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“I hereby certify that this report and the accompanying presentation is our own original work in its entirety, unless where indicated and referenced.”



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Ethnic Marginalization of Youth: Best Practices for an Inclusive Future

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Acronyms

AAA	Amhara Association of America
CDM	Club de Madrid
CERD	Committee for Elimination of Racial Discrimination
CYLA	Center for Young Leaders in Africa
NDI	National Democratic Institute
ROL	Rule of Law
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
TPLF	Tigray People's Liberation Front
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WJP	World Justice Project

Executive Summary

Ethnically marginalized groups bear the brunt of existing inequalities and unfounded ostracism; with youth suffering from inherited and new limitations as a result. For the purpose of this report, such inequalities have been divided in the following categories: governance, the law, and the economy. In efforts to promote the need for the second World Social Development Summit, this report aims to specifically advocate for the vulnerable and powerless. By following a qualitative methodology, several organizations shared challenges, struggles, and daily discriminations the marginalized youth encounter in Ethiopia, India, Myanmar and Zambia. Finally, inspired by Club de Madrid's Shared Societies Good Practices Guide, a list of best practices is produced with the intention of possibly complementing it.

Introduction

As per the mandate of our partner organization, the objective of this project is to explore how organizations empowering marginalized youth in the Global South (with a special focus on South Asia and South-Central Africa) operate in efforts to obtain contributions to a practical strategy for social inclusivity. To reach this goal, a combination of secondary research and qualitative data in the form of open semi-structured interviews is put to use. The analysis is then used to conclude a list of potential best practices for social inclusivity advocacy. The report itself is framed around Club de Madrid's (CDM) *Shared Societies Good Practices Guide* which consists of 10 Commitments and Approaches,¹ and aims to enrich it by reflecting on the specific challenges encountered by the groups advocate for. To form a scope, the commitments were divided into four sectors: Institutional Arrangements, Safeguards, Service Provisions and Inter-community Development. These materialize as separate spheres of public policy. Due to the project size, three of the commitments were emphasized into the following three pillars: governance, law, and economics. With hopes to contribute to CDM's 2030 Shared Societies vision, we highlight the urgent need for a second World Social Development Summits coming

¹*Shared Societies Good Practices Guide*, Club de Madrid, 2015, <https://www.clubmadrid.org/sspguide/site/index?lan=en>. Accessed 23 June 2022.

out of COVID-19 due to its exacerbating effects on social exclusion. The importance of social inclusion is accentuated by the general SDG principle “Leave No One Behind” and is underpinned by SDG 16: “Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions”. This project is dedicated to the interest of furthering actions to springboard the advancements of target 16.6: “Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development...” and target 16.7: “...provide access to justice for all, build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels” (SDG Hub, 2015).

Methodology

In order to maintain an unbiased position during this project, we chose to adopt a case-study based, qualitative approach. The qualitative approach allows flexibility in the mission of gaining insight into our main topics of interest. Case study was one of the first types of tools used in the field of qualitative methodology as it is especially useful when studying abstract sociological manifestations such as marginalization (Starman, 2013). The main consequence of our decision was the lack of research structure, which was arguably made up for by the design framework of the report itself and the elastic requirements of the final outcome. The utilization of quantitative methods would have allowed greater accuracy for our conclusion and would be the ideal option for a larger scale project.

Interviews

A principal part of the project revolved around collecting first hand information from a variety of organizations advocating for ethnically marginalized groups. The primary step was to identify the groups for outreach. We chose to do this online considering the spatial scope of the project and

used online platforms such as Gmail, LinkedIn and Facebook to reach out to interest groups. As a result, the following organizations replied back and agreed to be part of this project:

Table 1: Organizations' Information

Name	Location	Contextual features	Focus	Interviewee's information
Amhara Association of America	Ethiopia, East Africa	Country rated NOT FREE (<i>Freedom of the World, 2022</i>)	Advance the political & humanitarian interests of the Amhara people of Ethiopia	Representative 1: Chairman Representative 2: PhD Candidate AAA Volunteer Representative 3: PhD Candidate AAA Volunteer Age range: 25-35
Center for Young Leaders in Africa	Zambia, South-Central Africa	Country rated PARTLY FREE (<i>Freedom of the World, 2022</i>)	Advocate for the inclusion and representation of young people across Zambia	Representative 1: Inonge Simakumba, Project Manager and Researcher Age range: 20-30
Rohingya Youth Association	Myanmar, South-East Asia	Country rated NOT FREE (<i>Freedom of the World, 2022</i>)	Promote equal opportunity and fight against discrimination for Rohingya people	Representative 1: Anonymous activist Age range: 20-25:
Dalit Human Rights Defenders Network	India, South Asia	Country rated PARTLY FREE (<i>Freedom of the World, 2022</i>)	Empower Dalit Groups ² and synergise the Dalit movement	Representative 1: Prachi Salve, Human Rights Activist Age range: 30-40
Former Executive Director of the Navsarjan Trust and one of BBC's top 100 most influential women 2021	International outreach	Same as Dalit Human Rights Defenders Network	Empower Dalit youth and springboard the Dalit movement	Representative 1: Manjula Pradeep, Lawyer and Activist Age range: 40-50
International Foundations for Electoral Systems	International outreach (over 145 countries)	N/A	Promote and protect democracy and advocate of social inclusion for youth	Representative 1: Senior Global Advisor for Conflict, Displacement and

² Dalit group is a name for people belonging to the lowest stratum castes in India

Name	Location	Contextual features	Focus	Interviewee's information
				Minority Rights Age range: 40-50

Filtering youth groups through the lens of marginalization required special consideration. Due to the lack of criteria surrounding the definition of an ethnically marginalized group, the method of self-identification was employed as the only viable option. Self-identification is imperative within these groups to avoid the intentional labeling by parties that are not in a position to do so.

After establishing relationships with the groups, the next step was to conduct interviews. Interviews are the most commonly used data collection method for first hand qualitative research and the semi-structured format is the most frequently used interview technique (Kallio et al, 2016). A semi-structured interview is a verbal interchange where one person, the interviewer, attempts to elicit information from another person by asking questions within the same thematic scheme (Schmidt, 2004). Furthermore, it is flexible in the sense that it does not restrict participants to a time or place and it can be used in conjunction with a variety of other methods and theories (Schmidt, 2004). In our case, the purpose of the interviews was to receive a comprehensive understanding of the complex situation of marginalized groups through the lens of governance, the law, and the economy both within their communities and in a broader sense.

The questions were pre-formulated, but were not followed rigorously so as to simulate a conversation. Pre-designed questions can be beneficial in increasing the consistency of the subjects covered and in providing a focused structure for the interviewers during the discussions.

(Krauss et al. 2009). At the beginning of our interviews, background questions were used as a warm-up to break the ice and create a relaxed environment as per common interview practice (Weiss, 1995). This also provided the opportunity to perceive mannerisms and language use, something especially useful when dealing with groups from areas of the world we have had little exposure to.

Ethical Considerations

The concern for ethics is essential when conducting interviews, and becomes more significant when speaking to advocates of marginalized groups who have experienced trauma and are thus in vulnerable positions. When dealing with any group of people, a qualitative researcher should be aware of potential harm that can be imposed on the participants (Arifin, 2018). For example, the cultural and linguistic barriers required us to listen and respond to the participants' answers and speak carefully. Ethical approval was sought and granted from the School of Global and Public Affairs of IE University. Upon approval, our team sent the ethical protocol (Appendix 2) to each participant via email before the interviews. The following was made clear in the ethical form. These were: confidentiality, anonymity, the purpose of the study, what the final product would be and the right to receive the results and conclusion of the study. Participants were advised to withdraw from the interview at any point if they felt that answering the interview questions made them uncomfortable. In addition, we decided to mostly conduct the interviews in pairs to make the interviews less intimidating and thus reduce pressure on the interviewees.

When working with disadvantaged communities, deciding how to depict research participants in written text can highlight the challenges of ethical representation (McMullin, 2021). On the one

hand, this may empower interviewees to control the narrative in the way that they are portrayed in the research. On the other hand, asking for clarification from interviewees can increase discomfort or stress around the way that their statements appear in text (Mero-Jaffe,2011). For our project, most of our interviewees are non-native English speakers. Plus, a large amount of the automated transcripts were unintelligible. This led us to opt out of creating full verbatim transcriptions. Instead, we decided to document the general points and supplement them with direct quotes.

Moving on from the methodological framework, the next section will detail our findings in terms of marginalization as a product of governance, the law and the economy.

Governance and Marginalization

When studying the origins and manifestations of marginalization, one must always consider the political environments in which cases are occurring. For this project, we make sure to distinguish between democratic and non-democratic systems as this largely impacts the grounds for marginalization.

According to the NDI (National Democratic Institute), a democratic society has a higher chance at success when each and every faction of the society is featured, regardless of size. This includes having the freedom to participate, influence outcomes and vote freely without negative repercussions. In western democratic countries, marginalization often arises when minorities, especially ethnic minorities, are excluded due to the crowding out effect by other majority groups. Only by intentional political inclusion can we ensure that we are addressing and understanding the unique social, economic and physical needs associated with these groups (NDI, n.d).

A representative from IFES spoke about democracy as something inherently human and the disturbances we see in society when this is withheld are myriad (Appendix 1, Interview 2). In non-democracies, marginalization does not typically come to fruition due to the crowding out effect, but rather due to the efforts of deliberate oppressive powers. The Amhara Association of America (AAA), a group focusing on empowering the populous indigenous Ethiopian Amhara people and diaspora, are experiencing just that. The case of mass marginalization seen in Ethiopia takes form within the frame of an unstable multiparty political regime, where violent power struggles characterize the political climate (Opalo and Smith, 2021).

There are instances where the Amhara represents the majority in certain regions, but are physically prevented from taking space politically due to their ethnic origin. This is particularly due to the friction between themselves and the Tigray, the group behind the civil Ethiopian war operating through the TPLF (Tigray People's Liberation Front), and due to exclusion from the Federal Government. Though Ethiopia does not currently have a functioning democracy and has a low transparency index (39/100), it has had pockets for nonviolent political interaction which have in recent times been identified and withheld from the Amharas (Transparency International, 2021a). The restriction is partially seen as a punishment for past military counter attacks extrapolated by the Amharas label as “less-than” by the rest of Ethiopian society, and particularly the elites. The AAA representatives communicate that overcoming something like this would require forgiveness on both parts and a steady transition to a “not necessarily neoliberal...” democracy and a shift away from the current system, which is exclusively controlled by the fourth prime minister, Abiy Ahmed and his supporters (Appendix 1, Interview 1).

The marginalization of the Rohingya in Myanmar and Bangladesh reveals a similar dynamic. Their main barrier to participation in governance has to do with the restriction of citizenship in

both Myanmar and Bangladesh, with both nations claiming they belong to the other. Rhino youth who want to engage with their communities or even global politics are denied not only access to the relevant platforms but also to basic human rights that go hand in hand with citizenship. When the basic needs fail to be met, civil engagement and involvement in governance is sidelined and therefore change can only be incremental. In the case of the Rohingya, they gained the right to remain as constituents in Myanmar in 2010, however, the manner of their treatment in society failed to change (Appendix 1, Interview 4). In addition to denial of citizenship, Myanmar is a technically corrupt nation with a score of 28/100 in the transparency index (Transparency International, 2021).

Aside from state based ostracism, marginalization of indigeneous youth happens frequently in the global political sphere. In Mary Robinson's 2018 book "Climate Justice", she raises a particular and often dismissed structural flaw in multilateral international organizations: the delegation of observer status to marginalized groups as an institutional standard. Focusing on youth based grassroot organizations who feel the negative effects of globalization the most, Robinson provided clear evidence that there is a lack of inclusion in large scale consultation functions, specifically in the United Nations (UN). The most prominent example used in this book was that of the 2006 Climate Change Conference in Kenya. In this incident, the rights of the Chadian Mbororo people and the Scandinavian Saami were being discussed. In the presence of the debate, Hindou, a young Mbororo activist, and Jannie, a young Saami activist were present, yet unable to speak up. For Hindu, it was only when she, through hard work, was elected as co-chair of the Indiginous Peoples Forum on Climate Change where she got a seat at the negotiating table (Robinson, 2019).

While some marginalized individuals are emotionally rooted to their places of origin, others leave in pursuit of political empowerment elsewhere, but face new challenges upon arrival. In India, the Dalit population which has surpassed 200 million, has started to spread globally. According to the Dalit Human Rights Defenders Network, youth are increasingly taking opportunities to leave India to discard their titles as Dalits, also known as “untouchables”. The individuals who leave young enough are able to pursue education and ensure their political inclusion elsewhere, but those who are older and lack education or language skills, default into minimum wage jobs making it hard for them to integrate and contribute to local or global governance. The historically rooted repression enforced by the Indian government serves a purpose to the elite castes, and thus, Dalits are excluded from participating in governance by being labeled as non-political beings and even subhuman (Appendix 1, Interview 3). The inaction on the behalf of the Indian government to tackle caste inequality is reflected by their high levels of corruption (ranking 40/100 for transparency) and socially accepted exclusion of Dalit politicians (Transparency International, 2021b). Although caste discrimination is technically a national issue, it must receive more attention within the global agenda due to the amount of individuals impacted by it (Appendix 1, Interview 3). The matter was brought to the attention of global leaders in 2007: upon accusations of inaction regarding instances connected to discrimination of Dalits and thus, breaches of Indian anti-discriminatory law, the government spoke at the UN headquarters with the conviction that caste discrimination was not “discrimination based on descent”. The UN organ CERD (Committee for Elimination of Racial Discrimination) controverted the claim and highlighted the harm and hypocrisy caused by the mass-discrimination led by a nation claiming to be the largest democracy on earth (Mathrani, 2007). From the perspective of international relations, the power shift implicit in caste

abolishment would imply a sudden restructuring of the entire Indian society both socially and practically, something that would be the equivalent of a revolution. Elite caste groups fear the repercussions of a change in power dynamics and as a result cling onto any argument that can be used against the caste system.

Inter-demographic struggles for power in developing democracies are not uncommon. Young Zambian leaders represented by the Zambian political empowerment group Center for Young Leaders in Africa (CYLA) also highlighted the issue of intentional and strategic marginalization within the Zambian political system. Youth share the sentiment that a change of power is overdue. Zambian youth stress the issue of the older generation holding onto their political privilege, a dynamic especially prevalent within the demographic of men 35 and over who feel entitled to roles in leadership and who ensure policies to further their own agenda, which tends to differ from that of youth. This demographic tends to face the greatest levels of marginalization. After a long period of “politics belonging to older men”, Zambia has experienced a voting landslide where youth and women are increasingly participating in elections, giving the sensation of a democratic rebirth. Bearing this in mind, the nation carries the label of a democratic republic, but has been experiencing turbulence in the form of protests due to inaction in the interest of civil society (Appendix 1, Interview 5). Despite the high perception of corruption in Zambia (33/100) mostly due to the misuse and theft of public funds, CYLA mentioned an ongoing shift to a more inclusive form of governance, manifested by the so-called youth-led voting “landslide” (Transparency International, 2021). This goes to show that change is achievable and that with numbers and determination, youth have the power to create a political landscape in their image.

Although marginalized individuals tend to self-govern by forming political interest groups (online and offline) independently from established political institutions, creating officially recognized associations and spaces for consultation is becoming increasingly important as the political power gaps between elites and marginalized groups extend. Including indigenous and nonindigenous marginalized young people intentionally in state politics and multilateral design, monitoring and evaluation of development policies and programmes regardless of their origin, size or previous involvement is essential in the fight against holistic ethnic marginalization.

The Law and Marginalization

Access to justice has been recognized as a key element for inclusivity by the UN's SDG 2030 Agenda in SDG target 16.3, in which member states agreed to “promote the rule of law at the national and international levels, and ensure equal access to justice for all” (OECD, 2019). The legal system impacts almost every aspect of young people's lives, including health, employment, education, political participation, and entrepreneurship. It is because of this, that effective access to justice is paramount for social rights and development since “the possession of rights is meaningless without mechanisms for their effective vindication” (Cappelletti et al., 1978). Access to justice therefore means the ability to approach and influence decisions of those institutions which exercise the authority of the state to make laws and to adjudicate on rights and obligations (Cbe & Cottrell, 2009).

The World Justice Project (WJP) has attempted to collect primary data in this regard, to better understand the inequalities surrounding the Rule of Law (ROL) across the globe. In doing so, they released the report *World Justice Project Rule of Law Index* in 2021. It provides scores and rankings for 139 countries based on the following factors: Constraint on Government Powers, Absence of Corruption, Open Government, Fundamental Rights, Order and Security, Regulatory

Enforcement, Civil, and Criminal Justice (WJP, 2021).³ The average score for East Asia and Pacific region is 0.59, for South Asia is 0.44 and for Sub-Saharan Africa is 0.46 (WJP, 2021). Freedom House, an American organization devoted to the defense of civil and political rights, also determines a score for each country. In 2022, Ethiopia received a score of 23/100, India a 66/100, Myanmar a 9/100, and Zambia a 51/100 (Freedom in the World, 2022).

Ethiopia has recently been granted the status of “not free” by Freedom House. Interestingly, access to justice is a right that is recognized in the 1995 Ethiopian constitution. Article 37 specifically states that everyone has the right to bring a justiciable matter to, and to obtain a decision or judgment by a court of law or any other competent body, with judicial power (Tewachew et al., 2017). However, “the real application of the right for Ethiopians is fraught with multitude of legal and practical challenges, and is neither accessible nor responsive to the urgent needs of the vulnerable and disadvantaged” (Kokebe, 2014). In AAA’s Annual Human Rights Report 2022, they conclude that both government forces and rebel/armed groups were responsible for hundreds of serious legal and human rights violations including ethnic killing, rape, and kidnapping. This claim is confirmed as Freedom House also points out that “outside of Tigray, hundreds of civilians were killed in Benishangul Gumuz, Oromia, and Amhara regions, largely on the basis of their ethnicity” (Freedom House, 2022). Interviewees on behalf of AAA elaborate on this issue and consider these violent actions as part of an ethnic cleansing campaign (Appendix 1, Interview 1).

In the AAA’s report, they share that:

“The Addis Ababa City Administration forcibly and violently evicted more than 1,517 ethnic Amhara residents from their homes in Addis Ababa in brazen disregard of the appropriate legal and procedural safeguards, including prior and adequate consultation, adequate notice, and the provision of compensation or alternative housing” (Amhara Association of America, 2022).

³ See Appendix 4 (Rule of Law Around the World by Region)

Even though the Ethiopian Constitution explicitly states that the law must respect property rights on a non-discrimination basis, in practice, this does not happen. All land must be leased from the state, which has led to the government evicting indigenous groups such as the Amhara to make way for infrastructure projects (Freedom House, 2022). As a consequence, the Amharas are not allowed to own businesses in a multitude of areas (Appendix 1, Interview 1). Despite deliberate actions taken by government forces against the Amharas, the lack of access to legal information exacerbates the group's exclusion from society. Although information, regulations, and proclamations are published in the official gazette (a country's legal newspaper), there is no will, nor effective means of disseminating them (Kokebe, 2014).

Structural violence in Ethiopia disproportionately affects the Amhara youth. When their families get evicted from their houses, the trauma that it imposes on the youth is substantial. As one interviewee shared, "Amhara students face a lot of racism and are often attacked. They also were not able to take their exams because they were kicked out of their houses, traumatized, experiencing grief" (Appendix 1, Interview 1). Such exclusion, reinforced by a discriminatory legislative system, is often inherited from their parents. As a result, young people are left in a very vulnerable position with many opportunities being ripped away from them. During the interview, all AAA members present described that it is the youth who are leading the resistance movement and diaspora, which also makes them a target of structural violence. The AAA interviewees confirmed saying that "when Amharas ask for democracy and challenge power, they are met with violence" (Appendix 1, Interview 1). This violence often leads to arbitrary arrests of youth suspected to support opposition forces or other ethnic-related rebel groups. The AAA Annual Human Rights Report stresses that government forces were responsible for at least 111 arbitrary and unlawful arrest cases in 2021 (Amhara Association of America, 2022).

Similarly to the Amhara, the Dalit youth in India is also deeply ostracized. The WJP Index gives India a 0.5 score (WJP, 2021). Living by the rules of the caste system, the Dalits are marginalized in every single aspect of their lives. Injustice directed at the Dalit causes profound trauma and suffering across generations as stigma follows an individual from birth until death (OHCHR, 2021). In India, the “Prevention of Atrocities Act” was passed by Parliament in 1989 to protect its citizens from targeted and discriminatory violence and to establish India’s responsibility to provide relief and rehabilitation to the services of such violence (Ramkumar et al., 2019).

Moreover, Article 17 of the Indian Constitution prohibits the concept of “untouchability” as well as its practice in any form. It continues by stating that “the enforcement of any disability arising out of “untouchability” shall be an offense punishable in accordance with law” (Grey, 2021). Despite the constitutional protections, the criminal justice system fails to provide equal protection (Freedom House, 2022). Throughout the interview, a multitude of stories regarding police brutality against young Dalit were shared. For example, a story from 2019 was shared about a man who belonged to an upper caste family who stabbed a 19-year-old Dalit girl after refusing to have sexual relations with him. This happened in front of the police, who intentionally overlooked the incident (Appendix 1, Interview 3).

Unfortunately, instances like this one are not rare. For the Dalit, it is common not to report offenses directed against them as police officers often take bribes from the perpetrators and because there are severe delays when it comes to police complaints (Appendix 1, Interview 1). As the caste system is based on descent, lower caste youth are fated to be marginalized as laws aimed to protect them are not consolidated nor performed: “You can change many things, but you cannot change your caste” (Appendix 1, Interview 3).

In Zambia, young people also are frequently disregarded by the legal system and often fall victim to the atrocities of a militant police force. More often than not, the system leaves the youth powerless. According to the CYLA interviewee, there is no legal transparency nor sharing of information with the population. One of the reasons for the extractive conduct of Zambia's legal system is that "the constitution still has aspects of colonialist practices" (Appendix 1, Interview 5). In Zambia's case, the formal rules inherited from colonialism have become patterns of interaction based on a common understanding that if they are contradicted, the authority will impose punishment upon information (Greif et al., 2011). In an extractive system in which women are still prevented from inheriting property, where youth are legally prohibited from speaking for themselves, where there is no existing bill of free speech, and where corruption among politicians and elites is abundant, marginalized groups become invisible (Appendix 1, Interview 5).

It is important to reiterate that it is crucial for ostracized groups to be represented and make their struggles visible while urgently calling for the 2025 UN World Social Development Summit. Nonetheless, the marginalized youth can only attain such a goal if their domestic system recognizes their existence as nationals.

Statelessness, from the legal perspective, occurs when individuals are not considered to be nationals, taking away their right to defend their social, political and economic rights in front of the law. It includes many barriers "including the denial of opportunities to: establish a legal residence, travel, work in the formal economy, send children to school, access basic health services, purchase or own property, vote, hold elected office, and enjoy the protection and security of a country" (UNHCR, 2014). Despite the existence of Article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states that everyone has the right to a nationality, there are

millions of people across the globe that still do not enjoy such right. One of these groups is the Rhino youth.

In Myanmar, the law is specially utilized to justify unfounded discriminatory actions against an entire ethnic community. The Rohingya are forced to be “living in survival mode” (Appendix 1, Interview 4). They are excluded from the system because the Myanmar government does not allow for the Rhino community to be granted citizenship after the 1982 Citizenship Act. As a result, the Rhino community has become “stateless” and “if you are not a citizen, you have no right to enjoy the benefits of the state” (Appendix 1, Interview 4). Due to their ethnicity they are identified as “poisonous plants”, “catfish”, and a “black tsunami” (Institute on Statelessness and Inclusion, 2020). Despite the global advocacy and recognition of the severe conditions the Rhino youth currently face, there has been no tangible progress. Without more international pressure and effective advocacy, the Rohingya youth will remain legally invisible.

Economics and Marginalization

In order to have an inclusive economy, ensuring that all members of society have equal opportunity to engage in the economy as employers, employees, entrepreneurs and as consumers is vital. Due to a myriad of consequences that stem from the exclusion of society, youth in marginalized groups are prevented from partaking in any of the aforementioned roles.

Douglas North argued that only economies for which property rights are effectively defended will witness success. He elaborated by claiming that “they mold the distribution of wealth and political power” (North, 1990). This theory is exemplified by the case of India where most of the Dalit community face the issue of landlessness. Based on the last Socio Economic and Caste Census elaborated in 2011, 71% of Dalit labourers are landless labourers with 58.4% of Dalit

households residing in rural areas (Yengde, 2019). Such circumstances only lead to dependency on the upper castes for economic prosperity. This coincides with the statement provided by the interviewee advocating for Dalit rights for which it is asserted that “upper classes maintain the country’s structure” (Appendix 1, Interview 3). A striking similarity is provided in Pankaj's article regarding an incident in the Uttar Pradesh region:

"My father has some land but that was taken away by upper caste people where my father was employed as agricultural labor. We did not have courage to ask that upper caste person regarding land because our entire family was dependent on him for food and employment in this land" (Pankaj, 2016).

For young Dalits in India and for the Amhara in Ethiopia, landlessness is passed down through generations, and in turn limits the youth’s employment opportunities. Rhino youth also experience landlessness, but the reason for their exclusion is entirely embedded in the consequences of statelessness.

Another prominent sphere in which groups are excluded from the economy is in the labor force. Even if they have the opportunity to receive a higher education, the mainstreamed ostracism young marginalized youth endure while searching for a dignified job often leaves them with little choice (Gavrilovic, 2010). In the case of the Dalits, unemployment is a direct cause for depression and even suicide (Appendix 1, Interview 3). Individuals with comparable employment experience, qualifications, skills, education, and training are treated differently based on socioeconomic status and ethnicity. In his 2016 article, "Land, Labour and Market", Pankaj explains that the discrimination in hiring for employment “...significantly affects their income and increases their inequality in income”. If they do get a job, Dalit youth among other marginalised groups around the world, are discriminated against via inequitable hiring terms which imply low and irregular wages, unsafe workplaces, long working hours and workplace discrimination (Pankaj, 2016). These conditions discourage youth from setting high ambitions

for themselves. The Dalit interviewee confirms that the high unemployment rate, creates a major barrier to economic inclusion (Appendix 1, Interview 3). Labor-market restrictions have a devastating effect on the overall economy. Newman and Thorat argue that market failure associated with economic discrimination spurs lower economic growth, income inequality, general poverty and conflict (Newman and Thorat, 2007).

Economic exclusion of marginalized groups is also evident in the worldwide economic structure. Importantly, marginalized groups are more likely to participate in the informal sectors (Williams, 2014). Those reliant on the informal economy as a means of livelihood earn relatively less than the average local worker. As a consequence, the informal economy reinforces inequalities, further marginalizing certain groups. In India, Dalit youth is either forced to work in sectors that entail cleaning toilets and disposing waste and garbage or to become migrant labourers (Appendix 1, Interview 3). In Zambia, youth are forced into the informal economy, particularly, women. The CYLA representative explains that women are exploited into sexual work and trafficking (Appendix 1, Interview 5). Formal economic exclusion pushes marginalized groups towards a fate defined by poverty and characterized by “poor health, education and malnutrition” (Pankaj, 2016).

As Esther Duflo and Abhijit Banerjee conclude in the 2011 book *Poor Economics*, poverty causes an evil circle from which marginalized groups in general struggle to escape from: the average return of investment derived from minimal amounts of income are not sufficient to maintain financial stability. In fact, the poorest, who are often also marginalized, end up spending more on a particular good than others due to being pushed into repeatedly buying low quality goods. Funds typically become inefficient when they all go to daily expenses. When a larger sum is granted, interest and withstanding payments prevent the opportunity for gaining sufficient

return on investment, sending the individual back into poverty. This cycle is worsened when society prevents them from climbing economically due to ethnic marginalization.

Though children are not active members of the economy, factors that dictate their future position within it are decided in childhood. Ethnically rooted marginalization in primary education is one of many prominent deciders. This is exemplified by the circumstances faced by the Dalit. According to the General Secretary of the National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights in India, Dalit students “are not allowed to sit at the front of the class, they are not allowed to eat with others, or play with kids from other castes” (UNHR, 2021). Statements made by the interviewee confirmed this segregation in both primary and secondary school. According to the World Bank, by the time Dalit children reach college, the majority have dropped out. The World Bank indicates that “...74% of Dalit boys and 71% of Dalit girls drop out of school between grades 1 and 10.” (The World Bank, 2011).

Similarly, Rhino youth also experience severe childhood discrimination. During the interview with the Rohingya Youth Association, one of the representatives explained that due to statelessness, enrolling into any academic or non academic activity is unthinkable, making it impossible to integrate and gain acceptance. Not only does this remove the opportunity for youth inclusion, but it also builds barriers on economic, social and political rights for young adults. From 1990, Rhino youth lost the right to pursue higher education within the fields of law, medicine, technology or geography, just to mention a few (Appendix 1, Interview 4). This exclusion from becoming high-skill workers functions as a major barrier to well embursed employment and thus, the role as active members of the economy. Furthermore, the conflict in 2012 led to one-quarter of the Rhino population living in displacement camps. Here, youth of all

ages relied on home-schooling at best, further deepening the inequality of opportunity for youth economic inclusion.

The case of the Amhara youth is comparable: according to the respondents, opportunities for economic inclusion are continuously spoiled due to recurring violent attacks and restrictive policies by the TPLF (Appendix 1, Interview 1). The trauma and grief directly impacts performance at work and in school. As a result, Amhara students are often unable to take their exams and therefore unable to access higher education and employment opportunities.

The recent COVID-19 pandemic has intensified economic inequality worldwide. Due to the sudden onset of intensified poverty, Dalits struggled to afford medical resources to protect themselves from the novel virus. Desperation due to poverty led to an increase in child labour and marriage (Appendix 1, Interview 7) furthering not only current, but future caste-based inequality.

This period of time has also increased the Zambian poverty gap and has prevented many insurance-less families from paying rent, utilities, medical bills and school fees. Other marginalized groups were completely excluded from health care during the pandemic, including access to vaccination. For instance, the Rhino population were excluded from the vaccination program and additional health services during the pandemic (Appendix 1, Interview 4). The government weaponised their status to justify discriminatory measures of the Rhino people, creating a precarious financial situation for their post-COVID lives.

Conclusion

An element marginalized groups tend to have in common is exclusion from basic services and often, a political voice. On the one hand, smaller marginalized groups go unheard in local, regional, national and international political spheres. On the other hand, larger marginalized groups often experience deliberate state-based ostracism and unintentional marginalization within the international political system. This implies two things. Firstly, it suggests that marginalized groups and minorities have little to do with one another, contrary to popular western belief. One of the most important insights from this report is our understanding of marginalization. In democratic societies we tend to believe that marginalization happens naturally due to the character of the utilitarian principle: the greatest good to the greatest number of people. This is problematic because it cannot be applied unilaterally. As exemplified by the case of the Amhara and the Rhino youth, non-democracies often subject entire demographics to human rights-based neglect on the basis of ethnicity. The way marginalization is spoken about and dealt with forms how it is understood. In turn, this shapes how we deal with its consequences. When we have different understandings of the issue, we enter into a state where those in power neglect marginalized groups.

The second implication suggests the need for a universal human right based social inclusion initiative which solidifies the term “marginalization” and has the ability to protect basic human rights, taking an inclusive rather than extractive approach to governance. International politics must shift their priorities to make space for those who are excluded twofold. If a nation does not ensure the human rights of its people, there is no entity that today can protect masses of individuals effectively (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, United Nations, 1948). This leaves millions of marginalized individuals in a situation where they are excluded from rights

that were made to be universal. In the same way that these individuals are entitled to their human rights, it is the duty of the international community to reach out and devise a solution. Until the world community takes considerable action, each and every group individually aims to achieve essential rights through unique best practices, which can be explored below.

Best Practices: A way forward

The findings of the project have directly led to a variety of best practices to supplement the 10 CDM commitments to social development. Below is a collection of best practices provided by each of the groups.

Harnessing the Internet

- For the Amhara youth, employing social media has proven itself as a great tool to organize, advocate, host debates and connect with a myriad of stakeholders ranging from congress-representatives, to the Amhara diaspora. Ensuring equal access to technological devices throughout the Amhara youth community is an embedded essential practice, as it allows a sense of unity for the movement. Ensuring technological inclusivity implies using social media in ways that may deviate from the mainstream. This might mean meeting in a Whatsapp group chat instead of in a Zoom meeting.
- Employing pop culture and humor in campaigns to engage youth worldwide has been mentioned as a best practice by CYLA, AAA and the Dalit representatives. An example of this could be using memes, TikToks or Instagram reels to convey messages and document instances.
- Using technology to ensure channels that effectively connect to those in power is essential for clearly communicating desire for change. The Amhara youth mentions a

software that is connected directly to congress where young leaders often send messages responding to actions in the political sphere or placing something on the agenda. This activity is then shared to the Amhara online network with the purpose of creating pressure while providing proof for the purpose of accountability.

- A best practice provided by CYLA involves hosting regular online discussion panels exclusively for the discussion of strategies toward future economic empowerment. The Rohingya Youth Association also highlights the useful nature of developing webinars and TV broadcasting. This has been a useful method to inspire togetherness and to stimulate new collective long term strategies to overcome economic marginalization in their communities.

Training the Young Leaders of Tomorrow

- Hosting leadership training programs for young female politicians has proven to be an influential method for empowering youth to create change nationally and internationally. This best practice was put forward by CYLA, who view young women as vehicles for change. Empowering young women with confidence and public speaking skills provides the ultimate means for expressing the group's needs to the elite community and to the politicians who currently hold power. Having the skills to negotiate and navigate national and international politics has proven to be a key way for youth to be taken more seriously.
- Outcome based training for young Dalit leaders, both nationally and internationally, online and in person, is vital for advocacy effectiveness. Similarly to CYLA, The Dalit Human Rights Defenders Network employ youth as agents for change through investing in them via structured “outcome based” training programs. This entails teaching youth based on three principles: catering to individual requirements, assisting learners and

providing particular criteria for what it means to reach success. When outcomes are met, they are positioned in environments where they can best influence their cause.

- Though IFES is not a marginalized group in itself, the agency has a clear mission on promoting the social inclusion of marginalized youth. A prominent best practice given is training for empowerment. They took part in forming the educational initiative called TAAP: Access to Justice, a program targeted at muslim young women in India, promoting the empowerment their social, economic and political participation.

Storytelling

- The Dalit Human Rights Defenders Network representative expresses the importance of advocacy and storytelling through art: it is imperative to uplift and mainstream marginalized rappers, painters, singers and film-makers who are speaking out against the mistreatment they receive. They are attempting to share their stories at a deeper level than what can be expressed through speech or text. This best practice proves especially helpful in engaging the illiterate as individuals who need alternative streams of information, and also youth, as they are the primary consumers of these mediums.
- The representatives of AAA stresses the importance of making claims that are well argued and backed up by evidence. Mobilizing youth around the world by reporting on specific instances for the press or through their own channels of communication has proven to be an effective way to engage the world community and to be taken seriously. The best practice to achieve this is providing transparent and thorough reporting alongside engaging storytelling in order to build a narrative which engages the global community.

Entering the Global Stage

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- Global advocacy is key, however, this is made difficult when a group lacks general access to the internet. Therefore, a best practice is engaging people locally through ad-hominem arrangements. The Rhino Youth expresses the value of safe congregation for their advocacy work where they can be taken seriously and host individuals or groups interested in furthering their cause.
 - As youth are often at the center of the family and have less entrenched traditional value systems, involving them in the fight for recognition and belonging is crucial in engaging entire communities. The Rohingya Youth Association representative expresses that once a young person is fighting for change, they are likely to get their family on board too, something that helps engage larger numbers of people in the fight for inclusivity. This “snowballing” method is a best practice and building block for taking space on global platforms. One could argue that being featured in this project is a step toward taking more space on the international agenda.
 - As reported by a representative from IFES, social inclusion must take up more space on the global political agenda. The best practice for ensuring this in the future is forming allied international stakeholders who are willing to listen to marginalized groups in a neutral setting regardless of political affiliation.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interviews

Interview 1, Amhara Association of America (AAA).

Date: 19/05/2022

Organization: Amhara Association of America

Country: Ethiopia

Summary of shared information

During this interview, AAA's chairman along with two young PhD candidates part of the Amhara diaspora volunteering with the association gave their insights and knowledge about the Amharas in Ethiopia. According to all interviewees, the Amharas are constantly used as scapegoats for everything that is wrong in the country even though the group does not actually have any power of any kind. The case of the Amharas is an unusual one as they are not a minority in Ethiopia. Regarding the population, the Amharas compose the culturally dominant group in many regions of the country but remain to be a minority in political representation. Throughout the interview, they repeatedly claim that the Amharas are targeted as part of an ethnic cleansing effort. This has resulted in the killings of hundreds, even thousands, of Amharas in the past years. Even though the Ethiopian government led by Abiy Ahmed officially spoke out about it, there has not been any actionable initiatives to prevent future violence from happening. The government, as mentioned by the interviewees, does not allocate sufficient resources to the Amhara region which has exacerbated their marginalization. The regions where the Amharas tend to inhabit are less socially developed, with less infrastructure and more impoverished. Even though they advocate for a democratic future, the most important and urgent need is to guarantee the survival of the Amharas by stopping rebel groups and other military forces from killing them. Towards the end of the interview, the participants finished by sharing the vital importance that youth leaders and involvement is for an effective advocacy campaign. Though the Amhara youth is the one leading the resistance movement and diaspora, more collaboration with older generations is needed to fight against the imbalance of power and authoritarian attitudes.

Collection of Direct Quotes

"With that being said, the Amhara people are a group that have been politically marginalized in recent consecutive regimes"

"Many districts in that region were sort of invaded and dismantled: health institutions, buildings, public/private property"

"There were allegations of sterilisation of women and mass genocide"

"That is really much linked with the idea of colonization - Europe colonizing Africa - there were a lot of ... you know... efforts to use ethnicity as a political leverage"

"Whenever something happens in the country - they are dominant, therefore they are responsible"

"They are not allowed to run for offices because they are not from that area"

"Democracy could be defined as listening to people, good governance - it is not just about elections and how to hold powers"

"In the Ethiopian context, democracy is very important because at stake it is not about development - yes, we need development - but people need to survive, Ahmara have been killed everywhere"

"Yes, democracy is crucial - it will let us survive"

"The legal system have systematically discriminated minority, and there has been actions like massacres, persecution by the states - all this is defined as an apartheid system"

Interview 2, International Foundation for Electoral System (IFES).

Date: 20/05/2022

Organization: IFES

Summary of shared information

For this interview, a senior advisor working for IFES gratefully shared his insights regarding the importance of empowering the people. In doing so, democracy is the best and only system that has worked. As he points out throughout the interview, democracy sets the environment that allows for the openness, inclusivity, and empowerment of society. The following three main topics are covered: the way in which elections are organized in a post-conflict state, the severe impact and threat climate change poses for vulnerable communities, and minority rights. The interviewee also stresses how paramount youth involvement is in efforts to establish more democratic systems as they are the key for change. Power should be shared voluntarily, which is why IFES aims to highlight the need to include marginalized communities in order to achieve social inclusivity and the benefits attached to establishing such a society.

Collection of Direct Quotes

"Democracy is the best we have - we have tried everything else, nothing really seems to work that well. We also tried this - which also has its faults but for the most part people have been more free, more empowered, more open, more included now than any time before in history that we know of. Though there is some evidence of native cultures being more inclusive then we are now."

"There seems to be something inherently human in wanting to have a say in issues that impact us. You see this in children who are not necessarily democracy activists."

"I have a three part role, I educate conflict, and all conflict related issues, post-conflict, transformations, communities moving past conflict, also active conflicts and how elections are held in these situations. Then I look at displacement and also climate change related displacement, and then thirdly I work with minority rights."

"The opportunity for marginalized youth is bigger now and we should be pushing for that."

"People have to develop awareness and voluntarily share power. Power shared is actually power multiplied. We have to create places where people who have power gain this understanding and should be pushed to create these opportunities for marginalized groups."

Interview 3, Manjula Pradeep.

Date: 12/05/2022

Organization: Dalit Human Rights Defenders Network

Country: India

Summary of shared information

During this scheduled interview, we had the pleasure to engage in an insightful conversation with Manjula Pradeep, who was recognized by BBC as Top 100 most influential women. Belonging to the Dalit community herself, she provided us with first-hand stories of what the Dalits endure on a daily basis in India. An important aspect that she raises is that despite having a Constitution in which the rights of low caste communities are protected, India's upper castes do not necessarily respect it when interacting with people from "inferior" social classes. She describes that depending on the caste someone is born into, opportunities of employment, education, political participation and legal representation are not the same for everybody. The Dalits are mostly fated into working in the "dirty job sector" of cleaning toilets and excrements, a practice that even though it is prohibited by law, many Dalits still perform it because members of upper

castes force them to. Even Dalit children in school are forced to clean toilets at school by their own teachers. One of the good parts of educational progress is that many of Dalit youths, especially boys, go to high-quality education in international universities. However, Dalit boys are falling into alcoholism and illicit substances. The Dalit boys are used by the government as a tool to do their dirty work: for example attacking Muslims, raping minorities, women and girls. The conditions the Dalits face are so horrible that many try to hide their caste identity by changing their family name when they move to other regions in India (Manjula's family did this too). Overall, this interview allowed us to further understand the violence, discrimination, and social stratification the Indian caste system possesses.

Collection of Direct Quotes

“Those who are doing cleaning excrements or cleaning toilets they are the Dalits”

“Our work makes us more filthy and dirty, so we are treated as impure and people will not want to touch us. Those in the upper caste do not want to associate with the Dalit communities”

“The resources are closer to the upper and dominant caste”

“The other community people live in dirt, in a filthy situation. There is no access to water or even basic amenities like toilets or housing.”

“Even to get a safety net around us is also challenging”

“Our people they suffer a lot of violence because of their caste identity”

“You feel terrible about being treated like an untouchable”

“Many times those who are moving from place to another they tend to hide their caste identity by changing the family name”

“In schools, the Dalit children are treated separately. They are not allowed to sit in front and they sit behind”

“Dalit children are forced to clean the toilets in the school because of their caste and the teachers force them to do this dirty work”

“Because you are low caste you will never grow in your life and you will continue doing the work your parents and grandparents did”

“The majority of our community people are still in the vicious cycle of poverty which is related to the work they are doing”

“If they want to leave that kind of work, because this work is inhumane, it creates backlash in the locality or village because the upper caste does not want our community to leave the dirty work we have been doing”

“The most important aspect is to make the community people feel that we are not lesser humans and that we should be proud of ourselves. But the upper caste push us back”

“We can change our gender, we can change our religion, but we cannot change our caste”

“The government’s mindset has not changed”

“We should not discuss anything about caste internationally. People like me are seen as anti-nationals”

"Dalits youth have a lots of potential"

"There are several Dalits youth who go to high-quality education, go to international universities - that is the good part of what it is happening in the education"

"They have so much sparke, so much energy, so much will power - they want to do something"

"Many of them set their own organization"

"Young boys are doing antisocial/illegal activities where they are attracted by the political parties Attack the muslim... To rape minority women and girls... So they have been used as tools, as objectives"

"Our youth are also in alchoolism, high level of alcoholism and they use substance illicit"

"A very dangerous situation we are going through"

"There is policy officer who raped our girls in the police station....It is not safe for Dalits women and girls to go the police station"

"There is one case where a Dalit man have been beaten up by the police man"

Interview 4, Rohingya Youth Association.

Date: 19/05/2022

Organization: Rohingya Youth Association

Country: Myanmar

Summary of shared information

For this interview, an anonymous person shared his own experience as a young migrant Rohingya in Bangladesh. Moreover, he provided relevant insight into the horrendous and inhumane conditions the Rhino community face on a daily basis due to the government of Myanmar's discriminatory and violent actions. According to the interviewee, the Rohingya are persecuted because of their indigenous nature and Muslim religion. The government actively spreads propaganda and misinformation about the Rohingya such as the territorial argument that the Rhino group do not ethnically belong to the country but to Bangladesh, to justify their perpetrated human right violations. Ever since the 1982 Citizenship Act passed, the Rohingya have remained powerless with their economic, political, and civil rights deliberately stripped away from them. He describes that because they are not protected nor recognized by the law, that government security forces such as the police have basically free reign to behave however they want to against them with impunity. Such level of political and military violence directed against the Rohingya has pushed a lot of Rhino youth to leave in search of opportunity like he himself was forced to do. However, leaving Myanmar is not the solution to the problem as they remain stateless regardless of where they relocate to, meaning that they are not effectively protected or entitled to rights as human beings anywhere around the world. The interview ended with the anonymous interviewee stressing the need to create more partnerships for help and for more opportunities to gain a platform and be heard as young activists fighting against systemic ethnic persecution.

Collection of Direct Quotes

“We have nothing here, we have no future”

“Our condition is not good, it is not normal. We are suffering”

“Myanmar government tried to destroy our society”

“They dislike the Muslim religion so they try to persecute us.”

“Our political right has been destroyed”

“The people have no economic rights also”

“Everywhere, we are excluded”

“The Rohingya are not citizens of Myanmar, so we have no rights to vote and to be elected”

“I mean... we are not good... because we have nothing here. Yea, we have no future, we have no jobs, we have no facility, we have no option here in Bangladesh”

“The government tried to kill and destroy us when they got the chances”

“This is a very horrible situation... if you observe the Rohingya people, everywhere we are excluded - as a human being, we have the rights, no one can deny our rights of integration, our right of liberty, our right of freedom, no one can deny”

“After 1990, Rohingya have no rights to study subjects like laws, medicine, technology, geography - these are modern subjects”

"The Rohingya did have access to any vaccine facilities.... In fact, the Rohingya are very worried because other communities are getting vaccin there.... And we feel very horrible, Rohingya are not getting the vaccine... which decreased our health system"

"It is very necessary... It is very important to include everyone in society. If Myanmar wants to be an inclusive society, they should include us... because we are decision-makers, we are stakeholders.... To belong in our whole society... We belong... What we have, our rights, what should we take and what we should not take... we have to explain when they are making the decisions"

"Young people are part of the community. They are the majority now around the whole. We should give them the chance"

"We are working for youth development and for community development. And for that issue, we tried to give the training youth advancement, youth leadership, youth communication and advocacy, and human rights"

Interview 5, Inonge Simakumba for CYLA

Date: 11/06/2022

Organization: Center for Young Leaders in Africa

Country: Zambia, Africa

Summary of Shared Information

During this interview, Inonge Simakmba from CYLA, a Zambia based organization was interviewed. In the interview, the representative spoke about their core ideological mission: ensuring youth involvement in political decision making to prepare them for future roles in leadership. They spoke about how the past political landscape has been “owned” by men over 35 who sideline youth by excluding them from legislation strategically to remain the main beneficiaries of the legal system as it is. They described a variety of training programs that empower young people, especially women and girls and framed them as best practices. Since 2017 they expressed that they have been dedicated to leading the path to inclusive governance through empowerment. Not only do they voice concern for local political and economic inclusion for youth, they are also spokespersons for global inclusivity of Zambians and Malawans. Issues that marginalize Zambian youth in particular revolve around a lack of protective laws for property, inheritance, jobs and physical and sexual security of children and young people, especially when congregating for political matters. Other than advocating for free speech and congregation, their main goal as an organization is currently to implement a quota based mixed member electoral system in Zambia, a project Inonge is working on as a project assistant. This will hopefully further the movement toward inclusive governance which they are already seeing progress through the “voting landslide” of youth participants seen in recent years. The interview continued with a brief discussion on alumni activities for those who have graduated from CYLA projects. This is done in order to keep close bonds and share connections to make further impact or even speak in front of new program attendees. The great passion expressed by the organization can be overwhelming for participants who are not on the same page, but Inonge underscored that the pros of this best practice outweighed the cons. Finally, the representative expressed interest in further collaboration with UN related actors.

Collection of Direct Quotes

“We have a program designed to take young politicians from political parties that have representation in our parliament through a leadership course that encompasses things on political leadership, inclusive governance, economic development to prepare them for a world where they are in charge”.

“We have the young women in politics project which is the project that I assist on which is designed to amplify and platforming young women in politics and also linking them to mentors, that is women in leadership positions”

“Then we have the mixed member electoral system project where we advocate for the adoption of a mixed member electoral system that guarantees a quota of representation for young people, women and persons with disabilities.”

“In terms of challenges, it is challenging to be a young person in Zambia. Especially a young woman or a young person with a disability. For young women you have issues of misogyny, issues of being associated with prostitution simply because you want to go into the political realm. That's another thing that the whole project is trying to dismantle, those stereotypes associated with young women in politics. The stereotype that they are aggressive and immoral and generally crooked.”

“Then there's also the issue of being dictated to. We have a patriarchal system which is basically a system adopted in many countries in the world. But for Zambia it's difficult because most of the time women are dictated where they can and cannot dominate. Most of the time, it benefits them to relegate women to the sidelines and then men, normally older men above 35, take charge and dictate what works or doesn't work for us. Then what we have is laws that sidelines us.”

“It's not so much laws that relegate us to the sidelines, but more of the lack of laws that speak to us. But there are some laws that are retrogressive. We do not have laws that guarantee women's property rights. We do have a lot of instances of property grabbing and we do have a lot of instances of women being denied inheritance because they are female.”

“A lot of young women are being forced into child marriage, because there are no laws protecting them against that. We have a very high defilement record for children in general. We also have high levels of marital rape because we don't have laws that explicitly punish marital rape.”

“We do not have laws that allow young people to speak for themselves so for example we have the penal code which is very biased against young people assembling and speaking their minds. It gives a lot of power to police, and our police are very militarized. So you have issues where young people want to assemble but they can't because they're going to be teargassed and they do. We had three or 4 instances where students were killed because they were part of an assembly of young people just protesting.”

Interview 6, Prachi Salve.

Date: 08/06/2022

Country: India

Summary of shared information

During this interview, Prachi Salve shared with us her rich experience working as an activist for the Dalit population, especially in the Maharashtra state in India. By exemplifying real life cases happening in India, she showed to us how prevalent and entrenched the caste system is. Even in the 21st century, the caste system continues to permeate the Indian society as a whole. According to the interview, there are several challenges in the achievement of inclusivity for marginalized youth in India. To mention a few, she spoke about insufficient allocation of funding for improving the status of marginalized communities, gender inequality, difficulty in the implementation of the “Preventions of Atrocities Act”, challenges of getting access to legal justice which all expose the realities of the systematic marginalization faced by lower caste communities. She spoke about how Dalit communities are boycotted from interacting with the upper castes, and how the police turn a deaf ear to marginalized people’s voice for justice in preference of bribery. The examples she mentioned are sensitive rape cases, in which the girl from lower caste spent twelve years to bring criminals to justice whereas it took nine months for the girl from upper castes to get the final verdict. Despite these tragic facts, a trace of hope is still existing. She shared that democracy has the ability to give voice to the voiceless and social media plays a big role in advocacy and collaboration. Over the years, Prachi and her team has led progress on inclusivity, creating a movement by involving the extensive network including various institutions and creating platforms for advocacy. Through the lens of gender, she underscores the importance of building networks for marginalized women and youth while understanding the intersectionality between women from different caste strata. Furthermore, COVID-19 has exacerbated the already difficult situation faced by marginalized communities in terms of jobs, education, financial support and distribution of healthcare equipment. At the end of the interview, Prachi shared with us the best practices with great passion which entailed capacity building, gender-based training as well as collaborations with institutions.

Collection of Direct Quotes

"In a village, Dalit communities live separately from the upper communities... I found these settings in the village... They are literally discriminated against.... There is discrimination in the water distribution...They have different quarter of resources from the upper communities.... The water tap was very low compared to upper class where the water was very high"

“There were some women from lower caste, they were growing vegetables but when they were going to sell in a market, they were saying ... vegetables won't belong to our farm. It is from the farm of an upper caste person. If only so, the customer will purchase those vegetables. If the women say okay, this vegetable belongs to my land or my farm, then the customers won't buy it.”

“When we say we are entering 21st century, but the caste system is still existing. So these are big turning points for consistency work in this field”

“Allocation (funding) is not sufficient for improving the status of marginalized communities, they are actually behind these policies...Budgeting is also very blind for women...there is no specific (budget) allocation for women coming from marginalized group”

“ Upper caste people see women from the lower caste, like they can do anything with the women from the marginalized community ... they forcefully marry the girl, you know, and sometimes they fall in love with the girl .. and they deny they say no, I don't want to marry you, because you're from the lower caste.”

“A girl from lower caste got raped by various people from the village because she was trying to into the education and develop...She took more than 12 years to get the justice and in a recent case in New Delhi where the upper caste girl got raped , she was from the dominant caste,she got a conviction after nine month..we see how the state respond differently to different cases”

“When I am a victim, I need to fight a lot. If i am from the marginalized community, it's.. battle for me to get the access to the justice”

“Activists working for marginalized people got killed because they don't have enough security for such people...that's why we need to work in a network”

“The status of women from upper caste communities or dominant communities and the women from the lower caste communities are hugely different.In one study, we found that the women(from lower caste communities) died 14.5 years earlier than dominant caste women.There is a huge difference within women... these differences are not getting mentioned by the mainstream media”

Appendix 2: Ethical Protocol

Before the interview, it is necessary for us team to ensure that we make ourselves clear and thus inform you of the following:

- Since your participation is voluntary, you may withdraw at any time before/during the interview without being any reason;
- Should you not wish to answer any particular questions, you are free to decline;

-
- The Zoom meeting will be recorded with your permission and store electronically the data you provide me until the project is successfully completed. No other use will be made of the recording without your consent.

If you have any questions or concerns about the interview, or if you are concerned about how it is being conducted, you can always direct our team to email.

Appendix 3: Interview: Semi-Structured Questions

Date:

Organization:

Country:

This project aims to provide a set of concise recommendations in the form of a list of good practices surrounding inclusivity for Club de Madrid to potentially present at the World Social Summit in 2025.

The data collected will be used for academic activities and potentially be used in a published final report. We will keep your responses anonymous if you would prefer. Should you feel uncomfortable answering any of these questions, please feel free to abstain from responding.

We will discuss three broad topics (political, economic, and legal inclusion) through the lens of an informal set of eight open ended questions.

1. What are the key inclusivity challenges faced by your group?
2. To what degree do you feel democracy is an effective tool for change in your country?
3. Which official institutions are key supportive players in your fight for social inclusivity?
4. What role does the youth play in your group's agenda?
5. How are they uniquely impacted by marginalization?

6. Does your group/organization receive support from any multilateral channels, if so which ones and how are they helpful in fulfilling your agenda?
7. How has COVID-19 impacted your group's progress in achieving social inclusiveness/development?
8. How important is social media and information technology in your advocacy work?
9. Can you think of any initiatives that have not produced favorable results?
10. Which best practices does your organization/group prioritize for fighting marginalization?

Appendix 4: World Justice Project Rule of Law Index 2021

South Asia

Country/Jurisdiction	Regional Rank	Overall Score*	Change in Overall Score*	% Change in Overall Score*	Global Rank	Change in Global Rank†						
Nepal	1/6	0.52	-0.01	-1.1%	70	2 ▼						
Sri Lanka	2/6	0.50	-0.02	-3.0%	76	3 ▼						
India	3/6	0.50	-0.01	-1.9%	79	3 ▼						
Bangladesh	4/6	0.40	-0.01	-2.8%	124	1 ▲						
Pakistan	5/6	0.39	0.00	-0.4%	130	0						
Afghanistan	6/6	0.35	-0.01	-2.7%	134	1 ▼						

Sub-Saharan Africa

Country/Jurisdiction	Regional Rank	Overall Score*	Change in Overall Score*	% Change in Overall Score*	Global Rank	Change in Global Rank†						
Rwanda	1/33	0.62	0.00	0.5%	42	2 ▲						
Namibia	2/33	0.62	-0.01	-1.2%	44	2 ▼						
Mauritius	3/33	0.61	-0.01	-0.9%	45	0						
Botswana	4/33	0.59	-0.01	-1.5%	51	1 ▼						
South Africa	5/33	0.58	0.00	-0.4%	52	0						
Senegal	6/33	0.55	0.00	0.5%	57	2 ▲						
Ghana	7/33	0.55	-0.01	-2.2%	58	0						
Malawi	8/33	0.52	0.01	1.0%	67	5 ▲						
Burkina Faso	9/33	0.50	0.00	-0.9%	75	2 ▲						
The Gambia	10/33	0.49	-0.02	-3.1%	89	8 ▼						
Benin	11/33	0.49	-0.01	-2.3%	91	3 ▼						
Tanzania	12/33	0.47	-0.01	-1.1%	100	1 ▲						
Togo	13/33	0.45	0.00	0.9%	103	4 ▲						
Côte d'Ivoire	14/33	0.45	-0.02	-3.4%	105	2 ▼						
Kenya	15/33	0.44	0.00	-0.9%	106	4 ▲						
Zambia	16/33	0.44	-0.01	-2.3%	107	2 ▼						
Sierra Leone	17/33	0.44	-0.01	-1.5%	108	0						
Liberia	18/33	0.44	-0.01	-2.6%	110	4 ▼						
Niger	19/33	0.44	-0.01	-1.5%	111	0						
Madagascar	20/33	0.44	0.00	-0.6%	112	1 ▲						
Angola	21/33	0.43	0.00	0.5%	114	4 ▲						
Mali	22/33	0.43	-0.01	-2.9%	115	1 ▼						
Sudan	23/33	0.42	-	-	116	-						
Congo, Rep.	24/33	0.42	-	-	118	-						
Guinea	25/33	0.41	-0.01	-1.4%	120	1 ▲						
Nigeria	26/33	0.41	-0.02	-3.7%	121	3 ▼						
Ethiopia	27/33	0.41	0.00	-1.0%	122	2 ▲						
Mozambique	28/33	0.40	-0.01	-2.9%	123	0						
Uganda	29/33	0.39	0.00	-0.9%	125	2 ▲						
Zimbabwe	30/33	0.39	0.00	0.0%	127	2 ▲						
Mauritania	31/33	0.36	0.00	0.9%	133	1 ▲						
Cameroon	32/33	0.35	-0.01	-2.1%	135	0						
Congo, Dem. Rep.	33/33	0.35	0.00	1.2%	137	0						

East Asia and Pacific

Country/Jurisdiction	Regional Rank	Overall Score*	Change in Overall Score*	% Change in Overall Score*	Global Rank	Change in Global Rank†
New Zealand	1/15	0.83	0.01	0.7%	7	0
Australia	2/15	0.79	-0.01	-1.2%	13	0
Japan	3/15	0.79	0.01	0.8%	15	2 ▲
Singapore	4/15	0.78	-0.01	-1.0%	17	3 ▼
Hong Kong SAR, China	5/15	0.75	-0.02	-2.0%	19	0
Korea, Rep.	6/15	0.74	0.00	0.4%	20	0
Malaysia	7/15	0.57	-0.01	-1.4%	54	0
Mongolia	8/15	0.54	0.01	2.0%	61	3 ▲
Indonesia	9/15	0.52	-0.01	-1.0%	68	2 ▼
Thailand	10/15	0.50	-0.01	-2.2%	80	2 ▼
Vietnam	11/15	0.49	0.00	-0.6%	88	4 ▲
China	12/15	0.47	-0.01	-1.9%	98	2 ▼
Philippines	13/15	0.46	-0.01	-2.9%	102	3 ▼
Myanmar	14/15	0.39	-0.03	-6.3%	128	6 ▼
Cambodia	15/15	0.32	-0.01	-2.3%	138	0

Appendix 5: Group Assemblage requested by Club de Madrid

JULY 2022 |

ASSEMBLAGE OF ORGANIZATIONS

COLLECTION OF CONTACTED ADVOCACY ORIENTED ORGANIZATIONS



**CLUB
DE
MADRID**

IE MID STUDENTS
Partnering with
World Leadership
Alliance, Club de
Madrid

THE AMHARA ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA (AAA)

The Amhara Association of America (or AAA) is an Ethiopian-American civic organization advocating for the Amhara people. The organization's main mission is to advance the political and humanitarian interests of the Amharas across Ethiopia.

The Amhara people have been historically targeted and more recently, by the ethnonationalist's Tigray's People Liberation Front (TPLF). The Amharas, despite being a dominant ethnicity in Ethiopia, have been the victims of violence perpetrated by the TPLF, government forces and other armed-groups. In efforts to raise awareness of the situation, AAA, with youth serving as a front, actively advocates for the engagement of policymakers, members of US Congress, human rights organizations, and media agencies to facilitate change.



ORGANIZATION'S MISSION.

- Expand the humanitarian needs of the Amharas.
- Building a strong global network to effectively enact change.
- Supporting Amharas in Ethiopia that have been violently targeted.
- Ensuring Amhara civic organizations are loudly heard.
- "Providing social opportunities and assistance to Amharas in America, social networking and supporting career opportunities" (AAA)

POINTS OF CONTACT:

- **Name of interviewees:** Robel Alemu, Hone Mandefro Belaye, Tewodrose Tirfe
- **Email Address:** info@amharaamerica.org
- **Website:** <https://www.amharaamerica.org/>

« Will you stand with us? »



POINTS OF CONTACT:

- Name of the Interviewee 1: Manjula Pradeep
- Email Address: manjula.hp@gmail.com
- Name of the Interviewee 2: Prachi Salve
- Email Address: prachi06salve@gmail.com
- Website: <https://www.dhrdnet.org/>

THE DALIT HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDERS NETWORKS

The Dalit Human Rights Defenders Networks (DHRDNet) "is a coalition of over 1000 Dalit human rights defenders from different states of India. However, DHRDNet mostly concentrates its work in five states - Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra and Karnataka".

Dalit castes, is the lower stratum cases in India. There were excluded from the four-fold varna system of Hinduism and were seen as fifth varna, also known by the name of Panchama.

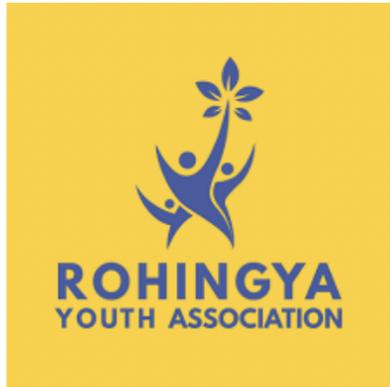


ORGANIZATION'S MISSION

- Enhancing the capacity-building efforts of Dalit Human Rights Defenders (HRD)
- Improving access to justice for the Dalits
- Expanding HRD's visibility and create dialogue with Indian public and government authorities
- "I am Dalit Youth" campaign to encourage youth participation



« Cast Out Cast »



ROHINGYA YOUTH ASSOCIATION

The Rohingya Youth Association (RYA) is an inclusive digital network founded and run by Rohingyas. RYA specifically focus on role of youth, defined as central and paramount, in changing the Myanmar's society for the better.

After Myanmar passed the 1982 Citizenship Act to legally remove the citizenship status from the Rohingya community, the Rhino group has remained stateless to this day. As the most persecuted ethnic group in the world, Rohingyas are constantly targeted with impunity. Young Rohingyas have inherited the political violence and RYA aims to create a strong youth-led diaspora and global network to end the situation once it for all.

ORGANIZATION'S MISSION

- Youth-led advocacy for justice and holding the Myanmar government accountable for the constant gross human rights violations

POINTS OF CONTACT:

- Name of the Interviewee: Khin Maung
- Email Address: KhinMaung2022@protonmail.com
- Facebook Profile: Rohingya Youth Association



« We, Rohingya, deserve JUSTICE »



POINTS OF CONTACT:

- **Name of the Interviewee:** Inonge Simakumba
- **Email Address:** inongesimakumba@gmail.com
- **Website:** <https://www.cylazambia.org/>

CENTER FOR YOUNG LEADERS IN AFRICA (CYLA)

The Center for Young Leader in Africa, CYLA, focus all of its attention advocating for the inclusion and representation of young people across Zambia. Since 2017, CYLA has led the fight towards a path of inclusive leadership and comprehensive empowerment of Zambia's youth, women, and persons living with disabilities. In doing so, CYLA previous projects include PYP/CYLA Training, Peace Walks, CYLA Youth Debates and many others.



ORGANIZATION'S MISSION

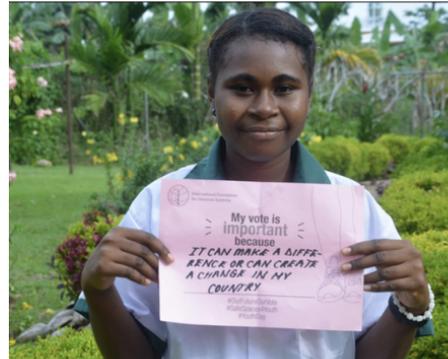
- "To provide a multi-party platform for young leaders to advocate, dialogue, and mobilize for social transformation and self-development"
- Building strong networks to make mission more attainable



« Young people are not just the leaders of tomorrow. They are the leaders of today - Kathy Calvin »

INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS (IFES)

The International Foundation for Electoral Systems, as a global NGO leader in the promotion of democracy, it focuses on bringing attention to issues surrounding governance and elections around the world. Aiming to ensure electoral integrity and accountability, IFES operates in efforts to empower underrepresented and marginalized groups such as youth in political processes. IFES collaborates with civil society, public and private institutions to learn and adapt what best serves the people. Since 1987, IFES has worked in more than 145 countries, ranging from developing to advanced countries.



ORGANIZATION'S MISSION

- "Building resilient democracies that deliver for all"
- Empowering the people for which governments have to serve
- "Establishing inclusive relationships based on trust and mutual respect"



POINTS OF CONTACT:

- Name of the Interviewee: Vasu Mohan
- Email Address: vmohan@ifes.org
- Website: <https://www.ifes.org>

« Democracy for a better future »

Appendix 6: Literature Review

LITERATURE REVIEW

1. FOUNDATIONAL LITERATURE

Theoretical Foundation

To begin this literature review, we build our case arguing why social inclusivity is of inherent importance and acts as an invisible cornerstone of global partnership and progress. An appeal to social inclusivity serves as a basis for this research and opens up to further discussion on inclusivity in specific circumstances.

With that in mind, the first foundational piece of literature will be the Theory of Justice by John Rawls. In this historic piece, Rawls lays out an argument with universal appeal: we should be able to enter the world with any arbitrary feature, with equal chance of a dignified life. This idea is also known as the “veil of ignorance” which alludes to the image of vulnerability in a world where vulnerability does not need to exist. He specifically uses his theory as a springboard to inspire inclusion in formal institutions and legislation, however, one could argue that in order for formality to reflect these values, inclusive informalities have to pave the way first. We can draw parallels between this piece and our research: accepting groups for who they are should be of utmost importance and as a society, we should act under the philosophy of the theory of justice. Under the veil of ignorance, marginalized groups would not be marginalized and inclusivity would not be something that would have to be fought for (Rawls, 1971). We assuredly share his goal.

When we write about inclusivity, we are by proxy discussing the ingredients to good governance. Another scholar dedicated to discovering good governance practices is Margaret Levi. In her piece “Why we need a new theory of government”. In her overarching theory, she mentions how the only missing ingredient is a mechanism on how to include all of the people over the long term. In essence, she discusses the sustainability of inclusivity, something that is imperative when doing research on marginalized groups (Levi, 2006). Not only do we need to focus on how marginalization comes to be as a phenomenon, we also have to understand how we can inspire the three main kinds of inclusivity; social, political and economic, to remain at the center of policy creation and of society itself and within this, how we can include marginalized people in both formal *and* informal institutions: this means coming to terms with and breaking down the social barriers of ingrained xenophobia, a sphere of importance that will function as the heart of this research.

Continuing the discussion on formal and informal institutional exclusion, *Poor Economics* by Esther Duflo and Abhijit Banerjee take a more practical approach to marginalization, and in particular focus on economic marginalization, or, poverty, something that is often the most detrimental result of all three forms of exclusion. Poverty causes an evil circle that reinforces the mechanism of marginalization. It leaves us begging the question: poor due to exclusion or excluded due to poverty? It is both, and that is what makes this solution so complex. The authors stress that we cannot know if the efforts of the rich help because we have no counterfactual. Maybe it would be worse if we were not taking action? Most people take physical action: send money, hand out malaria nets. Hundreds of RCTs presented in this book show that it isn't always that simple. For instance, sending free nets might ruin the market and sending money won't make a sustained difference. We do without understanding what these people need (Duflo et. al., 2012).

This is why we, in this study, focus on the social aspect of marginalization. Could it be that a change in informal rules could help us understand what the marginalized need in order to break the evil circle? We need to understand the needs of marginalized groups and to begin to tackle this, we will start with the youth.

Practical Foundation

Not only is inclusivity ethically imperative, but it is also practically crucial as argued by the economist Amartya Sen: “There is empirical evidence that living in unequal societies with some people being much worse off, economically and socially, tends to produce deprivations in the absolute quality of life that people enjoy” (Panandiker, 2017). By proxy, a nation needs to be inclusive both socially and practically in order to succeed: the book *Why Nations Fail* written by Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson in 2013, employs their understanding of institutions to express their ideas of why some nations fail and why others succeed. Based on the book’s core argument, extractive institutions cause nations to fail due to their lack of commitment towards inclusive rules. The political, economic, and social inclusivity carried out by inclusive institutions is what contributes to the success of nations. Inclusive societies strive toward meritocracy and build democratic nations, whereas extractive societies fall victim to monopoly-breeding autocracies. The fundamental ideas and statements from *Why Nations Fail* are rather modern; that is, the book speaks about the current world. It provides a guide to how inclusivity leads to economic and social growth. Both Sen and Acemoglu provide us with yet another reason to advocate for the inclusion of marginalized peoples: a nation is only a nation when unified, and unification, especially social unification, cannot happen when some are subject to political, economic, and social exclusion (Acemoglu et. al. 2012).

The ‘leave no one behind’ mandate seeks to practically address disparities that are affecting the most vulnerable and marginalized populations by focusing on policy, data and finance, to achieve inclusive institutions. It argues that the elimination of absolute gaps is essential to equalize life chances as reducing prevailing inequalities is crucial for the development of all sorts of capabilities (Samman, 2021). In order to do so, it is necessary to go beyond national averages when concentrating on policy outcomes and future policy-making. In the report written by Emma Samman et al. (2021) it introduces three elements that serve to emphasize the needs of the most disadvantaged groups. The first one, progressive universalism, argues for reprioritizing the most vulnerable in both the allocation of policy resources and in the timeline for expansion of programmes to the whole population (Samman 2021). The second element, the integration of anti-discrimination measures, is presented as a key factor that includes policy actions such as positive discrimination across the educational, labor, and political dimensions (Samman 2021). However, both elements cannot fully be integrated without the recognition of intersectionality between social, economic, and political facets.

With the adoption of the 2030 Agenda, countries all over the world have committed to ensure that no one will be left behind and to “endeavor to reach the further behind first” (UNDP, 2018). For the purpose of aiding UN Member States to advance on their SDG progress, the UNDP has provided a framework that governments can utilize to act on such commitment. The framework, which complements the Samman report, introduces five key factors to better understand who and why disadvantaged groups are left behind. Discrimination, geography, governance, socioeconomic status, and shocks and fragility are presented as the central elements for countries to be able to understand the conditions that exacerbate who is left behind and why (UNDP,

2018). It suggests that countries take an integrated approach with the five actors by “drawing on mutually reinforcing ‘levers’ to *examine, empower, and enact* change (UNDP, 2018).

2. TOPIC LITERATURE

Given the proliferation around the concept of the Global South, it is becoming increasingly difficult to elaborate a pristine definition about what the South means. In fact, the concept of South was produced in the first place in the report of the Brandt Commission in 1980, where it was used to identify and illustrate ‘countries that failed to base their economies on high added value manufactured products and, thus, to overcome widespread poverty’ (Wagner 2017). Nowadays, it could be said that the Global South is ‘neither embedded in a fixed territorial context, nor floating in the realm of ‘unmoored’ globalization’ (Papastergiadis 2010).

In the book of Youth, Inequality and Social Change in the Global South, it argues that youth make “...visible the challenges and tensions, and opportunities, at the interior of Global South societies, which strongly impact on young people’s lives. Within these tensions, we can see social and spatial segregation, sexual division of labour, women placed in roles of caring, and conflict and violence affecting the youth. ”

In terms of the youth study in Global South, Cooper and colleagues (2018) identify several of these southern voices in the space youth studies, such as Honwana’s (2011, 2012) work on childhood and youth and politics in postcolonial Africa and De Souza, Kumar and Shastri’s (2009) work on the challenges faced by Indian youth in experiencing with poverty and unemployment. Other interesting research has been conducted by Chuta (2007) in rural Ethiopia, by documenting childhood and youth experiences;

At international level, an international research project known as the YOMA (an acronym for ‘Youth at the Margins’) project focuses specifically on the topical issue of marginalized youth by comparing South Africa and Nordic countries, initiating an ongoing process to South-North collaboration.

At national level, the Government of Tunisia launched the IDMEJ youth project to strengthen youth inclusion. IDMEJ means “inclusion and cooperation” in Arabic. The project provides emergency income support and short-term employment to 3,000 youth with a secondary education or less—mostly youth who are not in education, employment, or training (NEETs)—in the disadvantaged governorates of Kasserine and Siliana in the central-western region of Tunisia. Also in Morocco, the Supporting the Economic Inclusion of Youth project aims to support increased access to economic opportunities for youth in the Marrakesh-Safi area.

We tend to speak of social inclusion generally, however we recognise the importance of contextualization. In this section, types of social inclusivity will be discussed alongside the role of marginalized groups and their position to realize integral commodities. UNRISD narrows down the multidimensional concept with the following quote from their 2015 paper: social inclusion is said to highlight the lack of opportunity due to “...poverty, unemployment, various forms of inequality, political participation and social cohesion.” Granted that this piece of literature is over a decade old, the defining fundamentals remain intact and the issue remains imminent upcoming to the 2030 agenda (UNRISD, 2015). In *The Sociology of Social Inclusion*, Dan Allmann simplifies the vision by discussing marginalized groups as people on the outside of political and economic inclusion, thus leading to social alienation. The question then becomes: what causes people to be cast out? He alludes to the point that newcomers and minorities of different religions, ethnicities and ideologies have a harsher time initially integrating into pre-existing economic and social systems, and this exclusion follows individuals for generations

causing social divides and poverty traps (Allman, 2013). In the long term, hidden biases and xenophobia flourishes, causing the social marginalization we see today, undermining the meritocratic ideals many institutions claim to protect. Individuals who are part of marginalized groups have the burden of not being recognised as residences, on top of an unjustified poor reputation. Moreover, the majority consensus blocks opportunities for minorities to claim goods on an arbitrary basis. This dynamic spurs the need for countermeasures against exclusion, including the strengthening of inclusive institutions, policy and awareness (UNDP, 2010). Specifically, equity needs to be prioritized to contextualize every instance of marginalization. In the next section, the focus will be on context, countermeasures and the role youth plays in mitigating and studying the effects of marginalization.

To add on the significance of contextualization, the DESA/UN working paper *The Context of Social Inclusion* aims to provide further understanding on social inclusion across different types of institutions as a “context-dependent” element. What social inclusion means as well as what it takes to achieve social inclusivity varies across countries and regions. The author, Hilary Silver, contends that inclusivity looks different depending on its context and therefore, cannot be homogeneously defined. Secondly, diverse historical backgrounds influence the creation and development of political, economic, and social institutions around the globe in an uneven manner. Countries have different histories, cultures, institutions, and social hierarchies that shape national and subnational understandings of social inclusion as they interact with one another. Some members of a country may even hold transnational conceptions of social inclusion, identifying as European or Arab for example, or even feeling part of a national diaspora. It is important to take into consideration the diverse national conceptions of what constitutes social inclusion when discussing pathways to achieve SDG progress in areas such as inequality. There

is no one-size-fits-all approach to comprehending how economic, political, and social dimensions in a nation may foster or hinder social inclusion, especially among marginalized groups. As author Hilary Silver states, “to say that exclusion and inclusion vary in meaning and manifestations across contexts is not gainsay the impact of globalization trends in generating exclusion, but rather to insist that national and local solidarities and institutions mediate those trends and lead to distinctive patterns in different places.” (Silver, n.d)

Furthermore, *The Context of Social Inclusion* further develops on the “context-dependent” element introducing the concept of luck. It contends that depending on the country or region someone might live in, they will experience different levels of access to resources, services, and political, economic, and social opportunities which directly affect how their comprehension of social inclusion is sculpted. The author poses an interesting question: Inclusion sounds good - but on whose terms? Inclusivity is very much based on individualistic perspectives. (Silver, n.d)

Therefore, when assisting marginalized groups in the name of inclusion, it is vital to understand under which context in order to avoid including them in ways they did not choose or envision. As to our project, this article provides us with the necessary considerations that will be used when interviewing young leaders from diverse backgrounds and stories. It is crucial for us to analyze each interaction through active listening and with the main goal being to avoid generalizations. (Silver, n.d)

3. COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

For the final section of this literature review, we compare a policy review made by the European Research Area to our project questions. The policy review of the European Research

Area: *Social inclusion of youth on the margins of society: more opportunities, better access, and higher solidarity* is similar to our literature in terms of scope (youth and inequality). It focuses on the situation of some specific youth groups in the European youth policy context. The objectives of the review are: "to provide an overview of the reasons for their precarious situations and to formulate the policy issues; to visualize the policy challenges needed to produce greater social inclusion through more opportunities and better access to education and the labor market within the framework of solidarity between these young people and the wider society; to highlight policy implications for cross-border policy transfer; and to contribute with research-based recommendations" (Kutsar, 2012)

In the article "*Youth Civic Engagement: Do Youth Councils Reduce or Reinforce Social Inequality?*" Several authors provide an alternative perspective regarding the role of youth participation in politics and its potential consequences. In doing so, this research study focuses on youth engagement in municipal governments, mostly in the United States of America, to measure the potential benefits and downfalls for social inequality. Even though the study uses findings from a rich country located within the Global North, the evidence collected can still be considered relevant for the purpose of our project regarding youth and social inclusion. As inequalities, especially among the young, keep increasing in a consistent manner, youth political participation can be crucial for reducing social inequalities among marginalized groups. On the one hand, youth political involvement in municipal governments have the potential to benefit both the collective youth and the community. As the study suggests, youth participation in platforms such as municipal government may foster feelings of self-empowerment and self-esteem among the youth from gaining a voice and some control in local decision-making processes. Moreover, as young people take part in decision making, they bring new ideas and

approaches that can contribute and lead to important community changes. On the other hand, there is also evidence of potential setbacks and detrimental effects for efforts against social inequalities from youth engagement in local politics. The authors in this study stress that youth engagement in politics may also be related to a specific social class and race, further perpetuating privilege among a few and marginalization among the rest. Therefore, if not diverse enough, youth political participation could lead to the reinforcement of the existing social inequalities. It is important to have as many voices sharing different perspectives in order to ensure that no one is left behind. Despite the fact that this study does not directly relate to our designated demographics of the Global South, it still poses a relevant argument. This one being that youth participation in political processes can only be effective for the community as a whole, including marginalized people, if it is defined by its diversity of perspectives and thoughts. Otherwise, the social inequalities only get strengthened and benefits are only felt selectively among the few (Augsberger, 2017).

In the following part, we take a step forward and explain why our research question is relevant. Our literature is crucial as it fills out the gap of existing research. The policy review by the European Research Area is slightly different from our literature. *Social inclusion of youth on the margins of society: more opportunities, better access, and higher solidarity* focuses only on marginalized young people in Europe. For example: "...young people with disadvantaged backgrounds (lacking family support, who originate from dysfunctional, poor or socially isolated families and/or with low official country language proficiency), as well as homeless, in or from public care, belonging to an ethnic minority or a migrant group, and with low personal resources (drop-out from school, low aspirations for post-compulsory education, in need of welfare support) go through problematic transition to independent living" (Kutsar, 2012). However, our

project question analyzes the perspectives of youth in the Global South on social inclusion/exclusion. Our principal aim is to build strong recommendations and guidelines for the United Nations' World Social Summit in 2025 in accordance with data collected from the perspective of youth on social inclusion and exclusion across all dimensions (economic, political, social).

Youth presence in politics is an important facet of social inclusion. As former Secretary-General of the United Nations Kofi Annan states, "A society that cuts itself off from youth serves its lifeline; it is condemned to bleed to death". With this in mind, we take a closer look in this regard. In the UN report of *Youth and Political participation*, it admits that "In a number of project countries, youth exclusion was strongly evident, often crossing with other forms of marginalization linked to gender, location, culture and/or community" (UNDESA, 2015). The report thus provides insightful good practices in varying countries. For example, several Global South countries such as Nigeria (participation in constitution-review process), Bangladesh (National Youth Parliament), and Libya (monitoring transition and reporting on governance) among others. In the area of youth political inclusion, the report articulates two action for reference: "Support to young people's participation in inclusive political processes and democratic practices, through three measures, covering the wider enabling environment, individual capacity building and a specific focus on young women" as well as "Support to young people's inclusion in decision making and in all levels of development processes, through two measures, focusing on UN governance and processes, on the one hand, and young men and women's contribution to the identification and implementation of sustainable solutions, on the other hand" (UNDESA, 2015).

However, the inclusion of youth in political processes is a complex, multidimensional challenge that has to be addressed with a variety of tools, depending on objectives and context. UNDP's publication on *Enhancing Youth Political Participation throughout the Electoral Cycle* takes a step further to elaborate that “youth political participation needs to be meaningful and effective, going beyond token gestures” by using varying countries’ real examples. The report encourages youth to participate in project management, partner with youth-led initiatives, and facilitate youth inclusion in national and local consultation processes, including through new technology. Following a rights-based approach entails considering youth as potential agents of change—as part of the solution, not a problem to be resolved by others. Furthermore, young people are not a homogenous block and other social aspects (such as gender, rural/urban dwelling, ethnicity, language, among others) need to be taken into consideration when designing interventions to stress a message of youth inclusion (UNDP, 2015).

4. CONCLUSION

To conclude, this literature review specifically touches on three facets:

In the foundational literature section, we build our base by using the Theory of Justice by John Rawls, good governance practices by Margaret Levi and inclusive institutions by Acemoglu and Robinson to argue why social inclusivity is of inherent and practical importance.

Framed in the first section, the topic literature works to contextualize social inclusivity. The paper by the UNRISD narrows down the different type of social inclusion; Dan Allmann discusses marginalized groups in *Sociology of Social Inclusion*; the DESA/UN working paper

The Context of Social Inclusion gives a better understanding on what social inclusion means as well as what it takes to achieve social inclusivity varies across countries and regions.

In the third section, we take a comparative approach through the lens of “youth and inequality” and “youth presence in politics” to gain an understanding of youth perspective on social inclusivity.

Conclusively, this literature review aims to form a springboard for our final report.

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