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SOCIAL EXCLUSION AS AN EMERGING PARADIGM

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ABSTRACT

Social exclusion is a process through which individuals or groups either completely or partially are excluded from full participation in the society within which they live. Such social distanciation from accessibility of resources is a culturally constituted phenomena and is instrumental in making and breaking social relations which may even lead to conflicts and thereby violence. At the societal level, social exclusion reflects inadequate social cohesion. At the individual level, it refers to the incapacity to participate in normatively expected social activities and to build meaningful social relations. Social exclusion can be considered as both a condition and a process, although it is most frequently treated in dynamic terms. This paper tries to explain about social exclusion as an emerging paradigm in Indian context in particular and western in general.

Keywords: Social exclusion, Society, Cultural practices, Human Rights, Poverty.

I. INTRODUCTION

The concept of 'social exclusion' is of relatively recent origin. Early reference to social exclusion is generally attributed to Weber for whom exclusion constituted a form of "social closure," the "…attempt of one group to secure for itself a privileged position [in society] at the expense of some other group through a process of subordination" (Parkin 1979.) Young (1999: 26) finds two forms of society; the first one is a "society which both materially and ontologically incorporated its members and which attempted to assimilate deviance and disorder", while exclusive society is one "which involves a great deal of both material and ontological precariousness that responds to deviance by separation and exclusion".

René Lenoir, a French Secretary for Social Affairs in the Chirac Government in France popularized the concept of social exclusion in his 1974 publication, *Les Exclus: Un Francais sur dix*. He referred to various social categories of people who are "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'

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Volume: 04, Issue: 08 "August 2019"

under the socially excluded groups who deserve inclusion into varied appropriate sectors of society"[1]. There is an 'official' French definition of the concept, which defines social exclusion as a rupture of social bonds – which reflects a French emphasis on the organic and solidarity nature of society. More broadly, social exclusion has been defined as 'the process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society within which they live. Social exclusion is defined as the opposite of social integration, mirroring the perceived importance of being part of society, of being 'included'[2].

The concept of social exclusion has two main defining characteristics. First, it is a multi-dimensional concept. People may be excluded, for example, from livelihoods, employment, earnings, property, housing, minimum consumption, education, the welfare state, citizenship, personal contacts or respect (Silver 1994). But the concept focuses on the multi-dimensionality of deprivation, on the fact that people are often deprived of different things at the same time. It refers to exclusion (deprivation) in the economic, social and political sphere. The Second implies a focus on the relations and processes that cause deprivation. People can be excluded by many different sorts of groups, often at the same time: landlords exclude people from access to land or housing; elite political groups exclude others from legal rights; priests in India may exclude scheduled castes from access to temples; minorities may be excluded from expressing their identity; labour markets, and also some trade unions exclude people (non-members) from getting jobs; and so on. Exclusion happens at each level of society. Group formation is a fundamental characteristic of human society, and this is accompanied by the exclusion of others. The concept takes us beyond mere descriptions of deprivation, and focuses attention on social relations and the processes and institutions that underlie and are part and parcel of deprivation.In the nineteenth century, modernization and industrialization have resulted in a new type of poverty, which affected the middle class and working class. In seventies and eighties, globalization and new trends in privatization, deregulation of the labour market, accompanied by unemployment in Europe was often neglected by welfare states. Here unemployment is one of the reasons for poverty which is not just about income levels, but also talks about the social networks. So, exclusion of these unemployed from the social networks gave birth to the concept of social exclusion. The literature that has followed Lenoir's original initiative has vastly added to this already bulging list of the "socially excluded" and is seen as covering a remarkably wide range of wide range of social and economic problems (Sen, 2000:1).

[1] Lenoir, R. (1974) Les Exclus: un franc¸ais sur dix.Seuil, Paris

[2] European Foundation (1995: 4). For the British Social Exclusion Unit, according to Carey Oppenheim, in April 1998 the establishment of a working definition was still a key challenge (*The Guardian*, 1 April 1998). For the EU's Economic and Social Committee on the cost of poverty and social exclusion in Europe (1998), 'complete social exclusion' is the 'final culmination of a series of specific exclusions from basic rights'

ISSN: 2455-8834

Volume: 04, Issue: 08 "August 2019"

II. DEFINITIONS

Despite the concept's novelty and ambiguity, definitions of social exclusion vary by national context and cultural paradigm. Some scholars refer to an inability to exercise the social rights of citizenship, including the right to a decent standard of living. These approaches see social exclusion as synonymous with poverty and deprivation, and thus as an aspect of social stratification. Ever since its first appearance in the 1980s, social exclusion has nearly always been both a social science concept and a policy issue. The latter dimension refers to 'social exclusion' and promoting its opposite, 'social inclusion' that have appeared as a policy program. It has become widely accepted in the social sciences very rapidly.

According to the **Neoliberal**[3] perspective, "social exclusion can be seen as an unfortunate but an inevitable side effect of global economic realignment. In other words, the arguments insist that social exclusion is the necessary result of global realignments of production. The concomitant fact that workers formerly protected by trade barriers at a national level and social security and formal employment conditions at a personal level, are now excluded from such benefits"[4]. Various scholars and institutions have given different opinions on the social exclusion. According to European Union, social exclusion is "a process whereby certain individuals are pushed to the edge of the society and prevented from participating fully by virtue of their poverty, or lack of basic competencies or as a result of discrimination. This distances them from job, income, education and training opportunities, as well as from social and community networks and activities. They have little access to power and decision making bodies and thus feel powerless and unable to control over the decisions that affect their day to day lives"[5]. Hillary Silver (1994)[6] considers social exclusion as "the rupture of social bonds-which is cultural and moral – between the individual and the society". It is here that ruptures are to be found in symbolic links, with the potential for conflict in the respective social attitudes, compounded by the growth of individualism and individualization, and leading to the isolation of individuals, as well as the multiplicity and heterogeneity of prevailing values. This in turn adds to difficulties, on the one hand, of collective cohesion and, on the other, in relation to the feeling by individuals

[3] The Neoliberals mainly worked on global economy. According to Mc Grew (2000), the neoliberal analysis is based on an overly economist interpretation of globalization, which celebrates the emergence of a single global market and principles of free trade and global competition in the wake of the collapse of state socialism in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

[4] Beall, Jo (2002), " *Globalisation and Social Exclusion in Cities: Framing the Debate with Lessons from Africa and Asia",* Development Studies Institute, London, pp.4

[5] Tamsma, N & Berman B.C (2004), "*The Role of the Healthcare Sector in Tackling Poverty and Social Exclusion in Europe",* European Health Management Association, Belgium, pp-10

[6] De Haan, Arjan (2001), "Social *Exclusion: Enriching the Understanding of Deprivation",* World Development Report Forum, pp.27

ISSN: 2455-8834

Volume: 04, Issue: 08 "August 2019"

that they are integrated and belong to a single identity. The unravelling of existing social networks and the increased levels of social fragmentation are therefore compounded by the heterogeneity of central values and images, the difficulty of establishing other nuclei for groups and for purposes of identification, and of developing transversal collective responses that overcome successive ruptures and distances. This would appear to be the basis of social exclusion. It can be seen at the individual level (the micro-level) in relations between single persons, in those between individuals and intermediate groups and institutions (the meso-level), and in turn in those with society as a whole (the macro-level)[7].

Jackson defines, (1999),[8] "the concept of social exclusion has been widely adopted by development agencies and in development studies, notably since the social summit, as another way of understanding and reducing poverty in the south". Here he argues that social exclusion is a cause of poverty, but while some other says that poverty is a form of social exclusion".

Trevor Bradley[9] says: "social exclusion refers to the dynamic, multidimensional process of being shut out, fully or partially, from the various social, economic, political or cultural systems which serve to assist the integration of a person in a society". His concept of social exclusion includes marginalisation, impoverishment, social isolation, and vulnerability of those affected and at the lack of full "citizenship" (Bradley 2001:275). For him social exclusion is a collective phenomenon. Its basis is the increasing inequality and insecurity related to the structural and social changes in society. He identifies three levels of social exclusion. They are:

- The economic and material exclusion of individuals denied access to paid, full-time employment.
- The isolation from relationships produced by social and spatial segregation
- The ever-increasing exclusionary policies and practices pertaining to the criminal justice system.

Social exclusion when viewed on the paradigm of criminology three perspectives are to be emphasized. They are: a) the social perspective, b) the individual perspective and (c) the situational perspective. The social perspective is the approach that interprets crime as a social phenomenon. This means that crime is a phenomenon that can be derived from certain social, economic and cultural factors and that crime and the criminal justice system are both social constructs. The individual perspective focuses on the individual processes of becoming an

[7] Estivill, J (2003), "*Concepts and strategies for combating social exclusion. An overview*" Geneva: International Labour Office, pp.14-16.

[8] Prasad, R.R (1999), "Social *Exclusion: Concept, Meaning and Scope",* pp.45.

[9] Bradley, T (2001), "Social Exclusion", in E. McLaughlin and J. Muncie (eds): *The Sage Dictionary of Criminology*. London: SAGE.

ISSN: 2455-8834

Volume: 04, Issue: 08 "August 2019"

offender, and the situational perspective focuses on the situations of offences and crime opportunities. Each perspective has its own crime prevention approach[10].

III. WHO ARE SOCIALLY EXCLUDED?

Hillary Silver (1994:539)[11] identified three paradigms of social exclusion:

(i) The 'solidarity' paradigm derived from the French Republican thought attributes exclusion to the breakdown of social solidarity *i.e*. the social bond between the individual and society. The exclusion both threatens and reinforces social cohesion and the inverse of exclusion is 'integration' and the process of attaining it is insertion, which implies assimilation into the dominant culture.

(ii) The liberal tradition emphasizes the contractual exchange of rights and obligations and the separation of spheres in social life. Thus, according to this paradigm, exclusion is a form of discrimination, which occurs when individuals are denied free movement and exchange between spheres, when rules inappropriate to a given sphere are enforced or when group boundaries impede individual freedom to participate in social exchanges.

(iii) The third paradigm holds that the exclusion arises from the interplay of class, status and political power and serves the interest of the included and the excluded are simultaneously outsiders and dominated. Exclusion can be combated through citizenship and the extension of equal membership and full participation in the community.

People may be excluded for sometimes and some people may be excluded for lifetime too. The process of social exclusion is an endless one. In this process, people belonging to particular groups may not get any benefits from the welfare state. Always such people have been discriminated by others and the political parties. To include them, they should be provided with a secure livelihood, permanent employment with regular earnings, property, credit and/or land, housing, minimal or prevailing consumption levels, education skills, cultural capital, the welfare state citizenship and legal equality, democratic participation, public goods, family and sociability, humanity, respect, fulfillment and they should be understood in a proper manner.

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[10] Kauko Aroma, "*Penal Policy, Justice reform, and Social Exclusion*", Plenary presentations held at the Fifth Annual Conference of the European Society of Criminology, 31 August – 3 September 2005 at Krakow , **(**Poland),Publication Series No. 48 Helsinki: European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, affiliated with the United Nations, 2007.

[11] Silver, Hillary, (1994), "*Social Exclusion and Social Solidarity: Three Paradigms*" in International Labour Review, 133 (5-6) Pp. 531–578.

ISSN: 2455-8834

Volume: 04, Issue: 08 "August 2019"

Traits of social exclusion:

Social exclusion is a flexible and somewhat amorphous in its use, yet there are core features which separate it out from previous notions such as poverty or marginalization. It has the following traits:

(i). Social exclusion is multi-dimensional and involves economic, political, and spatial exclusion as well as lack of access to specific areas such as information, medical provision, housing, policing, security, etc. These dimensions are seen to interrelate and reinforce each other. They involve exclusion in what are seen as the 'normal' areas of participation of full citizenship (Percy-Smith, 2000)[12].

(ii). Social exclusion is a social not an individual problem. It is a collective phenomenon, hence its association with a posited underclass.

(iii). Social exclusion is described as a dynamic process, one of "…descending levels [where] some disadvantages lead to some exclusion, which in turn leads to more disadvantages and more social exclusion and ends up with persistent multiple disadvantages" (Eurostat 1998: 24). Its dynamism is evident in relationships that exist between the past, present and future experiences, circumstances, and conditions of the disadvantaged.

(iv). Social exclusion is also a relative phenomenon; it speaks to comparative disadvantage. The concept of social exclusion is premised on the belief that individuals and groups are socially embedded that they exist within time- and place-specific contexts. Thus, exclusion occurs when certain individuals and groups are disadvantaged relative or compared to the other (e.g., the majority of the) individuals and groups that comprised the society in which they reside; that is, when they do not have access to the resources, opportunities, entitlements, powers, etc. that are considered normal, customary, or expected in their resident society.

(v). Social exclusion has global roots rather than being a restricted local problem. It is a function of the impact of the rapid changes in the labour market, the decline of manufacturing industries, the rise in a more fragmented service sector, and the creation of structural unemployment in particular areas where industry has shut down. It is thus a systemic problem: global in its causes, local in its impact (Byrne, 1999)[13].

[12] J Percy-Smith, (2000), "*The Contours of Social Exclusion*" in J Percy-Smith (ed) *Policy*.

[13] Byrne, D (1999), "*Social Exclusion*", Open University Press, Buckingham.

ISSN: 2455-8834

Volume: 04, Issue: 08 "August 2019"

(vi). Questions of agency are central to social exclusion. The responsibility for exclusion often lies beyond the excluded themselves; someone and/or something other than they e.g., societal institutions and structures; and discrimination and unenforced rights are responsible for (or, at least, play a large part in) their marginalization.

(vii). The concept of social exclusion carries with it the imperative of inclusion; it is not happy with the excluded being outside of the ranks of citizenship and seeks to generate opportunities, whether by changing the motivation, capacity or available openings for the socially excluded.

Types of Social Exclusion:

Social exclusion may be horizontal or vertical, intentional or unintentional and formal or informal.

1) Horizontal vs. Vertical: Vertical exclusion prevents one from moving up the social ladder, while horizontal exclusion prevents one from belonging to a social group or a network consisting of people at roughly the same level on the vertical ladder. E.g. if an immigrant is excluded vertically, he can conceivably compensate for it by being a part of a horizontal (ethnic or religious community) which has some collective access to resources. Horizontal and vertical exclusions can reinforce each other, especially when horizontal institutions are weak or rigidly defined (e.g. on the basis of religious orthodoxy or ethnic purity), typically for the purpose of eliminating extra claimants on scarce resources.

2) Intentional vs. Unintentional: Intent in social exclusion is typically linked to discrimination although intent to discriminate can be masked by policy that appears balanced. In extreme cases it may be necessary for a society to exclude (e.g. terrorist groups) but more often groups are unrightfully excluded, such as indigenous and tribal peoples, ethnic and cultural minorities, non-mainstream religious groups, immigrant groups etc. In other cases there is goodwill to be inclusive but unintentional exclusion happens when decision-makers do not assess the impact of their policies and when group are not considered priority by leaders (e.g. they may be competing with priority populations for control of resources or leaders may see little return on investing in particular groups). Exclusion can also happen because the dominant society does not respect certain individual characteristics that do not fit within the model, e.g. sexual preference etc.

3) Formal vs. Informal: Formally exclusion can be embedded in institutions and legislation. Informal exclusion, on the other hand, results from traditional behaviours and patterns in

ISSN: 2455-8834

Volume: 04, Issue: 08 "August 2019"

society, or prejudice or unequal opportunities. Informal exclusion is more complex and challenging to confront.

Interpretations on Social Exclusion:

There are important differences and political divergent interpretations of social exclusion. There would seem to be three basic positions on agency:

(i) That which basically blames the individuals concerned for their lack of motivation, their self-exclusion from society as a whole although the ultimate responsibility for this is placed at the doors of the State which is seen as engendering a state of 'dependency'. Even if the jobs are available the underclass does not want to take them (Charles Murray, 1984)[14].

(ii) That which sees the problems as a sort of hydraulic failure of the system to provide jobs which leads to a situation of 'social isolation' wherein people lose not the motive to work but the capacity to find work because of lack of positive role models. Direct exclusion, for example, because of racism, is explicitly ruled out as a primary reason for social exclusion.

(iii) Finally there is a commentary which stresses the active rejection of the underclass by society: through the downsizing of industry, the stigmatization of the workless, and the stereotyping of an underclass which is criminogenic, drug ridden with images which are frequently racialised and prejudiced.

Contributing factors for Social Exclusion:

Levitas (2002) holds that social exclusion is caused by (1) income- poverty, (2) unemployment (3) socio-pathological behaviors. The final school of thought on the causes of social exclusion, as proposed by Burchardt *et al*., attributes it to the perverse, pathological, antisocial, and self-destructive (e.g., extra-normal) behaviors, morals, and values of excluded individuals and groups. According to this perspective, the excluded are themselves responsible for their marginality.

Income-Poverty:

[14] C. Murray, (1984), "*Losing Ground*". New York: Basic Books.

ISSN: 2455-8834

Volume: 04, Issue: 08 "August 2019"

One of the main causes for social exclusion is poverty. The first dimension of poverty is income poverty;[15] which has been viewed as the lack of income or purchasing power to secure basic needs. This income poverty can be considered in absolute or relative terms, depending upon the understanding of the notion of basic needs. Here, the basic needs concept was given by Rowntree,[16] and this concept is based on an individualistic theoretical approach to society. Basic needs mean minimum consumptions like food, clothing, shelter, water and healthcare facilities. If people are kept out of accessing the basic needs they must be in below poverty line. A simple absolutist interpretation would be to fix a minimum daily amount of calorie intake from food necessary for survival in a reasonably healthy condition, supplemented by some minimum amount of non-food items regarded as essential for a decent social existence. An alternative form of this absolutist interpretation of income poverty is per capita level of expenditure as a poverty line, in terms of a comparable level of purchasing power. This approach would avoid the difficult exercise of determining the minimum calorie requirement of food and the essential nature of the minimum amount of non-food item consumption.[17] In the context of industrialized countries, Townsend,[18] defines poverty in terms of 'relative deprivation' as 'a state of observable and demonstrable disadvantage relative to the local community or the wider society or nation to which an individual, family or group belongs'.

Although most scholars agree that social exclusion is multi-dimensional, it is conceived as synonymous with poverty that occurs due to deprivation and interpreted it as an aspect of social stratification. Amarty Sen (2001) considered that poverty leads to social exclusion and it has constitutive as well as instrumental relevance. The social exclusion may be active or passive. He holds that poverty due to deprivation leads to vulnerability and thereby Social exclusion. Deprivation means lack of resources which prevents people from accessing the goods and activities. Poverty is only one related sources of deprivation which enforces deprivation along with social exclusion. Townsend defined[19] poverty and deprivation in both economic and social terms. Noting that the 'subsistence' concept of poverty and deprivation 'minimizes the range and depth of human need just as the "basic needs" concept is restricted primarily to the physical facilities'. Being excluded from social relations can lead to other deprivations e.g. being excluded from the opportunity to be employed or to receive credit may lead to economic

[15] Sengupta, Arjun (2010), "*Human Rights and extreme poverty*" Economic & Political Weekly EPW April 24, Vol-XIV, no 17, pp-85

[16] De Haan, Arjan (2001), "Social *Exclusion: Enriching the Understanding of Deprivation",* World Development Report Forum, pp.29

[17] *Ibid*, pp-86

[18] *Cf.,* Bhalla, A S and Lapeyre, Frederic, (2004) "*Poverty and Exclusion in a Global World*", Palgrave Macmillan, publishers, New York, pp-12

[19] *Ibid*, pp-12

ISSN: 2455-8834

Volume: 04, Issue: 08 "August 2019"

impoverishment that may in turn lead to another deprivation. According to Adam Smith,[20] "inability to appear in public without shame" can also be called as social exclusion why because the effected people feel that they are very uncomfortable to appear in the public space. Deprivation is of two types (i) constitutive deprivation and (ii) instrumental deprivation.

(i) Constitutive deprivation: Being excluded can sometimes be in itself a deprivation and this can be of intrinsic importance on its own. For example, not being able to relate to others and to take part in the life of the community can directly impoverish a person's life. It is a loss on its own, in addition to whatever further deprivation it may indirectly generate. This is a case of constitutive relevance of social exclusion.

(ii) Instrumental deprivation: There are relational deprivations that are not in themselves terrible, but which can lead to very bad results Causally significant exclusions of this kind can have great instrumental importance: they may not be impoverishing in themselves, but they can lead to impoverishment of human life through their causal consequences (such as the denial of social and economic opportunities that would be helpful for the persons involved). Landlessness is similarly an instrumental deprivation. A family without land in a peasant society may be deeply handicapped. The above types of deprivations lead to social exclusion which may be either active or passive.

Active and Passive Exclusion: The distinction between constitutive relevance and instrumental importance is only one of the distinctions that can be fruitfully used to understand and analyze the nature and reach of social exclusion. If the benefit given of the beneficiary is not usable, it is active exclusion. When the exclusion comes generationally through social process, it is passive exclusion. Relational exclusions may, in some cases, be brought about by a deliberate policy to exclude some people from some opportunities.

Chambers (1989),[21] concept of vulnerability is very closer to the concept of social exclusion. Vulnerability means insecurity, defenselessness, and high exposure to risk and shocks. It mainly focuses on the variety of dimensions of deprivation, like measurement of income levels and consumption of poverty. Here they (the above mentioned scholars) described about the socially excluded people as those who are economically poor. It means that poverty is the one of the main concept to the social exclusion. Here, poverty is defined in terms of consumption outcomes or income levels, but the social exclusion also explains the value-added. It means that social exclusion is the ideal measurement to understand poverty and deprivation. From the above it is evident that poverty leads to deprivation or *vice versa* which inurn pushes poor to vulnerability

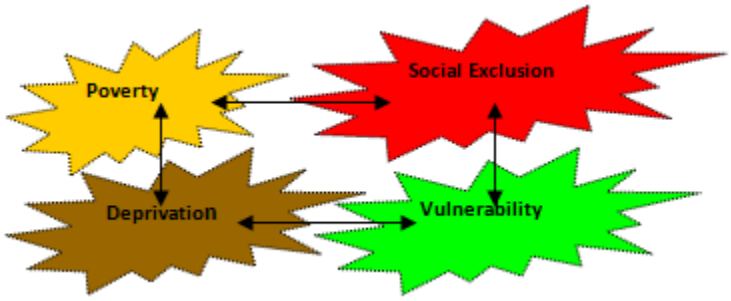
[20] Sen, Amartya (2000), "*Social Exclusion: Concept, Application, and Scrutiny*", Social Development Paper-I, pp-4
[21] *Ibid*, pp-30

ISSN: 2455-8834

Volume: 04, Issue: 08 "August 2019"

and finally to social exclusion. The economic base of social mobility is represented in the following diagram:

Poverty model of social exclusion



Social Stigma:

Stigma arises from negative stereotypes associated with the symptoms or diagnosis of mental health problems. Although stigma is often seen as the problem of people with mental health problems, they can lack the power to change the way they are seen. Discrimination means being treated unfairly or denied opportunities. The concept of stigma lays emphasis on discrimination. Stigma and discrimination can affect people long after the symptoms of mental health problems have been resolved. Discrimination can lead to relapses in mental health problems and can intensify existing symptoms[22]. Moreover loss of mental health is considered as socially stigmatic and their participation is denied in several family and cultural activities and results in isolation. Hence, social stigma is also one of the main causes for the social exclusion. This social stigma is based on evolutionary consideration. On this notion the process of natural selection leads to adaptations designed to solve the current adaptive problems faced by a particular species during the evolutionary history[23]. This revolutionary approach suggest that, 'instead of expecting the human mind to be a relatively domain general learning machine, we should expect rather that the mind consists of a large number of distinct information processing systems, each designed to solve a particular adaptive problem'. But there are some psychological mechanisms that have evolved to solve adaptive problems associated with sociality. There are some systems designed to exclude others from the social interactions and that they differ from one another in important ways. Together, the behavioral manifestations of these exclusionary mechanisms generate the

[22] BG Link, EL Struening, M Rahav, JC Phelan and L Nuttbrock, (1997) "On Stigma and its Consequences, Evidence from a Longitudinal Study of Men with Dual Diagnoses of Mental Illness and Substance Abuse", *Journal of Health and Social Behaviour*, 38 (1997): 177-190.

[23] Kurzban, Robert & Leary Mark, R (2001), *"Evolutionary Origins of Stigmatization: The Functions of Social Exclusion",* Psychological Bulletin, vol-127, pp-188

ISSN: 2455-8834

Volume: 04, Issue: 08 "August 2019"

phenomena that have fallen under the rubric of stigmatization. Then the 'stigma' is arising from the negative evolution.[24]

People who feel socially alienated or rejected are susceptible to a host of behavioral, emotional, and physical problems, suggesting that human beings may possess a fundamental need to belong. Social rejection is a pervasive feature of social life. This social rejection is based on the shared values or preferences of groups of individuals.[25] According to Goffman[26] "stigmatization is a process of global deprivation of an individual who possess a deviant attribute. Stigma arises during a social interaction when an individual's actual social identities do not meet society's normative expectations. Thus, the individual's social identity is spoiled, and he or she is assumed to be incapable of fulfilling the role of requirements for social interactions". It means that in the process of stigmatization some individuals are systematically excluded from particular groups. The social exclusion exists for the members of stigmatized groups, like those who are mentally ill, mentally retarded persons, obese people, homosexuals, psoriasis patients, epileptics, HIV/AIDS patients, and cancer patients and also to the members of the racial, ethnic and religious groups.

According to Elliott, Ziegler, Altman, and Scott,[27] stigma is a form of deviance, and it leads others to judge individuals as illegitimate. This stigmatized people are not eligible to enter into a mainstream society. Others deliberately exclude them from public realm. So, stigmatization is one of the causes for social exclusion. It plays a key role in the society.

Gender Discrimination:

'Gender' is not a congenital but cultural construct ascribed to the practices of men and women, fixed by their respective societies. Gender can be understood only on close examination of the meanings of male and female and the consequences of being assigned to one or other roles. They vary spatio-temporally. Hence it is the knowledge about the differential positioning of men and women in the society. 'Gender' is constructed on difference which emphasizes 'exclusion and inclusion' of men and women in different realms of the power. The unequal distribution of power between men and women in performative gender roles across the ages under patriarchy restricted the participation of the latter on par with the former. Such exclusion through generations awakened gender consciousness. Consequently, it got conceptualized as gender discrimination that formed the crux for the gender based violence. It further led to the level of mutual exclusion one by the other in their respective s realms of society, be it public or private.

[24] *Ibid*, pp-188
[25] *Ibid*, pp-187
[26] *Ibid*, pp-187
[27] *Ibid*, pp-187

ISSN: 2455-8834

Volume: 04, Issue: 08 "August 2019"

Thus, the concept of social exclusion and gender are constructed on the paradigm of the negation of power. The constitution of exclusion in both the cases appears to be spatial conflict for establishing hierarchies. New hermeneutics widened vistas in culture studies by especially with regard to gender perspectives. The changes in socio-economic structure due to industrialization, commercialization and urbanization necessitated the participation of women both in public as well as in private sectors of society, cutting across sex, gender and power stereotypes. Women who could ably manage their positions from wage labours to high positions in public and private enterprises challenged the positions hitherto held by men. This new consciousness among women intelligentsia formed the basis for the ideology called feminism. It questioned patriarchy. Patriarchy is considered as instrumental in perpetuating socio-cultural inequalities, sex discrimination and sex based gender practices that institutionalize and legitimize the atrocities of the dominant over the meek and weak. Hence the core of gender, the inequality and exclusion as reflected in the abuse of women in the form of violence based on the gender practices. The feminist thought is highly discursive on the issues of gender difference which lead to the social rupture in ideological and action domains (P.S.Kanaka Durga: 2008). The feminist identity development model[28] begins with the recognition of discrimination against women. Feminism is considered a philosophy or ideology, its impact on people is pervasive and must be considered as more than a belief system. Women become feminists either through a change in consciousness similar to a religious conversion or as a result of particular socialization patterns.[29] The feminists planned to shatter the androcentricity to avoid discrimination based on gender performances. The gender discrimination is associated with the stigma. If a woman has HIV/AIDS, she is blamed more and is more restricted then men. It reinforces the prejudices among women and it further results in more stigmas among women and cause more suffering to them when compared to their male counterparts (UNAIDS 2002). Mainly women who were excluded from the public institutions to get the facilities like health, education, legal services are largely socially excluded, and also they were socially excluded in getting economic power and political participation.

Racial Discrimination:

The concept of 'race' is essentially a modern one, and it has always been a significant sociological theme, from the founding of the field and the formulation of classical theoretical statements to the present. Since the nineteenth century, sociological perspectives on race have developed and changed, always reflecting shifts in large-scale political processes. In the classical

[28] Peltola Pia, Milkie Melissa A, and Presser, Stanley (2004), "*The Feminist Mystique: Feminist Identity in Three Generations of Women*", Gender and Society, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Feb., 2004), Sage Publications, Inc, pp-128

[29] Green, Pearl (1979), "The Feminist Consciousness", *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol-20, No-3, Black Well Publishers, pp-359

ISSN: 2455-8834

Volume: 04, Issue: 08 "August 2019"

period, colonialism and biologistic racism held sway[30]. Race can be defined as a "concept that signifies and symbolizes sociopolitical conflicts and interests in reference to different types of human bodies[31]". Although the concept of 'race' appeals to biologically based human characteristics (phenotypes), selection of these particular human features for purposes of racial signification is always and necessarily a social and historical process.

A wide range of concepts from both the classical and modern traditions can readily be applied to racial matters. Variations among national and cultural understandings of the meaning of race cry out for comparative approaches. World history has, arguably, been racialized at least since the rise of the modern world system; racial hierarchy remains global even in the postcolonial present; and popular concepts of race, however variegated, remain in general everyday use almost everywhere[32].

The idea of race began to take shape with the rise of a world political economy. The onset of global economic integration, the dawn of seaborne empire, the conquest of the Americas, and the rise of the Atlantic slave trade were all key elements in the genealogy of race[33]. Though intimated throughout the world in innumerable ways, racial categorization of human beings was a European invention. It was an outcome of the same world-historical processes that created European nation-states and empires, built the dark satanic mills of Britain (and the even more dark and satanic sugar mills of the Brazilian Reconcavo and the Caribbean), and explained it all by means of Enlightenment rationality[34].

Apartheid[35] rested on the argument that racial distinctions were fundamental to the character of human societies and they were biologically based. This resulted in seeing human beings categorized by race, and the categorization was legally enforced in social, economic, and political affairs. Rules such as races should not intermarry, be educated together, or live in the same areas were imposed. In practice apartheid was not a policy of racial segregation between blacks and whites but a justification for a state to enforce a program of white supremacy.

This theory is based on biological determination and on the basis of human genetic character. The term 'racism' is used critically of those employing such theory, rather than as a term of self description. Humans are divided into biologically distinct groups whose characteristics are

[30] Winant, Howard (2000), "Race and Race Theory", *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol-26, Annual Reviews, pp-169

[31] *Ibid*, pp-172

[32] *Ibid*, pp-169

[33] *Ibid*, pp-172

[34] *Ibid*, pp-172

[35] Miller, David (1987), *"The Black Well Encyclopedia of Political Thought"*, Black Well Publishing House, Australia.

ISSN: 2455-8834

Volume: 04, Issue: 08 "August 2019"

passed on by inheritance. Differences in ability, taste, aptitude and culture are thus explained by race. The theory of race, which developed in the 19th century, was widely discredited after its employment by the Nazis. Nazis during their regime justified the mass murder of Jews based on this theory. Racism has been re-employed in the second half of the 20th century by some conservative and right wing thinkers[36]. The racial discrimination plays an active role in a society especially in getting a job and wages paid. For instance, the black women get jobs with fewer wages, but the white women get into jobs more wages paid.

Cultural Practices: Purity and pollution:

Cultural exclusion means differentiated access of social groups to the benefits of social and material welfare, when causes are not structural. In Indian context, the society is formed on the paradigms of Varna, the ritual ranking and *jati*, the actual status which got transformed as caste determined on the basis of one's profession. Through rules of exogamy and endogamy and hypogamy (*pratiloma*) and hypergamy (*anuloma*) were strict, rupture of these norms in different cultural context resulted the emergence of new castes that took to new professions opened in the wake of ever-changing politico- cultural scenario. The new emergent communities framed dharma (rules, norms, rights, responsibilities, cultural practices like worship, kin relations , crime, punishment) of their own and regulated their activities through an office corporate office' *samaya'*. Each caste group got segregated in a distinctive cultural unit that functions on the norms of purity and pollution and identity. The very notion of maintaining purity from pollution by different castes is to construct one's own distinctiveness from the other, i.e. the identity. Thus construction of identity at personal and community levels exclude the entry of into every walk of life. Thus social exclusion on the other hand retains one's being in his/her respective caste which other wise would result a social offence leading to excommunication. Again re-entry (inclusion) is allowed after expiatory rituals. Thus social exclusion pertains to cultural practices for culture is for identity and identity is for incorporation and legitimation of one's own positioning in respective societies. Thus the identity at personal as well as at social realms contributes for social exclusion and inclusion and thereby reinforce cultural values and norms of respective caste groups to keep themselves pure and away from pollution. Commensality and marriage are two determining factors of purity and pollution. Protection of culture by following the norms of purity and pollution were emphasized by secular texts (by ancient Indian standards) like the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya fell in line. Detailed rules and norms were prescribed regarding marriage, food, association and contact and those who violated them-unless of course they were materially and politically strong-were in for serious trouble. One careful look at the institution of outcastes (*patita*)-they differed from the untouchables in not being permanent or hereditary-in

[36] *Ibid*

ISSN: 2455-8834

Volume: 04, Issue: 08 "August 2019"

Dharmasastra literature would show that they were to be no less severely punished for violation of prescribed norms and intimate contact with the untouchables than the untouchable segments till they relented and observed the rituals of penitence and redemption. They were to lose inheritance; even their wife and children were expected to disown them; and of course for the society they would simply cease to matter. The king's *danda* (coercive authority) was to be applied for the observance of caste rules.

The Dharmasastra writers employed new theoretical concepts to explain the social phenomenon. One such concept was the theory of *Varnasamkara*, which was used to explain the status of several emerging groups and the untouchability of sections like the Candalas, the latter being simply regarded as the lowest pratiloma caste-offspring of a hypogamous union between the fourth *varna* of *Sudra* and a brahmana woman. The notion of *jatyupakarsa* (upward mobility of a caste) owing to marriage in a higher *varna* or pursuit of an occupation prescribed for a higher *varna* continuously for five to seven generations does not appear to have been valid with respect to the *Candala*. Downward mobility (*jatyapakarsa*) was, however, possible in the case of other theoretically pratiloma categories through marriage in a lower *varna* or pursuit of an occupation prescribed for a lower *varna* continuously for five to seven generations.

It is significant that the Sanskrit term *asprisya* for untouchability was first used in the *Visnusmriti*, a text of the third century AD, and the phenomenon existed for long with terms like *anta*, *antya*, *antyaja*, *antyayoni*, *antyavasayin*, *apapatra*, *abhisasta*, *etc*. The classical varna theory did not have any place for a fifth varna, though in his commentary to the *Brahmasutra*, (I. 4.12), Samkaracarya (early eighth century) shows awareness of a school of thinkers who regarded the Nisada as a fifth *varna* and the *Samba Purana*, (66. 10; sixth-eighth centuries) mentions the fifth *varna*. Untouchability was evidently considered an integral part of the *Varna* system. That the practice of untouchability was immediately connected with excessive and abnormal notions of purity and pollution cannot be denied, but then this is also true that caste did not develop in primitive societies where these notions are found. *Varna* in India provided a framework for their growth and systematization and projected through them the dominant material relations in ritual terms. The ideology of purity/pollution was surely used to assign low position, segregate and hereditarily exploit a large segment of population. That there was periodically stiff resistance to caste oppression is reflected in the accounts of the Kali age in the epics and the Puranas, which show the discomfiture of the upper castes and an unusual aggressiveness on the part of the lower orders but the tempo does not appear to have been sustained and continuous enough to disrupt the system. Laws of Manu[37] says that, 'when he has touched a *Candala*, a menstruating women, an outcaste, a women who as just given birth, a

[37] *Ibid*, pp-52

ISSN: 2455-8834

Volume: 04, Issue: 08 "August 2019"

corpse, he purifies himself by bathing'. Here, the three occasional impurities are identified with that of the 'outcaste' and the '*Candala*' and the old prototype of 'untouchable'. And also the same book says that, 'A *Candala*, a domestic pig, a dog, a cock, a menstruating women and a eunuch must not look at Brahmins while they are eating'.

The purity also depends on the eating habits.[38] It would also reflect on the individual to exclude those impure eating habits of persons. Those who are eating the dead carcasses or the dead animals they are treated as impure persons and mostly they live in the outskirts of the village. The impure persons lead to social exclusion. In India, most of the Dalit castes or *panchama varna* people like *pariahs* associated with that. They are the impure caste in India, and they are excluded by the upper caste people because of their eating habit. The eating of the dead cattle or dead carcass is a cultural taboo. There are three occupations considered as polluting throughout India, they are handling of leather or removing of dead cattle, the removal of human waste, and work on the cremation ground. The Pariah (there are some similar names like Chakkilian of Tamil and Chamar of North India and Madiga in Andhra) caste in India is associated with the leather and they are the beef eaters. The other polluted works like removal of human waste and worker in the cremation grounds was done by the people who are considered as marginalized. They are the excluded people in India[39].

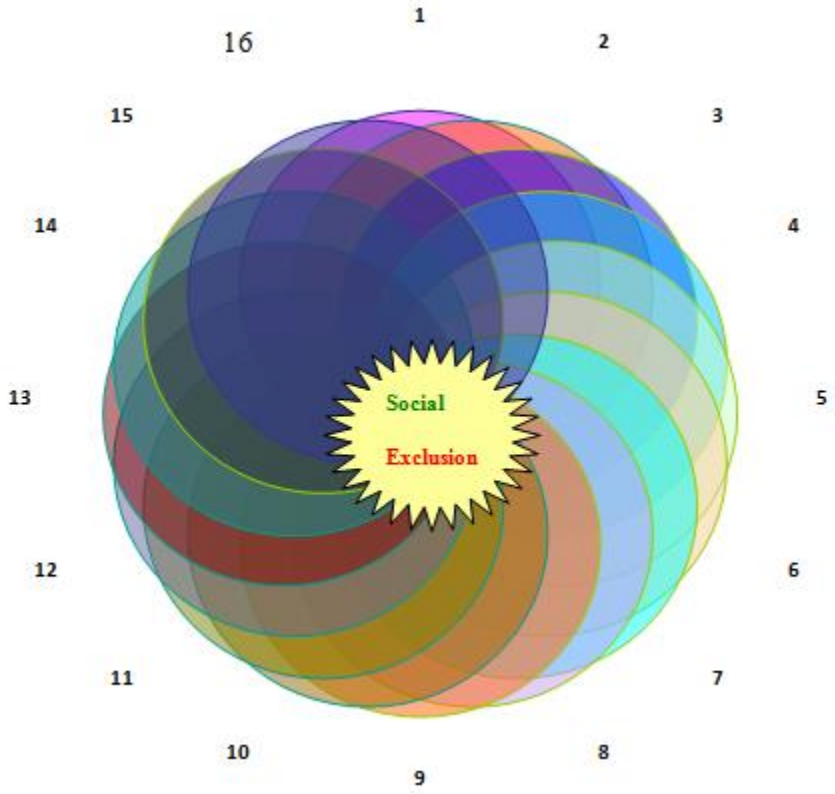
All factors that explained above are not isolates. They are interrelated and have cumulative affect on one another. One factor may lead into the other. Hence social exclusion is multifaceted and multidimensional. The interlocking of circles shown in the following diagram reflects the relationship that exists among different factors that contribute for social exclusion. Basing on the above discussion the multidimensionality of social exclusion is derived and shown in the diagram in the following diagram:

[38] *Ibid*, pp-52

[39] *Ibid*, pp-54

ISSN: 2455-8834

Volume: 04, Issue: 08 "August 2019"



(1) Withdrawal/Rejection (2) Unemployment (3) Poverty (4) Homelessness (5) Voicelessness (6) Loss of Social Network (7) Debt (8) Mental Ill Health (9) Stigmatization (10) Marginalization (11) Lack of Access to Resources (12) Abandonment (13) Expulsion (14) Neglect (15) Gender (16) Cultural Practices.

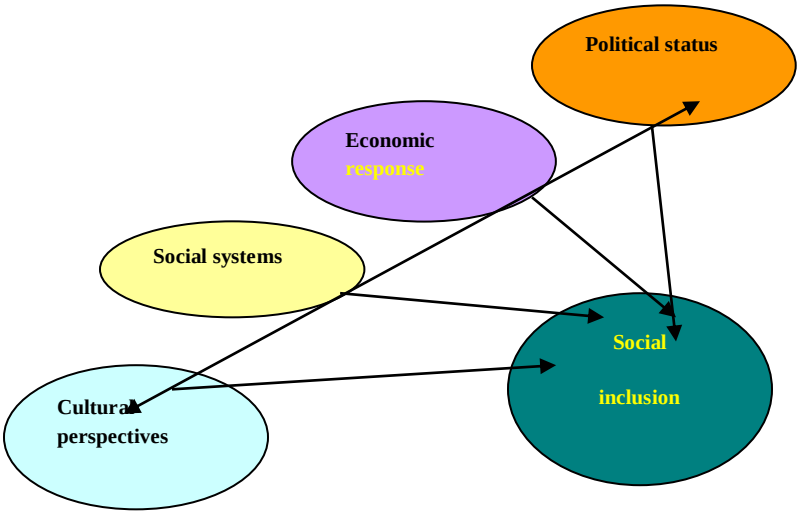
How to combat social exclusion:

The multidimensional process of social exclusion needs multiple layers of social inclusion measures for both these processes regulate role relationships in cultural formations. The following diagram represents the process involved in combating social exclusion.

ISSN: 2455-8834

Volume: 04, Issue: 08 "August 2019"

Multiple layers to overcome Exclusion



The cultural perspectives include beliefs, norms, values and traditional practices; the social systems represents status, roles, partnerships, elevation process, rejection process; the economic response denotes access to the resources, livelihood creations, opportunities; and the political status cateres for the distribution of power, authority, control over resources and giving scope for leadership. Thus in each and every sphere of life, steps should be taken to elevate the marginalized and save them from exclusion. Some of the measures need to be done by the political will and some others by the communities itself that are considered as socially excluded by aspiration and negating self-limiting belief systems.

CONCLUSION

From the above discussion it is evident that the American paradigms of social exclusion are mostly economic where as in European context the base of social exclusion is also constructed based on social stigma. The Indian paradigm is fundamentally resting on age old cultural practices geared up by the historical forces. Hence, the Indian model of Social Exclusion theory should be developed on the social hierarchy which eventually enlisted several cultural practices for protecting and promoting identities of the social groups that are normally identified as caste (*jati* / actual status) within the ladder of social order or rank (*varna* / ritual status).

