

TIME TO TURN A CORNER **EXPECTATIONS FROM THE NEW GOVT**

Social inclusiveness for sustainable development

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USTAINABLE development can be achieved only through an integrated economicsocial-politicalenvironmental approach. Undoubtedly, economic growth is essential for improved living conditions of the people. But, for sustainability, prosperity must be equitably shared by all citizens. Otherwise, as is well known now, social disparity and political marginalisation accentuate. This outcome is unjust and unethical and a sure recipe for social tensions, even destabilisation; and, over longer run, the process is unsustainable.

In a broad sense, social exclusion may be defined as "the process through which individuals and groups are wholly or partially excluded from the society in which they live". In fact, the poor are disabled by their material disadvantage and constrained circumstances to participate meaningfully in socio-economic-political processes of advancement so that they get socially excluded. At the same time, social exclusion of, for example, ethnic minorities or physically handicapped through denial of economic, social, and political rights and opportunities can cause diverse deprivations to them as an instrumental process.

In the economic arena, social exclusion may take the form of a lack of access to land and other physical assets, credit, skills and labour markets, resulting in economic impoverishment of the affected people and condemning them to poor, even sub-human living conditions (in terms of, for example, undernourishment, ill-health, poor housing or homelessness, and unsanitary conditions). In the social aspect, exclusion may work in terms of discrimination on the basis of, for example, gender, ethnicity, mental and physical handicap, delinquency, and age so that the opportunities of those discriminated against for lifting themselves from their lowly living conditions are effectively reduced.

In the political context, exclusion occurs due to absence of peoplecentred democracy and in terms of denial of political rights such as political participation and the right to organise and also of personal security, freedom of expression, and equality of opportunity. The socially excluded are often deprived of legal redress of violations of their rights and denial of opportunities to them because either they cannot afford the costs or they are restrained by threats from the powerful perpetrators of injustices on them or their tormentors can bend the rules and laws in their own favour.

Social exclusion may be deliberately imposed by the government or a powerful social group on certain communities or groups. It also takes place through ongoing social processes without there being a deliberate attempt on the part of the government or any group of powerful people to exclude, while there may not also be deliberate public or private interventions to reverse the process of social exclusion of this nature.

When hierarchical levels of deprivations are interpreted to imply varying degrees of intensity of social exclusion, hierarchical (usually exploitative in nature) and lateral (e.g. those most disadvantaged may all be struggling to survive, using whatever little means they can command) social exclusionbased social relations immediately come to the fore. In this context, exclusion-related dynamics of different types and nature, as they relate to social exclusion of different intensity, need to be explored and brought to bear on the relevant policy making processes.

In Bangladesh, a large majority of the population is socially excluded in the sense of being left out from the ongoing socio-economic development process. It is ironic, indeed, that the large majority is socially excluded by a small minority. But this majority is atomistic and powerless, while the minority consists of organised groups of power elites who, between themselves, control the affairs

of the economy and of the state. The dowry requirements, torture at home, destroyed by river bank erosions and empower some people in the country by downtrodden majority suffers from and trafficking on a wide-scale. high degrees of economic and social people are divided into many 'societies', ties for self development. depending on different degrees of limitations in relation to their economic demned as such due to systemic injus- that sudden (caused by natural disascircumstances, human capabilities, tices which are, in general, more ters) and endemic poverty together and access to education, health, entrenched in the wake of neo-liberal widen and deepen the poverty synemployment, information, and finan- reforms and globalisation. Social exclu- drome, as has happened as a result of cial resources as well as on different sion severely limits the abilities of the two major floods and a devastating degrees and nature of their political excluded to break out of the severe insectively cyclone in the country in 2007.

national poverty line. But, as a conse- ingofhuman dignity. quence of two major floods and a devasson/day at 41.3% and that below PPP\$2 per person/day at 84%. PPP\$1 is equivalent to Tk.22.64 according to World Bank's revised PPP and poverty ratio they surely indicate broad orders of magnitude. Clearly, the economic situation of the large majority of the people of Bangladesh is unpalatable, and for

out of the deprivation syndrome.

many of whom it is dire. Bangladesh also suffer from social deprivations including illiteracy or poor primary education and negligible participation in tertiary education, illhealth; high levels of undernourishment and underweight among children as well as widespread undernourishment among adults; and high levels of infant and maternal mortalities.

social groups suffer from human right deficits of various degrees in relation to various aspects of life and living. assets are lost, houses are washed away Women belonging to the downtrodden or damaged, employment opportunicategories also suffer the indignities of ties collapse, and homesteads are

deprivations and political often face crises of various kinds includ- bilitation programmes undertaken by work of promoting the self-help conmarginalisation. The deprived part of ing insecurity against preventable and the government and others provide cept and people's abilities in communisociety in the country is also highly curable diseases, trafficking, child some succour to the people devastated ties. But these localised efforts and the differentiated. That is, the deprived labour, and absolute lack of opportuni- by natural disasters and help them get results achieved in the country remain

marginalisation, all constraining their curity in human terms that they face ability at different levels of severity to and is manifested in their extreme vulconduct necessary activities to break nerability in relation to income, employment, food, health, education, To substantiate the above com- environment and, above all, prospects ments, a few statistics may be cited. As for a better future. In other words, they of 2005, about 40% of Bangladesh's total are condemned by 'capability deprivapopulation was poor according to tion' into living in conditions unbecom-

They include the landless; unemtating cyclone in 2007, poverty in the ployed and underemployed; employed country has both increased and deep- but earning very low incomes; small ened. One estimate shows an updated artisans and informal sector operators; poverty ratio close to 50%, but it could disadvantaged women; ethnic minoribe more. There has been a slide down- ties; untouchables; mental and physiward for all poverty categories and even cally handicapped; disadvantaged for many from non-poor groups. The people living in vulnerable coastal areas the excluded and deprived majority UNDP Human Development Report and river banks and hence on the through various nationally and interna-2007/08 puts the proportion of popula- frontline of severe natural disasters tionally designed poverty reduction and tion living on less than PPP\$1 per per- such as cyclones, floods, and river erosions; and other severely deprived

people also suffer the most as a conseestimates with reference to 2005. quence of natural disasters such as Although there may be question marks floods, cyclones, storm surges, torna- are treated as target groups or objects relating to the data and various parame- does, and droughts. Their ability to and the underlying basic causes of their ters used in computing these figures, respond to the vulnerabilities caused by exclusion are not addressed. natural disasters is virtually nonexistent; moreover, many of them live talk, often by the power elites themon marginal lands such as riverbanks, coastal and char areas, and arid or semiarid lands. Therefore, they are at the The economically deprived people of forefront of the devastating impacts of natural disasters. The projected anthropogenic climate change and sealevel rise will make things worse for them. As a consequence of extreme climatic events i.e. devastating natural disasters, which are likely to be more frequent and intense in future under climate change, the affected poor become destitute and many affected usually have made such pronounce-Ethnic minorities and other small non-poor (i.e. those just above or not much above poverty lines) are forced to join the ranks of the poor as their few

militate against the needs and interests basis as well as ensuring the integrity scheme of things in the mainstream. This is so, notwithstanding such internationally high profile poverty reduction programmes as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) prepared by many developing countries as required by the World Bank and IMF.

Now talk about the way forward to social inclusion and cohesive social transformation. Under the ruling paradigm, generally palliatives are offered to social development projects and programmes, implemented by the government and also by NGOs. The The poor and socially disadvantaged stated purposes of many of these programmes are good, even laudable. But, in most cases, people to be served

However, there has also been much selves, with reference to the need for accelerating development and fast reducing poverty, about empowering people so that they can take control of their own destiny and make the best possible contributions to their own and national development. Also, many politicians have often pronounced, and correctly, that all citizens are entitled to equal opportunities and that they (the particular politicians) would ensure that such is actually the case. But, they ments at times of elections, ostensibly to woo the voters. In reality, these power elites have not usually walked their talks; and perhaps, these talks are not, in the first place, meant to be walked. However, some efforts are made to

storm surges if they happen to live on various motivated citizens' groups The children of the socially excluded those marginal lands. Relief and reha- working with the people within a frameback on their feet and resume toiling for negligible compared to the size of the The socially excluded are con-eking out a living. But, it is often the case population involved and the nature of

the problems to be overcome. Clearly, therefore, a paradigm shift to an inclusive, sustainable development pathway is called for. The goal to be achieved through this shift may be construed as the empowerment and well-The ongoing free market dynamics being of all citizens on an equitable of these people as they are outside the and health of the environment, as opposed to the present reality of power and wealth of some and the exclusion of and ills for the majority and a deteriorating environment and intensifying climate change.

> Focusing on social exclusion, the first key implication is that the socially excluded must be enabled to free themselves from the economic, social, and political conditions into which they have been condemned by the ruling paradigm. At the heart of freedom in this sense is empowerment. Quality education, basic health services, basic skill training, ownership of resources, employment, and access to information and appropriate technologies are among the key elements of empowerment. Reasonable levels of achievement in respect of various elements of empowerment would enable one to articulate their demands and work towards securing and expanding their freedoms from, for example, poverty and hunger, oppression, subjugation, lack of opportunities, capability deprivations, lack of access to resources and employment, and political marginalisation and exclusion. For sustainable productive employment of the unemployed and underemployed, the upgrading of their skills and commensurate infrastructural developments are required as economic operations expand. Safety-nets should be strengthened for those who, for health or age or other reasons, cannot participate in income earning activities.

For economic prosperity to be equitably shared as is required for sustainability of the economic process, the patterns of investment and production need to be reoriented towards those sectors (such as diversification of CONTINUED ON PAGE 63

cepts on which the proposed. paradigm shift to an inclusive, sustainable development is anchored, as outlined above, are: freedom from the entrenched, debilitating socioeconomicpolitical conditions; empowerment; shared

prosperity;

unity in diver-

sity; and peo-

ple's democ-

racy.

To summarise,

five key con-

