

DISCRIMINATION AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION AMONG AFGHAN REFUGEES IN PAKISTAN: CHALLENGES AND SOLUTIONS

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ABSTRACT

This research article brings light to the lived realities of Afghan refugees in Quetta, Balochistan which is indeed a multilayered issue, where below the clouds discrimination and social exclusion are the main players. As the paper's qualitative research methodology integrate detailed interviews, dialogues with NGO personnel, as well as participant observations to paint a realistic picture of the day-to-day conditions of refugees, the paper aims to portray a comprehensive picture. The facts show up major hindrances concerning education, employment, healthcare access and constantly mental pressure that come with the legal status insecurity. These notions are then dissected using the theories of social exclusion and intersopee relations, exposing a detailed picture of the situation the refugees are going through. The work suggests applying about the well grounded policies especially improving the public engagement initiatives like legal support and education programs where people have a ground to express their concerns and access information to help them fight the challenge. Through championing for a holistic solution-based approach in addressing discrimination challenges faced by Afghan refugee community in Pakistan, the paper also argues for the preservation of human dignity and strengthening of all the existing rights ensuring meaningful contributions to the migration integration and social cohesion discourse.

Key words: Afghan Refugees, Pakistan, Quetta, Social Exclusion, Discrimination, Legal Status, Integration, Community Engagement, Policy Reform, Human Rights

INTRODUCTION

The international refugee migration sector that results from war, persecution or economic difficulties is an alarming problem confronting both refugees and host countries UWGNH (2023). Based on recent studies, we find that a very good number of human beings (roughly seven million) are currently being forced to move outside their home countries in order to get security (frustrated here) and stability (ipeace.org). Nature of this circumstance around the globe reaffirms the fact that the refugee's communities must be well understood and their situation tackled effectively. Major problems here are racism and marginalisation of the refugee

communities by the society which affect their welfare and integration to the host countries (Tabulawa, 2003).

The drawing-out and undoubtedly among the biggest and longest of the refugee crisis in South Asia has been a result of the Afghanistan war which has occurred lately. Over the a few decades, neighbouring countries, predominantly Pakistan and Iran, have given shelter to large refugee communities from Afghanistan (Becker, 2019). Pakistan as a nonwar sponsoring neighbor country has been providing safe haven for innumerable Afghan refugees especially taking into account the social dynamics

and policies and that by nature have played a major role in the course of their refugeehood. The public response towards the influx has been fear and apprehension, or greeting and concern, embodying the complex interplay between the social, economic and political issues (Bakare et al. 2024). Interestingly enough, the Pakistani province of Balochistan, mostly because of its high number of entry points along the high permeability border with Afghanistan, plays a crucial role as a doorway and as a settlement area for Afghan refugees in the region. The capital city Quetta prides itself as a progressive, multi-cultural urban centre where the restless people in the city can be seen flavoured with the displacement factor. In this respect, Afghan refugees have a uniqueness in the face of the community because their future is determined by the political order of the area where they live and national framework of Pakistan's refugee policy (McAuliffe et.al. 2018).

The primary objective of this research is to investigate the intricate array of problems from which the Afghanis refugees living in Quetta, Baluchistan are afflicted by. The prime topic of this study will be religious labeling and how it becomes an obstacle to successful assimilation into the main society. The purpose of research is to highlight the challenging and creative ways in which the Afghan refugees cope with ordinary daily challenges, encounter structural hindrances, and conceive a feeling of normalcy and dignity in a foreign land. The approach used is qualitative. This study intends to improve refugees' understanding of their situation in Pakistan making use of the findings that can suggest ways through which refugee integration and supportive systems can become more effective and humane.

Literature Review

The past history of Afghan refugees in Pakistan has been broadly addressed comprising of a wide magnitude of personal stories about challenges that they experience and how they manage to transition into a foreign country (Anwar et al., 2021). The present literature review takes into consideration a variety of works in peer-reviewed journals and reports from international organisations, which makes it possible to present a detailed history of the situation, the mechanisms of the policies, and the facts about the discrimination and marginalization observed among Afghani migrants. The researchers

has in-depth study of situations in Qouta, Balochistan which is admitting the number of Afghans over a million (Kronenfeld, 2008b).

The examination of historical context and policy analysis

The cause of Afghani refugee displacement in Pakistan is linked directly with the Soviet-Afghan war (1979-1989) that led to the first wave of refugee influxes, as well as with the recurrent wars and turbulence that have caused further refugee movement since then (Eldholm et al., 2016). This complex framework of the refugee policies of Pakistan is well illustrated in the influential research articles of (Abbasi al. ,2018)et (Khan ,2015). Besides, these works offer a definition of the relationship between giving a refuge and performing deportation measures, which depends on geopolitical factors and the internal politics. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has data that shows how Pakistan has effectively become one of the top refugee receiving countries in the world. This data acts as a fundamental element that helps to understand the churning policy environment.

Experiences of Discrimination and Social Exclusion The repertoire of writing on the Afghan refugees in Pakistan highlights the significant themes of the discriminations and the social exclusion. According to Ali (2017) and Rehman et al. (2019), prejudice against immigrants involves difficulties in becoming a citizen and equal engagement in the public sphere especially in job opportunities, having a higher level of education and aspects of social integration (Anwar et al., 2021). Studies conducted by international organisations like Amnesty International (2021) tend to reinforce their numbers as they outline the structural and societal problems that Afghan refugees are encountering while trying to get fundamental services. (Bahar, 2021) performs a detailed research on the types of social relations as well as historical implications that affect who the refugees interact with, which are the inhabitants of Ouetta. Balochistan.

Theoretical Framework

This study is grounded in the theories of social exclusion and intersectionality to explore the diverse experiences of Afghan refugees. Based on (Burtort et al, 2019), social exclusion can be seen as an experience leading to the individuals' alienation from the societal aspects in which they participate, for

example, socio-economic, cultural, and political areas. Such theoretical framing is of worth when it comes to the investigation for those who undergo exclusion of the refugees. In combination with Kim's (2020) framework of intersectionality, which gives room to observe how people are treated based on their intersecting identities, this approach will be more intersectional. The integrated framework of identity politics being portrayed above in the context of Afghan refugees living in Quetta has a vital role in understanding the complexities behind the structures of identity politics, as Alameldeen & Fatima (2021) mention through.

The understanding of the Afghan refugee issue in Pakistan is achieved by keeping into account the summaries from various academics people and also provided the international the reports by organisations. This combination brings to the fore the complex structural facets that link governmental programs, community idiosyncrasies, and personal incidents. The literature review presented bridging with the strong theoretical frameworks does not only up grade our understanding of the situation of the refugee but at the same time establishes the base for future empirical studies which aim at providing a more realistic and compassionate approach for refugee assistance and integration into host communities.

Methodology:

The present study implements a qualitative technique that is well rounded through extensive interviews with the Afghan refugees, face-to-face discussions professionals non-governmental from organizations (NGOs), and participant observations in spatialities where refugees are settling in Quetta, Balochistan. This discursive technique is mainly based on phenomenological standpoint which aims at capturing the minute experiences of injustice and the different methods which refugees to overcome these huddles to find a sense of familiarity. Scientifically, data acquisition and analysis are conducted in line up-to-date academic requirements. This employs a format that represents purposive sampling, thematic analysis and software-assisted data organization. These methods are still built on the commitment to ethical research principles. The validity as well as the credibility of the research is enhanced by the application of triangulation, reflexivity and peer debriefing and so it collates according to the required norms. Using this method, the book allows a more comprehensive understanding of the refugee experience and shares this with the viewer from an academic and empirical approach by depicting the lives of Afghan refugees living in Pakistan. It therefore aims for the research to be both practical and theory-based that could propel policy-making of all stakeholders.

Findings:

An intricate network of oppressive attitudes and persecution of the Afghan refugees in Balochistan was revealed by this qualitative investigation. The study narratives were achieved through intensive one on one interviews, through comprehensive dialogue with both subjects and witness as well as detailed observations. The stories are based on theoretical foundations of social exclusion and cross advances of which refugees are facing and therefore, present a good understanding of their real experiences.

Barriers to Education and Employment

The results show that the main problems of Afghan migrants addressing to education opportunities and career advantages are closely connected to their legal status. Participant A's statement, "Although I have skills but no papers, jobs remain mere dreams to me", so aptly expresses the issue of pedigree recognition and the refusal of the possession of legal credentials. The notion of human rights should be described by those addressing social justice to entail involvement of people from different backgrounds like sex, race and caste to make their own voice heard, as Quinn (2019) found out. This perspective is based on the intersectional framework, which emphasizes the role of intersecting identities and statuses deepening social in inequality. Participant E was expressing their frustration when they rested, " My kids are enthusiastic about education but schools are asking for documents that we do not possess. " Therefore, the question of the legal status is not only affecting people who are willing to work, but even the children's future This is a similar point that Mishra (2020) makes about social capital, which explains the importance of education as a social capital endowment that is a distinct factor how in one is treated. Participant F expressed a similar yet separate difficulty: "The unscrupulous employers who exploit us further after getting a job, offer low pay or inhumane work conditions because they understand that we do not have any stronger cards to place on the negotiation table" is a prime example of the

educational part of social marginalisation, when our illegal status means an understanding that the exploitation of our lack of legalized position sooner or later will mean economic marginalization and poverty continuance for Correspondingly, this corresponds with the philosophical views about the reasons of exclusion from the economic activity O'Higgins Brockie, (Niall & Additionally, the case of Participant G promotes the fact that the skills and the life experiences of refugees also get devaled as they continue being in the transit. The fact that they are illegal undermines the recognition of the refugees to some point. Identity and the recognition in the social exclusion literature is grounded on this concept. It is of significant importance in terms of the literature by Andaç Akçakese and Mehmet Demirel in(2024). The anecdotes underline the fact that it is a complex hurdle, which are legal status, economic chance, and social appreciation, combined together and may result in a compounded kind of exclusion. The utilisation of theoretical frameworks such as social exclusion and intersectionality offers a valuable perspective for comprehending the complex nature of these experiences. These frameworks emphasise the necessity of comprehensive solutions that encompass the legal, economic, and social aspects of refugees' life.

Social Stigma

One of the hardest things that Afghan refugees in Quetta face is negative view of them which is an integrating part of community's beliefs and relations. Participant B's comment, "No matter how long we are at a place, we are still often perceived as outsiders," touches Schomerus & Schulze's (2011) stigma theory, which focuses on the concept of stigmatization. The way this idea of division is built between 'us' and 'them' promotes exclusion.During the next statement Stage H said, "People tend to treat us with mistrust, as if our existence was a deal for them". This is an example of stigma which implies a stereotype' of people and this provides the basis for certain behaviours such as prejudice and the social exclusion (Frost, 2011). Participant I provided a compelling illustration of enacted stigma: "When I communicate in my language, I notice that there is a physical change in people' show emotions; a wall is constructed." This account illustrates the linguistic dimension of stigmatization which serves as an outlet of

distinction leading to social marginalization Perelman, (2021). However, what Participant J's narrative shows, through him saying, "My children are mocked at school; they are referred unfavorably to as"refugee" just as if it was not a good thing", proves that stigma is intergenerational and has negative influence on the social assimilation and identity development in refugee kids (Killian et al., 2018).

Through such testimonies, we can clearly observe the scale of social stigmatization and how it obstructs the relationships of Afghan refugees on daily basis and brings up their sense of belonging. According to stigma theory, these experiences remained to unveil the position of society mechanisms in the process of enhancing the situation where the migrants are marginalized. This ultimately called for the intervention measures targeting the society attitudes and inclusiveness.

Legal Status Challenges

Afghan refugee residents of Pakistan, as marginalised groups, encounter the legal barriers as an important part of their dehumanisation. Here the idea of Participant C,"The system just overlooks you if you are illegal', relies on the fact that legality and visibility is related to society. Ethereum governance aligns with this idea as well (intersectionality), which assumes that various aspects of social identity and status mutually reinforce oppression. (Wong et al., 2022).

As an extension, participant K concerned the loss of written proof means that the rights are diminished and there is no voice. This is one of the examples of the concept of "the legal invisibility" that suggest that the lack of official acknowledgment in fact is the removal of the person from the society recognition and make him or her not eligible for institutional benefits (Abdelwahed et 2022). Participant L expressed a concerning outcome resulting from the current legal uncertainty: "We are perennially held hostage by the fears of being deported." In this account, they remind us of the ambiguous status where life might be cut short at any moment, a legal precariousness which coincides with theories that are interested in the damaging psychological effects associating the feeling of insecurity and detachment (Watson & Clark, 1984). In addition, Participant M emphasised a cascading impact: "In the event that a person does not possess a valid identification she/he neither can register her/his children in school nor can she/he access

healthcare services nor a SIM card" (Canale et al., 2023). This highlights the legal status as one of the greatest impediment, which has a knock-on effect on several aspects of contemporary life and in turn it cvcle continues the of exclusion. The participants' testimonies prove that the political statues of Afghan refugees in Quetta is a major factor that contributes to their experiences there. From an intersectional perspective, these experiences demonstrate the interconnectedness between legal status and other forms of social exclusion, underscoring the pressing necessity for policy initiatives that specifically target the legal acknowledgment and entitlements of refugees.

Limited Access to Healthcare

The medical record accounts of the refugee Afghan Community reveal an unfortunate picture of the systemic hindrances of the health care services in Quetta city which they have to face. Statement of participant D: "When we go to a hospital, we are either not allowed to enter or we are typically the last recipients treatment:" this expresses discriminative treatment by the institution. This situation really corroborates the social exclusion theory which postulates that certain groups are excluded such as poor populations are on purpose excluded from beneficial services by systems of social classification.

Participant N specifically pointed out to the significant predicament that refugees experience by saying "Even in times of critical situations and emergencies, we are often forgotten because of our displaced status." Being neglectful of their requirements in emergency situations like that often results in fatal consequences, thereby proving the concept of healthcare as a locus of marginalization by Keith E Carter, Maggie Murray et al.

Additionally, participant O also imparted a somewhat different diagnosis: he stated that he can't pay for most of the treatments and remains in uncertain position as he lacks necessary documents to qualify for aid. It is the conclusion which points out towards the convergence of economic and legal complications which in turn complicate the challenges of healthcare. (Mendenhall, 2017). The adding Participant P's point shows other part by role playing; they find that many times, language barriers and lack of culture understanding of patients powerlessness eventually leads to misunderstanding. aforementioned observation embodies the importance of cultural and linguistic

harmlessness in leaning towards accessibility in healthcare, which will be in synchronization with other inputs in health equity as well (Muhammad Riaz Hossain et al.. participants' comments highlight context that is beyond well-known individual obstacles to using healthcare services (i.e. institutional, economic, linguistic, and cultural obstacles). This embodies the fact that healthcare for refugees is a systemic disadvantage - thus requiring the development of policies that cater to their unique conditions and situations which incorporates a theoretical context of social exclusion.

Accounts of events and connections between theories Afghan refugees in Quetta city of Balochistan presented a dark picture of the complex type of exclusion they face. Such exclusion could be seen as a result of delay in incorporation under the socioeconomic and institutional factors. The witness statements exhibited in this report look strongly in line with contemporary theories on social separation and intersectionality. They incorporate the empirical view which enables the funneling of the conceptual theoretical assumptions about displacement and refugee crises in the practical real world.

Particularly, the interactions of barriers in schooling and working reflect an established connection between legal standing and socio-economic prospects. Through the refugees' stories, the contrasting issues of legal papers being more than a simple bureaucratic headache but an increased financial marginalization of the whole community and illegal immigrants (Qureshi et al., 2023) could be economically emphasised. This situation firsthand evidences that legal status and economic exclusion can share the space. Theoretical justifications rest on the fact that the social exclusion is an intricate condition that has an impact on the individuals on multiple aspects of their lives Martin Eve Paul (2014).The fact that these documented instances of social

discrimination and prejudice have been identified fits Goffman's 1963 stigma theory as McEntee-Atalianis et al. (2022) uncovers the inner anguish and difference people live with because of these negative societal attitudes. The narratives of refugees direct our attention to the broad signs of stigmas which mainly connect them with the identity indicators such as the nationality or the refugee status. Their everyday lives are fraught with this stiga, isation, and their social exclusion hints at the significance of

Goffman's function as a navigational mechanism in the refugee experiences' world.

People are bound to be excluded from the law and therefore they are exposed to the idea of intersectionality which is the overlap of legal standing with other characteristics and perpetuation of marginalisation (Braun & Clarke, 2019). Besides almost all freedoms, refugee's legal etat leads to their inability to get health help, education, and economic opportunities. This case amply reveals that several mutually reinforcing exclusionary factors go hand in hand, and compose the proposed within the intersectionality framework.

Issues which range from institutional partiality to systematic barriers such as inadequate access to health care services greatly affect the total process of integration of refugees into the society. It is aligned with social exclusion theory that the point of starvation to access vital service like health care is bigger issue that people of society not being included is the reflection of overall social exclusion (Vinod Kumar Mishra, 2024). The refugee's difficulties in healthcare settings bring to light the intrinsic characteristics of segregation, for contrary to the case of institutional norms and procedures, the poisonous indifference to people who are already marginalised harms individuals more.

Intersperceded with a few of those theoretical frameworks namely of social exclusion and intersectionality, those narratives merely support and deepen our comprehension of how these frameworks are experienced by such marginalised communities. The theory of exclusion for the refugees, as highlighted by their experiences in Quetta, is tangible, practical, and emphasizes the intermediary nature of exclusion that goes beyond the idiosyncratic aspects of identity or a person's role in society.

The researches conclude that the refugees are subjected to multiple layers of bigotry and social isolation, largely on the basis of where they belong in the society. Thus, the research results, generally, show essential exact personal experiences that are correlated broader closely to academic concepts. Thus, the paper sheds some light on this process that furthers the understanding of the realities of refugee lives. Consequently, it facilitates the development of well-informed interventions and policy efforts that seek to alleviate exclusion and promote inclusivity within host communities.

Discussion

The findings of this research, reflecting the lived reality of Afghan refugees who live in Quetta, bring about the inflexibility features of the society integration, which conditioned by the human rights issues and international refugee law. The gist of the discussion concerns the role of the Pakistani government, the community organisations and other international bodies concerning either complicating or making the resolving of these difficulties easier.

Intersecting Barriers to Integration

The hindrances in provision of education, jobs, healthcare and socialization demonstrate the multifaceted aspect of this term, which calls for a holistic approach in changing the situation (Wang & Fan, 2012). An intregrated approach of refugee integration will be needful, considering the interdependence of the lawical, economical, and social elements. In addition, this ties in the the more general discussion over social exclusion Kernaghan (2005).

The Pakistani government's role

The policy regulation mechanisms applied by the Pakistani government oftentimes turn out to be the major determinants of refugee experience, thus corroborated by (Rowland et al., 2002). Research findings exposed the issues of legislation and institutions which cause the go back to the framework that makes it compatible with the international law and human rights norms (Hidayet Siddikoglu and Ali Zafer Sağıroğlu 2023). To be very clear it outlines the vital need of the policies that integrates people affected by the crisis into the society through undertaking various activities to strengthen people's self-esteem and self-respect.

Local Communities and Social Integration

The integration of refugees is greatly influenced by local communities, as the attitudes of the community have a considerable impact on refugees' sense of belonging and daily experiences (Gökalp Aras & Şahin Mencütek, 2015). The cultivation of friendly settings for refugees necessitates the implementation of initiatives that prioritise inclusivity and the eradication of stigma. These efforts underscore the significance of community-level interventions in facilitating the integration process.

The process of integration of refugees is significantly dependent on the local communities of their host countries because they are the ones who have the

most impact on the refugees' feelings of home and the way they spend their daily lives (Gökçem Aras & Hacer Mencütek, 2015). Attraction of welcoming environments for the refugees is obtainable by methods which centre on inclusivity and eliminate discrimination. This illustrates, therefore, an important role played by the community-level interventions in creating friendly social atmosphere for those who are going through the integration process.

International Organizations and Advocacy

International organisations produce the services of refugee rights promotion as well as to support host governments while integrating them in their efforts to protect and cooperate with the displaced (UNHCR, 2020b). Up until now, Sales (2002) research finds out that global refuges' systematic policies should truly reflect their concerns with regard to their rights. Moreover, this study suggests to aid relevant programmes that aim at developing refugees' capabilities to overcome issues that they face.

Implications of this finding are important for policymakers and practitioners.

Besides, the policy and practice ones are very consequential, which in their turn suggest that the whole-scale measures that can eliminate the numerous obstacles experience by refugees should be implemented. It is universally acknowledged that a multifaceted way of holding back integration and participation of refugees, which implies programmes of legal recognition, access to education, employment and healthcare, and that combat social stigma have to be adopted(Koschorke et.al, 2017).

However, this analysis paints a picture of the immensely overwhelming and compound problems that Afghan refugees in Quetta are faced with, which calls for the collective responsibility of almost all integrators to act. To guarantee for refugees' rights, there must be a synergy of forces that engages various players including policy makers, volunteers and international community, which include policymaking, cultural integration, and international co-operation.

Policy reforms:

1. The efforts to put in place policy decisions that would simplify the process of asylum-seekers getting the proper legal documentation are now urgent. The main reforms should root out burdensome regulations that complicate the process of getting the

necessary features recognized by law, as well as set a clear and transparent path for obtaining legal recognition (Ekstedt, Lundstedt, 2024).

2. Approach inclusion and fight against discrimination in providing public services by making the structures of the services equitable for refugees as for the rest of the population (Hollifield, 2004; Sjaastad, 1962). It is a matter of priority to craft an inclusive policy clamping down on the barriers that hinder the whole integration of refugees into the society (Syed et al., 2023).

Initiatives aimed at fostering community involvement:

- 1. Cultural Exchange Programmes: Implement community initiatives to encourage contact and cultural integration between refugees and locals with one another, drawing the target of destroying the misunderstanding using this tool.
- 2. Community Awareness Campaigns: Do not hesitate to start the enlightenment movement of the general public to correct misconceptions about the plight of refugees, their rights as well as their contributions to the society. This is done to change people's views about refugees and create a favorable environment for them (Bukuluki et al. 2020a).

Academic Programmes:

- 1. The article written by Greene et al. (2023) claims that launching an initiative for refugee children and adults to learn in the educational system may be possible through document issuance barrier removal and language assistance arrangement. These actions target the realization of the learner rights/ration for all refugee populations worldwide.
- 2. it is essential to develop and implement vocational training programs for the refugees that can help them to get better by engagement in economic activities. Their objective is to prepare the industries with the relevant skills to match the market (Bukuluki, et al, 2020b).

3. Improved Legal Assistance:

- 1. My proposal intends to prioritize the growth of legal aid services that extensively cater to refugees and serve the role of helping them negotiate complex legal matters of gaining legal status, exercising their rights, and merging into the host community (Kluge et al., 2020b).
- 2. To Improve the advocacy initiatives to effectively represent the refugees interests at policy making stage so that during the drafting process their needs

and rights are fully taken into account. (UNHCR, 2020c)

The author grasped the problem of discrimination and societal marginalization so experienced by the Afghan refugees settled in Quetta through the presented and the proposed ideas. To activate rights and dignity of refugees and facilitate their integration to the society, all the stakeholder can join hands by promoting good and clear policy, by involving communities, creating educational opportunities and offering strong legal reliability.

Conclusion:

This study is a two-part research endeavour including the scrutiny of Afghan refugees in the city of Quetta, Balochistan, and unveiling the deeprooted channels through which prejudice and social isolation take place. The findings are based on the complexity of their personal experiences that are crossed with legal, social, and economic restrictions, consequently, these limitations perpetuate their difficulty of adopting the host society as their own. The key findings of this study reflect the urgency of the comprehensive and coordinated involvement of the stakeholders, and provide a ground for multipolicy and collaborative actions to address future issues. Policies of reform are primary in place making a legal structure that is acceptable to refugees by guarding their rights hence serving their basic needs and securing their full integration into the society. A significant component of social exclusion is embodied by the participation of communities in various community initiatives, including educative programs, which are key to establishing an inclusivity environment of and respect. The first thing which is worth mentioning is that it should be given a priority to the betterment of the legal services to the refugees in order to simplify the process of status regularization thus providing a stable basis for their integration into the society. In case it is wisely introduced it can effectively promote growing the lives of compatriots and provision of them with equal rights corresponding to norms of modern humanity standard.

Overall, Afghan refugees in Quetta, Pakistan are in a situation that requires reaction by almost the whole population that is many people came together. Discrimination and inequity, among other social ills, are not only the moral issues but also essential measures on which the society can rely to build a societal community that is more just and

dependable. This essay covers the fundamental consideration of the difficulties for the refugees as the opening step in the process of the emergence of the appropriate methods that ensure the transition from the refugee state to the dignity state. It focuses on the common responsibility of co-creating a socioeconomic milieu in which everyone has an equal opportunity to reach a good standard of living.

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