

# Dimensions of Social Exclusion



Dimensions of Social Exclusion:  
Ethnographic Explorations

Edited by

K.M. Ziyauddin and Eswarappa Kasi

**CAMBRIDGE**  
**SCHOLARS**  

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**P U B L I S H I N G**

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Dedicated to

“the sufferings of the excluded communities”

Rightly said

"The world is full of suffering; it is also full of overcoming it."

—Helen Keller



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## PREFACE

Social exclusion has several dimensions. It exists in various spheres and in many forms. Race and caste have however dominated the discourse on social exclusion. In its simplest understanding, social exclusion is lack of access to resources and consequent inability to utilize them. It is further accentuated by denial of opportunities which enhance access to resources and their utilization. It can, therefore be experienced by anyone who is in a position which is vulnerable to such impeding conditions. Thus, besides caste and race, religion, age, gender, social position and occupational hierarchy-are all potentially volatile to social exclusion. Stratification of human populations occurs at various levels and in many forms. It has a reflection of power dynamics which exist between people and also between population groups. This drives some caste and religious groups to be more advantaged as against others. The young and the elderly population are likely to be less equipped as compared to the adults in the sphere of work. The elders may be the dominating persons within the household; making the young and the adults vulnerable. Similarly, the gender roles are likely to put women at certain disadvantages vis-à-vis men. Superimposing this with lack of access to education and employment; other incomes; land ownership and political participation- all are drivers to accentuate social exclusion. Thus, people who are socially excluded are vulnerable. Social exclusion can happen to anyone. Specially as society moves towards newer technological and economic progress, it elevates and improves the opportunities for some people – and leaves others behind. Individuals who belong to underprivileged groups or minority social groups are at higher risk of facing social exclusion.

Although social exclusion is used extensively in the current debates on equity and equitable access to resources and opportunities, it is, however, a very vague concept. There are no common measures on social exclusion. It is viewed as an umbrella concept for measures and policies for combating unemployment, dependency and poverty. These are social phenomenon which have different causes and consequences and often involve different population groups. The causes of social exclusion have been attributed to the economic and social changes in free-market economies, and to weaknesses in government policies and services.

The concept of social exclusion has its origins in France. The former French president of the European Commission, Jacques Delors, promoted this concept in connection with the poverty programmes of the European Union in the beginning of the 1990's. Since then, social exclusion has become of major concern in the European Union and outside. The main thrust on the concept of social exclusion in the region of its origin has been for poverty alleviation and thus for addressing unemployment, low income, poor jobs, homelessness, poor health, low qualifications and leaving school early, gender inequalities, discrimination and racism, handicaps, old age, divorce, drug abuse and alcoholism and to be living in a deprived socio-economic area. Most of the debate has therefore, surrounded the labour market.

Social exclusion is a universal phenomenon which has existed over time and space. However, in India, social exclusion has been predominantly used in understanding caste based discrimination. Caste is a unique determinant of social exclusion in the Indian Sub-continent. There are various forms of social exclusion experienced by the Dalits in different spheres. Historically, the Dalits were deprived of education; right to possess assets; and the right to possess weapons to protect themselves. The code of conduct that deprives them of these rights- Manusmriti- was written three thousand years back. The dalits experience the agony of social exclusion very deeply in social, economic and political spheres. As Gail Omvedt puts in her book titled *Dalit Vision*, and published by Orient Longman, New Delhi in 2006:

The Dalits rights and dignity have often been abused by dominant vested interests. It has been aggravated because of the continued animosity of the dominant vested interests, growing assertions of the aggrieved and the age long prejudice and the partisan attitudes of the state machinery towards the Dalits.

There are instance where Dalits are not permitted to draw water from common wells and hand pumps; separate utensils are used to serve them in tea and food stalls, they are not allowed entry into the temples and Dalit children are made to sit at the back of the classroom. The situation is even worse in rural areas where the majority of the population and Dalits reside. The constitution of India grants Dalits certain privileges that include reservations in education, government jobs, and government bodies; and protection against caste based discrimination. However, the upper caste people have been demanding the withdrawal of these Acts by rendering the argument of meritocracy and on the ground of the misuse of these Acts

against the upper caste people. Despite these provisions and assumed 'misuses', Dalits are subjected to atrocities and social exclusion by the dominant castes in order to maintain their caste superiority and display the power dynamics. Rise in the incidence of violence against the Dalits is also attributed to the increasing level of awareness and assertion among them.

Therefore, social exclusion is related to lack of access to services and goods offered by societies. Social and religious groups appear to accentuate social exclusion by denying certain opportunities pertaining to social and religious practices and access to services and resources. Caste-base exclusion percolates through various opportunities for enhancing access to resources- education, health care and work. Thus social exclusion can be understood through three basic tenets of complete and partial exclusion; and unfavorable inclusion.

In case of complete exclusion or complete denial of services and access to resources; people are completely excluded from availing some services and accessing resources for whatever reasons. Although, the state entails to provide services to all without any discrimination, yet many are left without any access to and utilization of resources. There are services, opportunities and information to which access is denied completely to certain groups of people.

Many a times some people have access to some services and not to other. This is partial denial of services and access to resources. People are discriminated by the services providers and co-users at the place of services delivery in terms of priority and proximity. This is partial denial of services and access to resources. It is evident in three ways-

- Differential treatment by the service providers/resources owners
- Differential treatment by the co-users of the services/resources
- Differential treatment for certain services/resources

### **(a) Differential treatment by the service providers and resource owners**

There can be different types of service providers and resource owners- public sector, private sector, non-profit/NGO sector. The providers can have different interest and therefore the service provisioning can be differential in terms of-

Providing no, less, or wrong information;  
 Providing discriminatory treatment at the place of delivery of services and availability of resources;  
 Involuntary inclusion or exclusion in some schemes pertaining to services and resources;  
 Discriminatory treatment during home visits by service providers and resource owners;  
 Behaviour and attitude of the service providers and resource owners.

### **(b) Differential treatment by the co-users of the services and resources**

The co-users of the services and resources can discriminate in use of space for waiting to get the services or access the resources. Their behaviour and attitude can be derogatory, dominating and suppressing. They may not be allowing the use of services or access to resources when it may actually be due to the people from the excluded groups.

### **(c) Differential treatment for certain services**

Excluded groups are not given the space to participate and interact like others and express openly to the service provider. They are often assumed to be incapable of any participation and thus decisions for them are taken by others.

Unfavourable or forced inclusion for certain services access to resources.

Very often some people are forced to avail some services in spite of their unwillingness. This is considered as unfavourable or forced inclusion. There are evidences of forceful inclusion in certain services for some specific groups. There could be forceful inclusion in participation in health camps; sanitation and cleaning of the village; local self governing bodies like Panchayats, in case of mothers.

Unlike the West, where the concept of social exclusion was evolved and promoted, India has historically been multi-religious, multi-lingual, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-racial community. With the technologies advancing and economy marching forward, issues of social exclusion and inclusion have become very important. Several factors come into play-caste hierarchy neglects those at the bottom of the social ladder; a class society ignores those from the lower classes; minority religions may

experiences discrimination from those adhering to the norms of majority religious groups. Some ethnic and cultural societies may be marginalized because they may not constitute core culture or ethnicity. The problem of exclusion becomes much more acute in view of scarce resources. Even in advanced economies exclusion both on the basis of race and class is a well-known phenomenon. The African Americans in the United States of America face racial prejudice even today and incidence of poverty among them continues to be very high. Despite its level of development, economic advancement and highly developed democratic institutions; USA cannot claim total inclusion of all sections of society. White majority monopolizes major chunk of all resources. Many Asian have richly contributed to economies and services in the developed countries, yet they experience social prejudices. They have not been fully integrated in social, cultural and economic realms of their resident countries. Even if they are citizens of these countries, they face social exclusion. Thus, social exclusion is important universally. In most of the countries religious and cultural minorities are experiencing social exclusion.

In case of India it has always been multi-cultural, multi-religious and multi-ethnic for millenniums. People from different religious- Buddhists, Jains, Christians or Muslims-all have existed in this country, unlike western countries, where most have migrated from outside. Muslims who came from Central or Western Asia centuries ago have embrace India as their land. No Muslim in India is likely to have any knowledge of their foreign origin and ancestry. Interestingly, those who came from outside centuries ago were much smaller in number compared to an overwhelming majority who converted from Indian stock. The Christians too are not of foreign origin. Others, the Buddhists, Jains and Sikhs are all Indian origin. In spite of this, social exclusion has been important for all minorities but much more so for Christians and Muslims. Their exclusion from social, cultural, economic and political processes poses various problems. In the recent times, Muslims have faced social exclusion based on the prejudices derived out of the terror acts done by some who claimed to profess this religion. Media has highlighted reports how terror is being cultivated by some of these groups. However, Islam teaches that all human beings, irrespective of community or race, are children of the same set of primal parents- As the Quran states:

O mankind! We created you from a single (pair) of a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that ye may know each other (not that ye may despise each other). Verily the most honoured of you in the sight of Allah is (he who is) the most righteous of you. (*Quran* 49:13).

This basic Islamic teaching about the whole of humankind being children of the same parents stresses the need for consciousness of our common humanity and of us being brothers unto each other. The world over, religious symbols and markers- dress, hair style and facial hair, clothings have been the target of fear, ridicule and some obnoxious judgments. Wearing of turban and *burqa* and the recent most *burqani*- the swimsuits which cover the whole body; sporting a beard- all have invited legal judgment which have further accentuated the social exclusion which the relevant population groups have been experiencing. In addition, these judgments have also rationalized, in some inexplicable way, the fear of these symbols and markers among common man, despite the fact that the 9/11 terrorists, the Parliament bomber-Afzal Guru and the young Kasab of infamous 26/11 did not sport a beard!

The present volume has very timely addressed the issues of social exclusion not only pertaining to caste but also to religion, tribe and gender. It is a commendable work which has been put together in the form of intensely research papers ranging from issues of dalits, minorities, Muslim women, rural areas and tribes to the politics of gender. Given the present regime of upward growth of the economy, it is essential for the state to recognize the need of abandoning caste, religion, region and ethnicity based social exclusion. The book propels the understanding further that social exclusion had to be addressed for future technological advancement, economic growth and development of the country.

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This is important note of thanks, to mention Dr Sanghmitra Acharya (JNU, New Delhi) and her continuous support. Her effort to go through the full manuscript to write the preface for the book is immeasurable. The mention to express my thanks is also to Prof. Tulsi Patel, Delhi School of Economics, University of Delhi, for her constant support and guiding me critically on academic fronts.

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KM Ziauddin  
Hyderabad  
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# DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION: AN INTRODUCTION

K.M. ZIYAUDDIN

The present book discusses largely on the aspects of social exclusion in the context of communities who have or have not yet been debated in the mainstream development benefits. The contemporary understanding about social exclusion has created interest among the academia and policy makers to understand the problems from the perspectives of 'the others'. The very concept of social exclusion is not static; in fact, it is a process or the processes of marginalization and discrimination in the everyday lives and interaction. The term of exclusion has become a part of the vocabulary in Europe and other developing societies like, 'poverty' or 'unemployment'; it is one of those words, which seem to have an everyday meaning and underlying sense. It emphasizes very strongly on the social factors concerns such as housing, health, employment and education. It excludes certain communities and groups from interaction and access to social resources through social arrangements, normative value systems and customs. The exclusion based on Caste is one example and Patriarchy is another, which is Systemic or constitutive exclusion. Having social, cultural, political and economic ramifications, it is also complex and multi-dimensional concept. These dimensions are interwoven and to be focused in the different papers of this volume. It revolves around the societal interventions and institutions that exclude, discriminate, isolate and deprive some groups on the basis of group identities like caste and ethnicity. Interestingly, this book also looks upon the problem from the ethnographic perspectives in the context of religion, caste and gender discrimination, the declining hopes of the long term unemployed and lack of access to jobs, linguistic marginalization in educational institutions, constitutional failure in Indian context, tribal's exclusion, lack of health care services and many others.

Precisely, the book covers the wider spectrum of society and communities living in various cultural set up. The multidisciplinary nature of the book will be helpful for the students and researchers from sociology,

anthropology, historical and political studies, demography, social work and gender studies in particular and humanities in general.

Discrimination and exclusion of marginalized groups are issues that are increasingly receiving the attention of social scientists of late. This is now widely accepted that developments in state and society in post independent India have not conformed to the expectations as discrimination and exclusion still persists in our society. With the retreat of the state from major economic activities since the 1990s, the socio-economic gap between social groups has in fact increased. Disparities among social groups have also been the result of particular forms of discrimination and exclusion prevalent in society. Discrimination and exclusion marginalizes certain groups from full participation in the social, economic, political and cultural life of the country<sup>1</sup>.

The denial of employment, equal wages and equal working relations, and the denial of freedom to undertake an occupation or economic activity based on freedom of choice are to be principally and practically implemented. It is merely a cursory observation of the society rather every society has, in one or another way, history of discrimination and exclusion. To illustrate this debate, it would be necessary to quote Indian constitution. The Indian constitution and legal framework recognize the principle of non-discrimination and equal opportunity to all, irrespective of caste, race, religion, colour, sex, ethnicity etc. despite several promises put forth by the constitution, various forms of discrimination continue to persist in our society because the constitutional remedy is often inaccessible to the SCs, STs, and religious minorities, literally taking away the equally quotient of their rights in terms of implementation.

The choice of the subject for this volume arose with the intention of compiling multiple disciplinary perspectives and forms of exclusion existing in the society. This was more imperative due to its both policy implications and wider applicability in the discourse on social exclusion. Hence, the book covers the issues of dalits, gender and especially Muslim women, role and impact of Panchayati Raj Institution, communal violence, minority and police, ethnic groups in south asian societies, quality of life and rights, challenges of Muslims in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and the impact of distance mode education to the linguistic minority.

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<sup>1</sup> Caste and community based labour market discrimination: A Pilot study in Noida, Working Paper Series 1, vol. 1, No. 01, PSDE, 2009. New Delhi: JNU.

The book is an effort to bring the issues and debates concerning to social exclusion and inclusive initiatives at various levels and strata among the policy makers, academia and researchers. The contemporary society has been witnessing the crisis and resilience in different aspects and forms as well as this has helped the academia and researchers to talk about the cornered, segregated and marginalized communities. The notion about social exclusion varies from one to another society depending upon the changing context. The genesis of social exclusion in the French society helps us to understand the existing problems of the society in the forms of addiction, drug abuse, homelessness, slums etc. Rene Lenoire felt the existing crisis of the French society and wrote thoroughly on the issues of exclusion. Lenoire did not realize the importance of the given concept which later became one of the relevant concepts to understand poverty and discrimination worldwide. In fact Silver also wrote, dominant in France, the exclusion is the rupture of a social bond between the individual and society that is cultural and moral in her debate of 'solidarity paradigm'. The scholarly effect of the concept of exclusion not only created a positive policy debate and initiatives rather reflected in practice of a few governments like British government established a separate department of social exclusion. Concepts like poverty, discrimination, marginalization, deprivation could not do such influence which social exclusion could do worldwide. Several studies conducted by ILO, World Bank and other organization helped the on going research to look afresh. Amartya Sen's paper presented in Asian Development Bank (1998)<sup>2</sup> gave much deeper meaning and acceptance to the conceptualization of social exclusion.

The chapters in the book provide relevant information on multidisciplinary nature of exclusion. First chapter tries to understand the social exclusion in the context of dalits in Indian society. Ziyauddin, the author brings the notions of exclusion while looking at the caste based discrimination deep rooted in Indian social structure and in its context too. The exclusion of dalits is one, and the exclusion of dalits engaged in scavenging doubles the burden of exclusion. The chapter also brings the experiences of Bauri's, a dalit community, in Bokaro region.

The second chapter brings very interesting picture of policies and programmes regarding health and education for Muslims in Delhi. Abidi and Hussain do a critical study in the selected pockets of the densely

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<sup>2</sup> Sen, Amartya. 1998, "Social Exclusion: Concept, Application, and Scrutiny", Working Paper, Social Development Paper No 1, June. Bangkok: Asian Development Bank.

Muslim populated areas in the National Capital Territory Delhi. They have come out with several facts and issues which have been ignored for years. Sacchar committee, 2006, (Prime Ministers High Level Committee), report of Indian government shows the intensity of exclusion towards Muslims in India in the fields of education, health, employment and banking credit.

Third chapter portrays the situation of Muslim, especially Muslim women in the province of west Bengal. Sharmishtha uses quantitative and qualitative methods and analyses her understanding about the women and their work. What many problems women would face when the literacy and education is not accessible to the majority of them. It will be thought provoking to read about the rural Muslim women and their quality of life in West Bengal. Her fieldwork was intensive and it is supported by intensive case studies too.

The fourth chapter on politics of gender would help the reader to look into the history of gender based politics in the context of Muslim women and their participation in Indian politics. Ziyauddin and Shekh bring some significant fact of Indian politics where the space for women has been very least not because they could not participate in the system but because they have been systematically sidelined from the mainstream political participation. The facts and figures on the Muslim women participating in the democratic structure helps to critically examine the critical aspects of the so called “gender politics” in Indian society.

Fifth chapter provides a historical understanding of people’s empowerment in India. Shamoos does help us understand the pre- independence structure of people empowerment and narrates critically the post independence phenomenon of people empowerment. Would not be any such problem to consider this piece as a very interesting piece of work. The critical interpretation of community development programmes and Panchayati Raj Institutions is discussed widely.

S M Rahmatullah presents one of the significant chapters as the Case Study of Maulana Azad National Urdu University in the context of Urdu linguistic minority institution. The author has examined on the basis of available data of the students pursuing their education through distance mode of education. The impact and coverage of the education among Urdu speaking community has been great for a small period of time. This is a

milestone decision came in 1998 in the context of linguistic development of Urdu speakers in India.

Chapter on democratic decentralization and social justice through Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) would be of great help to the reader. It exposes the larger debate in the constitutional provisions and concerns surrounding PRIs in India. Mushtaq brings a holistic dimension of the PRIs and the constitutional provisions of Indian state. This is important to look historically because constitution of India has sincere commitment towards the inclusive growth of Indian citizen.

The ethnographic method used to conduct the study on Khasis in Bangladesh brings unexplored dimensions of discrimination and exclusion to this community. Faisal has tried to show the crude realities of being denied access to mainstream development benefits and how ethnic communities like khasis have been living without interacting with the larger world. The narratives and in-depth interviews of Khasis members tell the various stories of exclusion.

The ninth chapter written by Minhaz and Afroz sketches the communal violence and minorities in India. This also deals on the role of police in communal violence in the context of minority community in India. The genesis of this problem and the contemporary issues are also discussed which will help the reader to understand the problem of communalism critically in India. It is imperative to understand the about the need to have representation of minorities in police and how police should be accountable to all the citizens of India despite of their caste, class and religious background.

In the light of the previous chapter, the last chapter is best to conclude our understating with a note of looking every object critically and in a scientific temperament. Salil, the Author, provides an interesting explanation about the Muslims in 21<sup>st</sup> century India. How do we look the rights and responsibilities of Indian Muslims, since the challenges faced by the Muslims of India today are complex and can be divided into internal and external challenges. It is an eye opening reading this piece about the externalities and internalities of being a Muslims in India; a must read chapter.

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## CHAPTER ONE

# DALITS AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION— UNDERSTANDING THE CONCEPTUALIZATION

K.M. ZIYAUDDIN

*The term social exclusion has been a popular concept of the contemporary scholarship. It is more debated in the context of poverty and discrimination. India is such an example to show the relevance of exclusion. The attempts to discuss the twin related concept of caste discrimination and exclusion has been throughout the post independent era. The paper tries to illustrate about the Dalits who have been engaged in traditional occupation as scavenging and cleaning night soil in the township of Chas and Dalits have been excluded from the various benefits of life. It raises some concern that why they have not been able to change their occupation in sixty years of independence? The lower socio-economic conditions of Dalits and the environmental living and working conditions, compounded with their occupation, always have a higher risk of getting exposed to various diseases. Since there are very few efforts and studies which try to explore the health situations of Dalits in India, this study attempts to provide the input or fill the gap. It will provide a comparative understanding of urban and rural community. Since the area of the studied population is located in the vicinity of a township but the rural population comprises native and dalits of Jharkhand. Social exclusion is the term used to describe what happens when people or areas are excluded from essential services or every day aspects of life that most of us take for granted. Socially excluded people or places can become trapped in a cycle of related problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poverty, poor housing, high crime, bad health and family breakdown. Thorat (2007) states that the deprivation of Dalits is closely linked with the processes of caste based exclusion and discrimination.*

## Introduction

The term social exclusion has been a popular concept of contemporary scholarship. It is more debated in the context of poverty and discrimination. India is one such example that shows the relevance of exclusion. The attempts to discuss the twin related concept of caste discrimination and exclusion has been prevalent throughout the post independent era. This paper tries to illustrate the *Dalits* who have been engaged in traditional occupation as scavenging and cleaning night soil in the township of Chas. By emphasizing how the *Dalits* have been excluded from the various benefits of life my paper will raise concern as to why they have not been able to change their occupation in sixty years of independence. By elucidating the lower socio-economic conditions of *Dalits* and the environmental living and working conditions, compounded with their occupation, my paper will show that they have a higher risk of getting exposed to various diseases. Since there are very few efforts and studies which try to explore the health situations of *Dalits* in India, this study attempts to provide the input or fill the gap.

## Understanding Social Exclusion

Social exclusion is the term used to describe what happens when people or areas are excluded from essential services or every day aspects of life that most of us take for granted. Socially excluded people or places can become trapped in a cycle of related problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poverty, poor housing, high crime, bad health and family breakdown. The deprivation of *Dalits* is closely linked with the processes of caste based exclusion and discrimination. Social exclusion is the denial of equal opportunities imposed by certain groups of society upon others which leads to inability of an individual to participate in the basic political, economic and social functioning of society (Thorat, 2007).

Over and above these semantic and terminological considerations, it is now necessary to examine the meaning and use of the term social exclusion.

Firstly, it is important to warn against the use and abuse of a concept that has been qualified as a catch-all expression, a corner shop offering something of everything, a buzz word that can be used on any occasion. It has even been described as having become so trivialized that it is saturated with meanings, non-meanings and misunderstandings (Freund, in the



introduction to Xiberras, 1996). But it must have some merits, because 20 years ago almost no one used it, yet now it is on everyone's lips, from the highest-ranking international officials to the lowest experts on local projects in developed and developing nations.

Secondly, its use alongwith that of poverty and other related terms also make it necessary to define it and delimit it. This is inherently hazardous, as it is still a moving concept, and thus nebulous, equivocal, polyvalent and polymorphous. In view of the risks involved in endeavouring to act as an authority on the subject, it is, therefore, necessary to adopt a step-by-step approach, based on its differentiation from other terms through a sort of triangulation process.

In the first place, it should, perhaps, be pointed out that exclusion is related to the dissatisfaction or unease felt by individuals who are faced with situations in which they cannot achieve their objectives for themselves or their loved ones. From this perspective, exclusion tends to have a certain subjective content based on material facts. It should also be recalled that exclusion from certain dominant fashions, customs and ideas may have a positive side for some individuals, groups or communities, thereby reinforcing their internal cohesion. In other cases, voluntary exclusion may be a prerequisite for the stimulation of artistic or intellectual creativity, or a more philosophical or religious life of reflection.

At the same time, it cannot be denied that most people can claim to have been excluded from something (Estivill, 1998). But it may, perhaps, be useful to retain the deeper meaning of the role of transgression in generating exclusion. Any society, group or even individual establishes and maintains rules that are more or less explicit, and in so doing creates a basis for differentiation, whether or not they do so logically, between the categories of I/we and you/they. There can, therefore, be no exclusion without inclusion. In generic terms, they both allow a sense of belonging and self-identification in relation to others. Self-definition also involves defining otherness. And the narrower the self-definition, the more exclusive it is. Applied to societies as a whole, this means that the stricter and more closed they are, the more they exclude. The process is both real and symbolic. The concept can, therefore, be enriched through sociology, psychology and anthropology. For this reason, references may also be sought in theories about organic linkages, 'anomie' and deviation, as propounded by the classical exponents of social sciences, such as Durkheim, Simmel, Tonnies and Max Weber, as well as the Chicago

school, which already in the 1930s highlighted the factors of aggregation and segregation in large cities in relation to the social cohesion of immigrants.

Individuals, groups and communities can shut themselves off, building ever higher walls, by affirming their values in an authoritarian and dogmatic fashion, which may, in turn, lead to the expulsion of those who do not accept them or who are not recognized. History is full of cases in which religious, ideological, political, cultural and ethnic motives have given rise to successive processes of exclusion, the ultimate manifestations of which are the destruction of others and genocide.

These historical examples should not be allowed to obscure the characteristics of the current widespread phenomenon of exclusion, in which both the paths of stigmatization (Goffman, 1963) and isolation needs urgent attention. Prompted by debates in Europe on new forms of poverty in the wake of the crisis of the welfare state, development studies have started to explore the notion of social exclusion. It was promoted by a research project at the International Institute in the mid 1990s (IILS 1994, Figueiredo and de Haan 1998), originally as contribution to the World Summit for Social Development, which produced a range of country studies. An IDS Bulletin in 1998 focused on the subject, with an emphasis on bringing together northern and southern debates on poverty (de Haan 1998), subsequently mostly disappeared from the debate at that institute, but appeared for example in the writings of Amartya Sen (1998), and at the conference on chronic poverty at the University of Manchester in 2003. Common to most of these writing is a definition that emphasises that: a) poverty is a multi-dimensional phenomenon, and b) on the institutions and processes that are responsible for causing and reproducing deprivation.

As could have been foreseen on the basis of the extremely important conceptual work by Hilary Silver, interpretations of the concept have differed greatly, and there may have been more conceptual critique than empirical applications of the concept. Silver distinguished three paradigms of social exclusion, depending in particular on the ways social integration has been conceptualised, and associated with 'theoretical and ideological baggage'. In the 'solidarity paradigm', dominant in France, exclusion is the rupture of a social bond between the individual and society that is cultural and moral. The poor, unemployed and ethnic minorities are defined as outsiders. National solidarity implies political right and duties.

A 'specialisation paradigm', dominant in the US, and contested in the UK, is determined by individual liberalism. According to liberal-individualistic theories, individuals are able to move across boundaries of social differentiation and economic divisions of labour, and emphasize the contractual exchange of rights and obligations. In this paradigm, exclusion reflects discrimination, the drawing of group distinctions that denies individual's full access to or participation in exchange or interaction. A 'monopoly paradigm' is influential in Britain and many Northern European countries, and views the social order as coercive, imposed through hierarchical power relations. Exclusion is defined as a consequence of the formation of group monopolies, group distinctions and inequality overlap.

## I. Pattern of exclusion

This paper gives three types of exclusion in Europe: First, exclusion from the labour market reflecting in rising numbers of long-term unemployed and increasing difficulty of initial labour market entry; Second, exclusion from the regular work, through the growth of precarious and part-time employment relationships; Third, exclusion from decent housing and community services, reflected in the *banlieue* phenomenon (which also has ethnic and migrant connotations). In the European context, these three types of exclusions are widely found but its forms may vary. Since Exclusion carries different patterns, for some it may be exclusion from land, for others exclusion from secure jobs and for some exclusion from opportunities to develop skills, because all these patterns are linked to the process of development.

**1. Exclusion from goods and services:** In this section, the author has focused on the concern of poverty and it's been viewed as an important factor leading to exclusion in terms of low consumption levels, education and health care. The location of public goods, its accessibility and ability to pay are a few factors leading to exclusion; it is much true in the context of education.

**2. Labour market exclusions:** It is noted very clearly that the processes of social exclusion come through the understanding of the mechanisms at play in the labour market. For most households, and especially for the poor, labour earnings are the major source of income. Very true, it is, employment provides social legitimacy as well as access to income.

**3. Exclusion from land:** The exclusion from land is a critical issue in many developing countries and more over, it is widely associated with

poverty and insecurity. The author emphasises that land is not only a source of livelihood but also of social integration in a broader sense. This is more relevant to the developing nations where land is the prime source of employment and livelihood.

**4. Exclusion from security:** The concept of security has multiple dimensions. First is the physical security of the person in terms of safety and freedom from the risk of physical violence. Second is the security of livelihood and the third involves protection against contingencies i.e. accident, ill health, death. In recent years UNDP has been emphasizing more against eventualities in the frame of social insurance which is becoming widespread.

**5. Exclusion from human rights:** The Post modern notion of human rights is wider than the earlier understanding of freedom and rights. The question may be different that the major advantage of the notion of exclusion is that it considers both rights and welfare within a single framework. This aspect makes it relevant in the present changing global society.

**6. Exclusion and macro-economic development:** The central aspect of this analysis of exclusion is the idea that it is embedded in the ways societies function. Thus, differences in the development paths and in macro-economic and structural adjustment strategies imply equally varied patterns of social exclusion. Similar aggregate economic development may lead to quite different patterns of income inequality, quite different patterns of distribution of the benefits of the growth. In this the institutional arrangements which mediate between economic and social development are crucial. They may include or exclude, limit gains to a few sectors or groups or spread advantage widely.

## II. Special features of the approach

**1. A multi-dimensional, multi-disciplinary view:** The notion of exclusion links together both social rights and material deprivations. So it encompasses not only the lack of access to goods and services which underlie poverty and satisfaction of basic needs but also exclusion from security, from justice, from representation and from citizenship. A central idea is that exclusion has much to do with inequality in many dimensions-economic, social, political and cultural. This broad framework not only helps to identify the most important mechanisms and dimensions of exclusion which vary from one situation to another, but it also provides a basis for an interdisciplinary approach.

**2. A focus on process:** Exclusion may describe a state but its particular advantage is that it focuses on the process rather than on other dimensions. It is very important to identify the process and factors which lead to the process of exclusion. It talks about two situations: one which is permanent exclusion in which groups live on the margins of society. The other is that which is created and recreated by the operation of social and economic forces in the society.

**3. A focus on social actors and agents:** There are processes which include and exclude but there are also social actors who both include and exclude. An important aspect of the treatment of social exclusion is to identify these actors and understand how and why they exclude others. Actors are social groups, state, enterprises, the military, local authorities, religious bodies and local elites.

**4. An impact at many levels:** Exclusion can be understood at several levels: nations, regions, institutions, social groups, individuals and the whole world as a whole.

**5. The term of inclusion:** The simple talk on inclusion and exclusion may be said good and bad respectively but the problem lies much deeper than it appears. At times, there are efforts to include certain exclude groups or population but they are not rejected by the larger groups. Inclusion of certain group may not necessarily include them but that may exclude them from other benefits as well. For instance, there is widespread trend for increasing wage labour of women but on terms which are inferior to men. Another example; rural-urban migrants may become incorporated in a process of industrial development but with little social protection and loss of community support networks.

## Conceptualizing Exclusion in the context of Dalits

Amartya Sen draws attention to various meaning and dimensions of the concept of social exclusion and this distinction is drawn between the situations where some people are kept out and where some people are being included. He described the two situations as 'unfavourable exclusion' and 'unfavourable inclusion' (Sen, 2000). The 'unfavourable inclusion' with unequal treatment may carry the same adverse effects as 'unfavourable exclusion'. The concept of social exclusion essentially refers to the processes through which groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society in which they live (Thorat, 2007).

Within an Indian context, exclusion is witnessed in various forms and it is much inter-related. It revolves around the societal interventions and institutions that exclude, discriminate, isolate and deprive some groups on the basis of group identities like caste, language and ethnicity. For example, the nature of exclusion revolving around the caste system needs to be understood and conceptualized. It is known to all that caste based exclusion has formed the basis of various anti-discriminatory policies and programmes in India.

The question is that why the social structure of India is unequal and hierarchical- the answer lies in the organizational scheme of the caste system in India by which the civil, cultural and economic rights of each individual caste are pre-determined or ascribed by birth and made hereditary. The most striking feature of caste system is that it provides for a regulatory mechanism to enforce the social and economic organization through the instruments of social ostracism or prohibition and reinforces it further with the justification and support from the philosophical elements in the Hindu religion (Lal, 1988 Ambedkar, 1987). The caste system shows a fundamental discrimination in economic, social and civil spheres of human life. It demarcates the line of discrimination based on caste identity and the occupational association. Occupational immobility is a serious concern while talking about caste and occupation because each individual caste carries specific occupational identity. It refers to the continuous discrimination based on occupation and the notion of pollution attached to it. The benefits and rights are associated with the differential ranking and hierarchical nature of caste system. The uniqueness of caste system also manifests a differential social order in the society; the higher the rankings, the higher the social benefits, and vice-versa.

It is also necessary to note that since civil, cultural and economic rights (with special reference to occupation and property rights) of each caste are ascribed, and are compulsory, the institution of caste necessarily involves forced exclusion of one caste from the rights of another. This restricted social arrangement obviously does not leave space for freedom to choose any occupation and hence curtailment of human development results.

Caste based exclusion is witnessed and described as 'living mode of exclusion'. In other words, exclusion entails taking part in social, economic and political life of a community. Therefore, the Dalits (untouchables) located at the bottom of the caste hierarchy have much less economic and social rights than the castes at the top of the order.