyer. She is under a lot of stress and fears that she may easily turn to prostitution as the only way to help take care of her entire family.

Saeeda's kids have never been to school because they have no papers. She has three married daughters. The eldest daughter married a Syrian man but the marriage was never registered and her husband left her with one of the two children, also unregistered. The second daughter married a Lebanese who was able to give her papers but the third also married a Syrian and she has no idea if their marriage is unregistered or not—the husband does not provide her with any papers and does not appear concerned about her situation.

Saeeda's three other children (Nabil 14, Ayman 10, and Dalal 13) live with their older sister and her child in their mother's house. All the children try to work to help the mother out. The eldest daughter stopped working as a cleaning lady in homes because she cannot afford to put her child in daycare. Nabil is apprenticing as a mechanic but he hates it and now works more hours hauling ceramics at a local factory. Ayman and Dalal frequent an NGO that tries to help destitute children in their area.

Saeeda has been working on getting papers for her children for the past six years, but she has to prove that the grandfather neglected to register his children and her husband's family have not cooperated with her at all, and they themselves have no papers.

The children cannot leave the town or buy a car unless they register it in the mother's name.

Quantitative Analysis of Social Exclusion

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I. Background

ESCWA conducted 36 in-depths interviews among selected socially excluded groups in three countries Lebanon, Egypt and Yemen. The completed qualitative interviews were analyzed in three country reports and further consolidated into one. The present analysis is based on variables extracted from the data gathered qualitatively in the three countries.

II. Methodology

2.1 Data Collection

The study data provided information on the socio-economic status of the respondents and the quality of their living conditions. Human and legal rights in voting and access to common goods were also explored. The respondent's perception of family and community social support was also reported. Moreover, some questions were collected only for specific groups such as women, persons with disability and children.

Women were asked specific questions related to their access to decision making, the extent of their control over family income and resources, employment opportunities and residential mobility.

Children respondents were asked whether they felt cared for and protected at home and for the women respondents whether they felt safe and respected in their own household.

Persons with disability were specifically asked whether they felt stigmatized in their own environment and about the availability of special training programs for the handicapped, and in case they were available were they accessible and adequate.

2.2 Data Analysis

Frequency distributions and cross-tabulations using contingency tables and chi-square statistics were carried out with the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS, 2000).

2.3 Limitations

The results of the country studies are detailed in the following report and analysis of the data at hand is made whenever appropriate. Given the nature of the data collected and the small sample size, it is not surprising that the data cannot be explored through multivariate statistical models, to tease out the effect of confounding and interaction between variables. Therefore, some of the relationships found among two variables may disappear when we introduce a control variable.

Methodological issues related to assessment of the prevalence of certain variables should be kept in mind. The data was not collected in a standardized way through systematic instruments such as a validated questionnaire.

III. Results

3.1 Characteristics of the respondents

Table 1 shows that the 36 respondents of 17 males and 19 females, were distributed equally by country of residence, 12 in Lebanon, 12 in Egypt and 12 in Yemen. The excluded groups selected in the three countries

constituted 13 groups: Six disabled persons two from each country, six street children four from Lebanon and two from Egypt, four Palestinian refugees two from Lebanon and two from Egypt. The remaining groups were selected exclusively from one country such as in Lebanon: two Migrant workers and two persons with no legal papers labeled as “undocumented”; in Egypt: two rural women and two of the “Maqaber” residents and two Sudanese refugees; In Yemen two Somali refugees, two leprosy patients, two people living with HIV/AIDS, two from Al Hujr community and two from Al Akhdam. *An overwhelming majority 32 out of 35 report that the stigma associated with their group identity affected them negatively.*

The mean age of respondents has a wide range from a mean of 14.7 years for street children to a mean of 54 years old among “Maqaber” residents.

3.2 Analysis of socio-economic determinants among the socially excluded by gender and country of residence:

Table 2 presents the distribution of socio-economic variables such as a respondent’s educational level, employment status as well as the availability and marketability of relevant skills, access to social services and goods and adequacy of their living conditions.

Over half of the individuals interviewed never attended a school, the schooling was interrupted for 34% and only 11.4% report having an equivalent degree to a high school diploma. Females were more likely to be less educated 66.7% never attended school compared to 41.2% of the males. The proportion of those who never attended school was significantly different by country of residence where a higher proportion was observed in Egypt (66.7%) and Yemen (75%) compared to Lebanon (18.2%).

A small proportion of respondents (13.9%) were presently regularly employed, one third had an irregular job and (52.8%) were unemployed. No significant differential was noted by gender. However, there was a significant variation by country where the proportion of unemployed reached 83.3% in Egypt compared to 41.7% in Yemen and 33.3% in Lebanon.

The majority (63.9%) of the respondents report that they lack relevant skills for a lucrative employment, with a significant disadvantage among females where (78.9%) had no relevant skills available compared to (47.1%) among males.

Almost three quarter of the respondents report that they had no access to social services and goods with a significant differential by country of residence. The adequate access to social services was reported only in Lebanon.

The respondent’s were asked whether their homes had basic amenities including refrigerator, stove, bathroom and kitchen facilities. Half of the respondents reported that their homes lack basic amenities, while 36.1% had a home equipped with basic amenities and the remaining 13.9% were homeless. The respondents were also asked to report on the infrastructure conditions in the area where they lived, and basic area infrastructure was available in barely 40% of the cases.

3.3 Analysis of perceived social support of socially excluded by gender and country of residence:

Social support was captured through two components: frequency of seeking family support and perception of community connections.

One fourth of the respondents report seeking frequently their family's support, the remaining were either less inclined to call on their family for support (44.4%) or unable to do so (30.6%). The respondents were somewhat alienated from the people living in their community, 59.4% had no connection to other people living in the larger community. There was no significant differential for family and community support by gender nor by country of residence (Table 3).

3.4 Analysis of social and civil rights indicators among the socially excluded by gender and country of residence:

The legal status, awareness and access to social and civil rights and involvement in the political system are crucial components that may define and influence the status of a socially excluded individual.

The surveyed excluded groups had an overall proportion of 72.2%, who declared having a legal status acknowledged in their respective countries, with no differential by gender. However as expected the proportion of those who had no legal status was the highest in Lebanon (50%) given that the excluded group selected in Lebanon, consisted of refugees and undocumented persons, followed by Egypt (33.3%) and none in Yemen. Overall only 16.7% report having full access to social and civil rights, 44.4% having limited access and 38.9% had no access whatsoever. The lack of and limited access was significantly higher in Yemen (83.3%) and Egypt (66.7%) compared to 33.3% in Lebanon, (Table 4).

The respondents were further asked if they ever made use of the available recourse system in their respective country of residence, only 6 out of 36 respondents made use of the available recourse system with a significant male dominance of 5 males compared to only one female who ever used the recourse system (Table 4).

The respondents were probed to check regarding their ability to acknowledge and express their entitlement to certain rights. 69.4% were unable to use a proper "language of rights" with a significant disadvantage among females 84.2% compared to 52.9% among males.

The majority of respondents did not vote during elections (81.2%), did not belong to a political party (88.9%), and could not identify his/her representative in the government (88.9%). No female reported being a member of a political party and only 16.7% of the females recognized their representative in the government while 58.3% of the males were able to identify such a representative.

3.5 Analysis of socio-economic, family and community support and social and civil rights indicators among socially excluded by poverty level:

All the variables listed in tables 2, 3 and 4 by gender and country of residence were also cross-tabulated by poverty level. For the sake of being concise, we are reporting in this section on the four variables: education level, relevant skills, area infrastructure and family support that revealed significant variability by poverty level.

Table 5 presents the variables that were significantly different by poverty level of the respondents. Among the socioeconomic variables, education level and availability of relevant skills were significantly (p -value <0.01) worse among those labeled "extremely poor" compared to those who were poor. The "extremely poor" were two times more likely to live in an area where the basic infrastructure was unavailable compared to the poor. Moreover the extremely poor were less likely to call on family members for support 6.7% compared to a proportion of 38.1% among the poor.

3.6 Analysis of data regarding women's access to decision making, control of resources, employment, mobility and home environment by country, education level, marital status and poverty level:

In order to explore some specific gender key indicators among women respondents, including employment opportunities, access to decision-making in matters related to her life, control of household income and other resources, residential mobility and whether she experience abuse and neglect at home.

The response of 15 women on the above mentioned variables are presented in table 6 and 7 in relation to their education level, marital status, country of residence and poverty level.

Table 6 show that most women (80%) report that their employment opportunities are "restrictive", their residential mobility is nil (86.7%) and have minimal control over income and other resources (60%). It is interesting to note that Yemeni women seem to fare worse regarding their access to decision-making and control of income compared to those living in Egypt or Lebanon. The proportion of women who never attended school was significantly higher (80%) among those who reported minimal control of income than those who had some schooling (25%).

Overall Forty percent of the women had no role in decision-making and reported abuse in their home environment. Yemeni women and those who never attended school were less likely to implement their own choices compared to Lebanese women and those who had some schooling.

Table 7 shows that there are no significant differences of specific gender related variables by women's marital status. Meanwhile, employment opportunities, spatial mobility and home environment did vary significantly by poverty level. All those labeled "extremely poor" reported that their employment opportunities were very "restrictive" and were unable to change location. Sixty percent of the "extremely poor" report abuse and neglect compared to zero percent among the poor women.

3.7 Persons with Disability

There were six persons with disability interviewed, and questions related to the availability of training programs, and if available were the programs accessible and adequate, and whether the public infrastructure could accommodate the needs of the handicapped.

All six respondents report feeling stigmatized due to their disability status, and the training programs available as well as the physical infrastructure in public spaces were unanimously perceived as inadequate.

Five respondents out of 6 report that special training programs were available, however the programs were accessible for 3 out of five.

Table 1: Distribution of excluded persons by gender, country of residence and age of respondents

Respondent's Group	Gender		Country of residence			Total		Age (Years)	
	Male No.	Female No.	Lebanon No.	Egypt No.	Yemen No.	No.	%	mean	SD**
Street Children	3	3	4	2	0	6	16.7	14.7	1.9
Disabled	3	3	2	2	2	6	16.7	29.3	16.8
Maqaber Residents	1	1	0	2	0	2	5.6	54.0	1.4
Rural Women	0	2	0	2	0	2	5.6	41.5	4.9
Palestinian Refugees	2	2	2	2	0	4	11.1	52.5	17.8
Sudanese Refugees	1	1	0	2	0	2	5.6	29.5	0.7
Somali Refugees	1	1	0	0	2	2	5.6	30.5	0.7
Leprosy Patients	1	1	0	0	2	2	5.6	43.5	17.7
PLWAs*	1	1	0	0	2	2	5.6	29.5	10.6
Al Hujr	1	1	0	0	2	2	5.6	52.5	17.7
Al Akhdam	1	1	0	0	2	2	5.6	52.5	17.7
Migrant Workers	1	1	2	0	0	2	5.6	45.0	14.1
Undocumented	1	1	2	0	0	2	5.6	44.0	26.9
Total	17	19	12	12	12	36	100.0	36.6	17.6

* People living with HIV/AIDS

** Standard Deviation

Table 2: Distribution of respondents' socioeconomic status by gender and country of residence

Variables	Gender					Country of residence						Total		
	Male		Female		p-value	Lebanon		Egypt		Yemen		p-value	No.	%
No.	%	No.	%	No.		%	No.	%	No.	%	No.		%	
Education level														
High school diploma or equivalent	3	17.6	1	5.6	0.269	0	0.0	2	16.7	2	16.7	0.002	4	11.4
Schooling interrupted	7	41.2	5	27.8		9	81.8	2	16.7	1	8.3		12	34.3
Never went to school	7	41.2	12	66.7		2	18.2	8	66.7	9	75.0		19	54.3
Employment														
Regular	2	11.8	3	15.8	0.638	1	8.3	0	0.0	4	33.3	0.018	5	13.9
Irregular	7	41.2	5	26.3		7	58.3	2	16.7	3	25.0		12	33.3
Unemployed	8	47.1	11	57.9		4	33.3	10	83.3	5	41.7		19	52.8
Relevant Skills														
Available	9	52.9	4	21.1	0.047	6	50.0	3	25.0	4	33.3	0.569	13	36.1
Unavailable	8	47.1	15	78.9		6	50.0	9	75.0	8	66.7		23	63.9
Relevant Skills														
Marketable	7	70.0	3	60.0	1.000	5	62.5	2	66.7	3	75.0	0.911	10	66.7
Not marketable	3	30.0	2	40.0		3	37.5	1	33.3	1	25.0		5	33.3
Access to Social Services and Goods														
Adequate	5	29.4	5	26.3	1.000	10	83.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.000	10	27.8
Inadequate	12	70.6	14	73.7		2	16.7	12	100.0	12	100.0		26	72.2
Proper Home														
Home has basic amenities	5	29.4	8	42.1	0.271	7	58.3	3	25.0	3	25.0	0.048	13	36.1
Home lacks basic amenities	8	47.1	10	52.6		2	16.7	7	58.3	9	75.0		18	50.0
Respondent is homeless	4	23.5	1	5.3		3	25.0	2	16.7	0	0.0		5	13.9
Area infrastructure														
Basic infrastructure available	6	40.0	7	38.9	0.948	6	54.5	2	20.0	5	41.7	0.265	13	39.4
Basic infrastructure not available	9	60.0	11	61.1		5	45.5	8	80.0	7	58.3		20	60.6

Table 3: Distribution of respondent's perception of family and communal support by gender and country of residence

Variables	Gender				p-value	Country of residence						Total		
	Male		Female			Lebanon		Egypt		Yemen		No.	%	
	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%			p-value
Family Support														
Respondent often calls on family for support	6	35.3	3	15.8	0.198	5	41.7	2	16.7	2	16.7	0.148	9	25.0
Respondent less inclined to call on family for support	5	29.4	11	57.9		2	16.7	6	50.0	8	66.7		16	44.4
Respondent unable to call on family for support	6	35.3	5	26.3		5	41.7	4	33.3	2	16.7		11	30.6
Community Support														
Somewhat connected	5	33.3	8	47.1	0.430	4	50.0	5	41.7	4	33.3	0.755	13	40.6
Not connected	10	66.7	9	52.9		4	50.0	7	58.3	8	66.7		19	59.4

Table 4: Distribution of social and civil rights proxy indicators by respondent's gender and country of residence

VARIABLES	Gender					Country of residence						Total		
	Male		Female		p-value	Lebanon		Egypt		Yemen		p-value	No.	%
	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%			
Legal Status														
Acknowledge	12	70.6	14	73.7	0.836	6	50.0	8	66.7	12	100.0	0.021	26	72.2
Unacknowledged	5	29.4	5	26.3		6	50.0	4	33.3	0	0.0		10	27.8
Social and civil rights														
Full access	2	11.8	4	21.1	0.757	0	0.0	6	50.0	0	0.0	0.000	6	16.7
Limited access	8	47.1	8	42.1		4	33.3	2	16.7	10	83.3		16	44.4
No access	7	41.2	7	36.8		8	66.7	4	33.3	2	16.7		14	38.9
Recourse system														
Made use of recourse system	5	29.4	1	5.3	0.052	2	16.7	3	25.0	1	8.3	0.549	6	16.7
Never made use of recourse system	12	70.6	18	94.7		10	83.3	9	75.0	11	91.7		30	83.3
Awareness of rights														
Respondent expresses a sense of entitlement	8	47.1	3	15.8	0.042	4	33.3	4	33.3	3	25.0	0.877	11	30.6
Respondent unable to use a language of rights	9	52.9	16	84.2		8	66.7	8	66.7	9	75.0		25	69.4
Respondent ever voted in elections														
Yes	3	27.3	1	9.1	0.586	1	100.0	1	11.1	2	16.7	0.090	4	18.2
No	8	72.7	10	90.9		0	0.0	8	88.9	10	83.3		18	81.8
Respondent belongs to political party														
Yes	3	23.1	0	0.0	0.098	1	16.7	1	11.1	1	8.3	0.869	3	11.1
No	10	76.9	14	100.0		5	83.3	8	88.9	11	91.7		24	88.9
Respondent can identify his/her representative in Government														
Yes	7	58.3	2	16.7	0.089	6	100.0	1	12.5	2	20.0	0.001	3	11.1
No	5	41.7	10	83.3		0	0.0	7	87.5	8	80.0		24	88.9
Respondent belongs to a civil society organization														
Yes	5	33.3	5	31.2	1.000	1	14.3	5	41.7	4	33.3	0.466	10	32.3
No	10	66.7	11	68.8		6	85.7	7	58.3	8	66.7		21	67.7

Table 5: Distribution of statistically significant socio-economic, family and community support and civil rights proxy variables by respondent's perceived poverty level

VARIABLES	Poverty level				p-value	Total	
	Poor		Extremely Poor			No.	%
	No.	%	No.	%			
Education level							
High school diploma or equivalent	4	19.0	0	0.0	0.001	4	11.4
Schooling interrupted	11	52.4	1	7.1		12	34.3
Never went to school	6	28.6	13	92.9		19	54.3
Family Support							
Often calls on family for support	8	38.1	1	6.7	0.085	9	25.0
Less inclined to call on family for support	7	33.3	9	60.0		16	44.4
Unable to call on family for support	6	28.6	5	33.3		11	30.6
Relevant Skills							
Available	11	52.4	2	13.3	0.016	13	36.1
Unavailable	10	47.6	13	86.7		23	63.9
Area infrastructure							
Basic infrastructure available	10	55.6	3	20.0	0.037	13	39.4
Basic infrastructure not available	8	44.4	12	80.0		20	60.6

Table 6: Distribution of selected variables for women’s respondents by their country of residence and education level

Variables	Country of residence						Education level *						Total	
	Lebanon		Egypt		Yemen		Ever been to school			Never been to school			No.	%
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	p-value	No.	%	No.	%	p-value		
Access to Decision-making for Women														
More likely to implement choices in matters related to her	1	25.0	2	40.0	1	16.7	0.193	2	50.0	2	20.0	0.133	4	26.7
Less likely to implement choices in matters related to her	3	75.0	1	20.0	1	16.7		2	50.0	2	20.0		5	33.3
Has no role in decision making at least in one major event related to her life	0	0.0	2	40.0	4	66.7		0	0.0	6	60.0		6	40.0
Control of Income/Resources for Women														
More likely to be in control	2	50.0	2	40.0	1	16.7	0.286	3	75.0	2	20.0	0.095	5	33.3
Shares control	1	25.0	0	0.0	0	0.0		0	0.0	0	0.0		1	6.7
Woman is less likely to have control	1	25.0	3	60.0	5	83.3		1	25.0	8	80.0		9	60.0
Employment opportunities for Women														
Less restrictive	2	50.0	0	0.0	1	16.7	0.170	2	50.0	1	10.0	0.176	3	20.0
More restrictive	2	50.0	5	100.0	5	83.3		2	50.0	9	90.0		12	80.0
Spatial mobility for Women														
Feels able to change location	0	0.0	1	20.0	1	16.7	0.649	1	25.0	1	10.0	0.505	2	13.3
Feels unable to change location	4	100.0	4	80.0	5	83.3		3	75.0	9	90.0		13	86.7
Home environment for Women														
Feels safe and respected at home	3	75.0	3	60.0	3	50.0	0.820	4	100.0	5	50.0	0.221	9	60.0
Experienced abuse / humiliation at home	1	25.0	2	40.0	3	50.0		0	0.0	5	50.0		6	40.0
Total	4	100.0	5	100.0	6	100.0		4	100.0	10	100.0		15	100.0

Table 7: Distribution of selected variables for women’s respondents by their marital status and poverty level

Variables	Marital Status						p-value	Poverty level				Total		
	Single		Married		Divorced / Widowed			Poor		Extremely Poor		No.	%	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%			
Access to Decision-making for Women														
More likely to implement choices in matters related to her	2	40.0	1	25.0	1	0.0	0.949	2	40.0	2	20.0	0.509	4	26.7
Less likely to implement choices in matters related to her	1	20.0	2	50.0	2	25.0		2	40.0	3	30.0		5	33.3
Has no role in decision making at least in one major event related to her life	2	40.0	1	25.0	3	75.0		1	20.0	5	50.0		6	40.0
Control of Income/Resources for Women														
More likely to be in control	1	20.0	1	25.0	3	50.0	0.567	2	40.0	3	30.0	0.741	5	33.3
shares control	0	0.0	1	25.0	0	0.0		0	0.0	1	10.0		1	6.7
Less likely to have control	4	80.0	2	50.0	3	50.0		3	60.0	6	60.0		9	60.0
Employment opportunities for Women														
Less restrictive	2	40.0	1	25.0	0	0.0	0.308	3	60.0	0	0.0	0.022	3	20.0
More restrictive	3	60.0	3	75.0	6	100.0		2	40.0	10	100.0		12	80.0
Spatial mobility for Women														
Feels able to change location	2	40.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.152	2	40.0	0	0.0	0.095	2	13.3
Feels unable to change location	3	60.0	4	100.0	6	100.0		3	60.0	10	100.0		13	86.7
Home environment for Women														
Feels safe and respected at home	4	80.0	2	50.0	3	50.0	0.660	5	100.0	4	40.0	0.089	9	60.0
Experienced abuse / humiliation at home	1	20.0	2	50.0	3	50.0		0	0.0	6	60.0		6	40.0
Total	5	100.0	4	100.0	6	100.0		5	100.0	10	100.0		15	100.0

