



## Review of Literature on Social Exclusion, Inclusion and Integration of Scheduled Tribes in India along with the Views of Pioneer Researchers

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**Abstract:** Since 1980s a lot of debate and deliberations are going on the problem of social exclusion among different social categories across the globe. The Researchers, Activists and Administrators were paid much attention to suggest certain inclusive policy measures to evade from the *clux* of exclusion by the so called vulnerable marginalized, deprived and impoverished communities, social categories and people across the globe. Almost all the nations including India is paying certain concerted effort to focus towards inclusive growth and development of these groups. In India tribes are considered as one of the excluded communities and social groups which stands at the bottom most position of human development Index. Hence, as an academic researcher in Anthropology discipline I thought that to review the available earlier literature on the problems of social exclusion, inclusion and integration in some extent, much concern to the tribal communities. This review article shall be useful for the future researchers to know the status of research on these problems as well as to know the gaps and lapses in the available literature and to add some of the recent literature available on it and also to update the knowledge in the areas of social exclusion and inclusion / integration literature pertaining to inclusive growth and development studies focused on different ethnic groups across the globe.

**Keywords:** Excluded Communities, Researchers, Inclusion, Literature, Social Categories

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### The Concept of Social Exclusion

Amratyasen (1997) explained very simply that “social exclusion emphasizes the role of relational features in deprivation. Deepa Natayana (1999) calls it “the norm and process

that prevents certain groups from equal and effective participation in the social, economic, cultural and political lives of societies". Amartyasen (2002) mentioned that "it leads to the impoverishment of human life through their casual consequences". Buvinic (2005) said that the inability of an individual to participate in the basic political, economic and social functioning of society involves the denial of equal access to opportunities imposed by certain groups in society up on others. This definition captures three distinguishing features of social exclusion between them, and results in deprivation or low income for those excluded (De Haan, 1997, Sen 2000). According to Bradley (1994) there are five main mechanisms of exclusion in order of increasing severity; geography, entry barriers, corruption, intimidation and physical violence. Social exclusion is a process by which individuals or households experience deprivation either of resources or of social links to the wider community or society (Subramanyam V & K.Sekhar 2010). since the seminal work of Rene Lenoir (1974) of France on social exclusion, it became the central theme of social policy in many European countries. The French establishment, defined social exclusion as a rupture of social bonds. A broader frame work of the understanding of social exclusion suggests that it is the process that excludes individuals, groups and aggregates from full participation in the society in which they live. (Subramanyam V &K.Sekhar 2010). According to Silver (1995) "exclusion must include the following: a livelihood secure, permanent employment earnings, property, credit or land, minimal or prevailing consumption levels, education, skills and cultural capital, the welfare state, citizenship and legal equality, democratic participation, public goods, the nation or the dominant race, family and sociability, humanity, respect, fulfilment and understanding.

Amartyasen (2000) holds that exclusion from social relations can lead to other deprivations that further limit our living opportunities. It can be thus be constructively a part of capability deprivation as well as instrumentally a cause of diverse capability failures. In the Indian context, exclusion revolves around institutions that discriminate, isolate, shame and deprive subordinate groups on the basis of identities like caste, religion and gender (Thorat and Newman 2007).

The term "Social Exclusion" was originally coined in 1974 by Rene Lenoir to categories of people who were unprotected by social insurance, at the time but labelled as 'social problems' identified as" mentally and physically handicapped, suicidal people, aged invalids, abused children, substance abusers, delinquents, single parents, multi-problem households, marginal, asocial persons and other social misfits (Silver 1994).

In India, social exclusion is embedded in societal interrelations and institutions that exclude, discriminate, isolate and deprive some groups on the basis of the groups

identities such as caste and ethnicity. The nature of exclusion revolving around the caste system particularly needs to be understood and conceptualized. The caste systems fundamental characterizes of fixed civil, cultural and economic rights for each caste, with restrictions for change, imply forced exclusion of one caste from the right of other castes or from undertaking the occupations of other castes (Ambedkar 1987).

According to Thorat (2003) 'Exclusion and discrimination in civil, cultural and particularly economic spheres such as occupation and labour employment is therefore, internal to the system and a necessary outcome of its governing principles. In the market economy frame work, the occupational in mobility would operate through restrictions in various markets such as: land, labour, credit, other inputs and services necessary for any economic activity. Labour being an integral part of the production process of any economic activity would obviously become a part of market discrimination". Rajesh Patnaik (2010), mentioned that "Social exclusion as a multi-dimensional concept. Social exclusion arises from a variety of processes; a focus on 'spatial exclusion and environmental exclusion' with ramifications of sociocultural and religious nature. This can also be viewed in a secular way and can be conceived as deprivation a negation of an intrinsic capability of an entire community".

Social exclusion as of now is at least at the definitional level being advocated as a multidimensional concept the attempts to high light the process of exclusion of an individual, ethnic group, community or any other identifiable entity of the larger society. This exclusion puts them at a disadvantage of not being able to participate in various development improvement living standards in the last few years a general agreement has emerged despite the continuing vagueness of the term social exclusion that is main value lies in drawing attention to issues of dynamics and multidimensional (Berghman 1996 Room 1999 Sen 2000). There are however, some issues in the social exclusion literature between an emphasis on a heterogeneity of trajectories and on accumulation disadvantages, apparently leading to an unsettled focus of the literature (Pangam 1996). This aspect is stressed in discussions the social exclusion literature (Room 1999:171).

Amartyasen (2004) presents four forms of exclusion that are distinguishable depending upon the nature and context of exclusion. They are active and passive exclusion, living mode exclusion, constitutive relevance of exclusion and unfavorable exclusion. Peace has listed 41 conditions within three brackets, such as lack of access, personal / economic inter fires and spatial intensifiers, which are accentuating factors of exclusion. Most of these factors centre around lack of access for example to social mobility means of communication, vital social systems, housing public amenities, social

security, health services, education services and social citizenship (Peace 1999; 398). Traditionally, social exclusion has been defined with reference primarily to the working and unemployed poor. Indeed, the concept of social exclusion has been described as a success or to the U.S, term “under class” (ILO 1996).

### **Means and Ways for Inclusion**

Phule and Ambedkar sought to reconstitute the society by establishing a new social order based on liberty, equality, fraternity and justice. They strive to bring about awareness among the suffering *Bahujans* about their physical and mental slavery. Their efforts focused on national change so as to bring about a structural change in the society. Dispelling the divine origin, caste and caste system are explained as the deception of the Brahminical sections to keep the masses under the yoke (Stayapal P.D .2010). Ambedkar (1936) explained caste devise designed to divide “caste is the notion, a state of mind. It is a disease of the mind”. he declared that the structural alternative is to annihilate caste.

### **Education and Inclusion (Inclusive Education)**

Education to the excluded social groups (Including Bahijans) definitely bring about awareness and consciousness of their victimization in the social process of Indian society with the institution of caste. Phule analyzed it in his book cultivator’s whipcord (1883)’ without knowledge the mind was lost, without mind. Virtue was lost, without virtue, fortune was lost, without fortune, wealth was lost, without wealth the Shudras sank, such was the havoc wreaked by wisdom’s lack. Phule established the first school for girls in Pune in 1848 with his wife Savitribai as the teacher. He also established schools for the shudras and Atishudras. In his book Slavery (19873), Phule declares let there be schools for the shudras in every village, but away with all Brahmin school masters”. Ambedkar advocated education as the basic requisite for social change. “ if you give education to the lower strata of the Indian society which is interested in blowing up the caste system. The caste system will be blown up (Keer 1962; 491). National education policies 1986, 1992,2019 and Right to Education Act 2009 are also considered as educational inclusion of aboriginal and other communities in India. Constitutional safeguards and provisions as a measure of inclusion for excluded social groups in India (Subramanyam V and K Sekhar 2010). the Indian constitution definitely protects the interest of the scheduled tribes through the fifth and sixth schedules of constitution. The constitution of India provides to all citizens, social, economic and political justice and equality of status and

opportunity. Article 46 specifically provides that “the state shall promote with special care, the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and shall protect them from social justice and all forms of exploitation” for achieving these objectives, various safeguards relating to protection and development of weaker sections, particularly SCs and STs have been made under the constitution. The constitutional provisions relating to safeguards for protection, and development are as mentioned below:

1. Safeguards relating to protection: protective safeguards are broadly classified in to:
  - (a) social safeguards: Article, 17,23,24 and 25(2)
  - (b) Educational safeguards: Article 15(4), 29 and 46
  - (c) Political safeguards: Article 164, 320(4), 332,334,243D, 234T, 371B
  - (d) Service safeguards: Articles 16(4), 335 and 338
2. Safeguards relating to development: provisions relating to development / economic safeguards are contained under Articles 273 (1) and 339(2) of the constitution.

Thorat S. and Narendra Kumar (2010) discussed about the problem of social exclusion associated with multiple identities and the policy implications for building the inclusive and participatory society in their presentation in regard to graded inequality and nature of inclusive policy requires use of both policies namely policy of social and economic empowerment and clearly pointed out that the development of inclusive policy, requires use of both policies namely policy of social and economic empowerment and policy of equal opportunity (in the form of reservation policy). In formulating the reservation policy for various caste groups of Hindu and Non-Hindu societies needs to take into account features of the caste system in terms of its exclusionary character with wider social and economic consequences on different castes within the Hindu fold. Andre Beteille (2008) said that today the constitution of India provides a blue print for an egalitarian society. The constitution is not based on the premise of hierarchy, but on the premise of equality. But of course, you do not just erase or channel out age-old inequalities simply by adopting new principles in a constitution. So, what else has to be done in order to reduce inequalities of the past? This is what affirmative action or positive discrimination addresses itself to. The object is to reduce the level of inequality in a society which has had a hierarchical order a very long period of time. Affirmative action or positive discrimination was not the only major programme adopted, when the country became independent and created

a constitution based on the premise of equality”. Ambrose Pinto (2010) said that “the reservation policies are not settling scores among our academician, political leaders and policy makers, but address the issue of socioeconomic equality and justice”. He further mentioned that “political freedom has no meaning apart from social equality. It is to provide social equality through representation in all the institutions of the state that the reservation system was introduced”. Affirmative action is not just quota and reservation. It also envisages incentives for the poor. Such incentives cannot be provided without public banking. When job opportunities are rare reservations for chosen, sections can only lead to resentment among the unemployed in the general category, who will be deprived just because of their birth (Dipak Basu 2010).

### **Integration And Development of Tribes as Inclusive Policy Measure**

Two diametrically opposite views are expressed in regard to the policy formulation for the development of scheduled tribes in India. On one hand, it is suggested that the tribal identity and heritage should not be disturbed they ought to be left alone with minimal interventions (policy of segregation or isolation), while the other view point calls for their integration into the mainstream of the national life (policy of assimilation / integration). Verrier Elwin (1948) was the votary of the former approach and Ghurye (1943) of latter., Elwin pleaded for the protection of their cultural identity and heritage from the impact of change so that the tribal communities are not forced into a state of loss of nerve.

Ultimately a middle path has been adopted in consonance with the views expressed by Nehru. He observed we cannot allow matters drift in the tribal areas, in the world of today that is not possible or desirable. At the same time, we should avoid administration in these areas. It is between these two extreme positions that we have to function. He desired that people should be allowed to develop along the lines of their own genus. Govind Ballabh pant concurred with the view of Nehru and state that the tribes should develop their own culture and make contribution to the cultural richness of the country. The present policy is the development process while making efforts for preserving their identity and heritage. Tribals integration into mainstream through various development and welfare programmes considered as inclusive policy measures of government., which definitely pay way for the inclusion of tribes in the development process of nation and state. The government concerted effort in this direction is also definitely pay way for the inclusive growth and development among the tribes in India (Subramanyam V & K.Sekhar 2010).

### **Integrated Approach of Tribal Development as an Inclusive Policy Measure**

The Dhebar commission (1963) recommended an integrated approach based on the minimum essential needs such as food, drinking water, education, employment, health and village roads. The task force on development of tribal areas (1972) suggested that the ecological, occupational and social parameters of the tribal population should be properly assessed for formulation of the policy and its implementation, so that a steady flow of benefits could be assured. The Dube Committee (1978) suggested that the problem of tribal development should be defined at the national level and national efforts are required for taking it. It also recommended for an integrated area development approach in line with the genius and aspirations of the tribal people. As per the recommendations of Dhebar commission (1963) and Dube Committee (1978), strategies and approaches such as multipurpose Tribal Development Blocks, Modified Area Development Approach (MADA), tribal development block, Girijan Development Agencies and Tribal Sub-Plan approach with a focus on integrated area development have been adopted. The fifth five-year plan marked a significant change in the process of tribal development. The main objectives of the tribal sub-plan are 1) socioeconomic development of scheduled tribes and 2) protection of tribes against exploitation. The tribal sub-plan strategy definitely yielded good results in many tribal pockets of India (Including the scheduled areas of Andhra Pradesh) and ensured for empowerment, integration and inclusion growth and development of aboriginals in future. The concepts of social exclusion, inclusion, integration and development are interconnected with one another which should be dealt in Anthropological holistic perspective on tribal development initiatives of the government. It should be in the line of need and right based approaches. This kind of strategy definitely promote inclusive growth and development among the tribal communities in general and Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups in specific.

Behura N.K and Nilakantha Panigrahi (2006) mentioned that “five decades of experience on tribal development in India reflect that the goal of all round development of the tribal communities as conceived in the Indian constitution has raised certain basic issues before the nation. These issues may be recognition of rights of the tribal people over natural resources like land, water, forests and mineral resources, crisis in tribal identity etc. However, it is very difficult to say that since independence and from the formulation of Indian constitution, the social economic conditions of these communities have not changed much. It is a fact that as long as the disparity between the tribal groups on one side and non-tribal on the other prevails, the constitutional

goal of building one socioeconomic order remains a day dream. Under this situation the government policy should be more focused towards bridging the prevailing disparities both within and outside the tribal communities”.

The spatial exclusion of scheduled tribes in India is major concern in the framework of inclusive policies targeted for all communities, geographical isolation is one of the mechanisms for exclusion in many parts of India. The tribes least position on the development index is linked with several issues and concerns across the country as they have remained isolated for a long time from the mainstream society (Subramanyam V & K.R.Ram Mohan 2010).

Unequal power relations in the customary land tenure system of the Khamptis facilitated use of village common land as private resource, there by excluding some families from its future use. The power dynamics along with people's perception of land in the customary frame was absent in development schemes of land reclamation. Moreover, the customary inequality would be transported to the modern process of development where the chief operated within the resource tribe (villagers) power frame (Behere M.C 2017). The problem of social exclusion is very much associated with the human development. It is considered as hindrance for inclusive growth and development of vulnerable, marginalized and deprived communities of Indian society (Subramnyam.V 2017).

Development initiative permeates through various five-year plans with the sole aim of protective discrimination and affirmative action for tribal development. Some of the strategies and schemes include community development programme, Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks, Tribal Development Block, Development Agencies, Primitive Tribal Groups, Integrated Tribal Development Projects, Modified Area Development Approach, Tribal Sub-Plan, Dispersed Tribal Development Programme and centrally sponsored schemes and many others etc; (Mohapatra 2009; 25-28 and XaXa 2012-25-26). Various evaluation studies (See GoI, 2014) find that development objectives of the tribes have not been realized, rather they are found more deprived, marginalized and thus excluded in the process of development. Basar (2011) with reference to villagers' participation in Joint Forest Management comments that decentralization is a strategic innovation to reinforce forces of centralization. “There is a reversal in structure with focus on decentralization, people's participation etc., there are three acts namely, land acquisition law of 2013, Forest Rights Act 2006 and PESA, 1996, that provide for tribal participation and seeking their consent. In these acts power relations have not been considered (Behera, M.C 2017).

## **Disability, Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy Measures**

The sheer magnitude of disability in India is enormous. India is home to the largest population of disabled people in the world (Karma 2000), Possibly second to China. Disabled persons are also recorded among the PVTGs in Andhra Pradesh state too. Disability is one of the forms of social exclusion and considered it as a barrier to the disabled person in order to participate fully in the ongoing development process of the society or nation. Given the exclusion and invisibility of disabled people from everyday life, politics, policy and development interventions, it is perhaps not surprising that they are absent from research agendas as well. (Insa Klasing 2007): Disability rehabilitation is the effort to integrate persons with disability in to main stream society Ibid P 65). Medical care to the disabled persons is one of the measures for their inclusion in the society.

Under the Indian Constitution health is a state subject, which means the provision of medical care and preventive health services is the responsibility of the states. In other words, the state is the ultimate authority responsible for the health services operating in its jurisdiction. The responsibility of the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare at the Centre consists mainly of policy making, planning and coordination (Park 1998). The Government policy "Education for All" is another measure for the inclusion of disabled children in the ongoing development process of nation, In 1992, the universal education of disabled children became declared policy goal. The Programme of Action (POA) as it became known, was developed following the review of the National Education Policy of 1986 and made a commitment for universal enrolment of disabled children by the end of the ninth plan in 2002, in general, schools wherever possible, as well as in special schools or in special sections of general schools where needed (Insa Klasing 2007;P111). Inclusive education as a measure of inclusion of disabled children in the ongoing development process of nation. Denying disabled children access to education is a tremendous waste of potential. Even a country as large as India cannot afford to forget millions of its children (including PVTGs children, Ibid, P:127). Employment to disabled persons as the reservation policy of the government, considering it one of the measures for inclusion of them in the ongoing development process of our nation, Coleridge (1993) argues that if able-bodied people did not react with horror, fear, anxiety, distaste, hostility or patronizing behaviour towards disabled people, then there would be no problem. It is discrimination and prejudice that crate the sense of being disabled. Seen from this perspective, social exclusion is the most important aspect of disability providing good social life to them as a measure of their inclusion

in the ongoing development process of society, Bhambini (2003) argues that the ability to contribute to the family income enhances the worth of an individual in the eyes of other family members. In this view unemployed disabled people not only constitute an economic liability for the family but are also considered “less Worthy”.

In sum the review of the earlier literature on the issues of social exclusion, inclusion and integration pertaining to scheduled tribes in India, clearly reveals about the constraints and means to achieve it through the policy interventions of both Central and State Governments. The reviewed earlier studies on the issues of social exclusion, inclusion and integration mainly concerned and related to tribal development in India, explains the views of pioneer Anthropologists with their empirical field work experiences in different tribal pockets of India in brief. As well as it also presents the views of the subject experts in the field of social exclusion inclusion studies belonging to social sciences and humanities disciplines.

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