

NEWSLETTER



**Social inclusion:
what's in a name?**

In the Health Inc description of work, we announced that we are not only interested in health financing and social health protection arrangements successfully covering poorer population groups, but also in increasing *social inclusion*.

Doing so presupposes a common notion of what *social inclusion* is, or can be, or should be. No easy task.

Courses on academic writing teach one never to start an essay with "in this rapidly changing world". (...) I can barely resist to start with "in this rapidly changing world of ideas, concepts, and buzz words":

While de Haan and Maxwell observed "the bewildering diversity of ways" in which the concept of *social exclusion* was used more than a decade ago², the same or more is true for *social inclusion*. Besides, *social inclusion* has arguably a longer and more global history, and quite a few nicknames.

In Maharashtra as early as 1902, the Maharaja of Kolhapur pioneered *reservation* in favour of low-caste indigents. The 1949 Constitution extended the principle of reserved quota for scheduled castes and tribes to the whole of independent India. Other groups were added later; a Women's Reservation Bill to provide women with 33% of seats in federal and state assemblies is still pending.

JF Kennedy established *affirmative action* - equal employment opportunity to counter discrimination - in the USA in 1961³. Initially focusing on race and national origin, gender and religion were added to the anti-discrimination list in 1967.



Michel Rocard introduced 'le Revenu minimum d'insertion' for the excluded French in 1988; Europe set up its 'Community programme to foster economic and social integration' of the

least privileged groups' in 1989; Tony Blair launched a UK 'Social Exclusion Unit' for strategic advice

against *social exclusion* in 1997.

Today the last in a still growing list is Peru's newly elected president Ollanta Humala, who announced the creation of a 'Ministry of development and *social inclusion*' on July 22nd and made *social exclusion* the centrepiece of his inaugural address on July 28th.

Whatever differences *reservation*, *affirmative action*, *insertion*, *integration* and related policies may have, they all fall into *social inclusion*, of which the meaning is often assumed but rarely defined⁴ - except for counteracting exclusion. As such they are conditioned by the particular understanding of *social exclusion* in a given society, an issue in its own right - see next Newsletter.

It can be argued that *social inclusion* - commonly seen as opposed to *social exclusion* and intrinsically good - is conjoint with exclusion, and tends to overlook social justice in a one-size-fits-all approach⁵.

"What's in a name?" - Juliet asked Romeo - "a rose by any other name would smell as sweet". That might be true for any rose, but not at all times for all social inclusion.

¹ de Haan A (1999) **Social exclusion: towards a holistic understanding of deprivation**. Background paper for the World Development Report 2001, 21pp

The paper can be downloaded at <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/http://www.dfid.gov.uk/documents/publications/sddsosocex.pdf>

² de Haan A & Maxwell S (1998) **Poverty and social exclusion in North and South**. IDS Bulletin 29(1), 1-9

The paper can be downloaded at <http://bit.ly/peKIXc>

³ Kennedy JF (1961) **Executive Order 10925: Establishing the President's Committee on equal employment opportunity**.

The paper can be downloaded at <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=58863>

⁴ Cameron A (2006) **Geographies of welfare and exclusion: social inclusion and exception**. Progress in Human Geography 30(3), 396-404

The paper can be downloaded at <http://bit.ly/pr1zu6>

⁵ Sayed Y, Soudien C & Carrim N (2003) **Discourses of exclusion and inclusion in the South: limits and possibilities**. Journal of Educational Change 4(3), 231-248

The paper can be downloaded at <http://bit.ly/nQUZdL>

(...) it is not possible to conceive of a society that is not simultaneously inclusive and exclusive⁶

⁶ Stewart A (2000) **Never ending story: inclusion and exclusion in late modernity**. In: Social inclusion: possibilities and tensions (Peter Askonas & Angus Stewart, editors), Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, pp55-72

COMMENTS ON THE JULY 23RD NEWSLETTER

When sending out our second Newsletter, we asked you to check the list of addressees for completeness. A number of responses came in and the list has been updated.

One respondent suggested to send the Newsletter also to the members of the Health Inc advisory board. That would allow them to follow closely our evolving thoughts, and us to benefit from their reactions and contributions. We like the idea. Do you?



Following up on a July 23 comment, the goal of a weekly Newsletter seems indeed to be overambitious. Kindly accept our apologies for this late delivery.

The editor thanks Alfred Ndiaye and Fahdi Dkhimi for contributing to the present Newsletter, and encourages all other partners to follow their path: wsors@itg.be

SENEGAL: A CASE IN POINT?

In the previous Newsletter, we brought up the quasi absence of *social exclusion* analysis in Senegal. In Senegal's most recent Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (2006)⁷, occasional mention is made of the term (8 times). Conceptually, *social exclusion* is referred to as a result of persistent poverty and deficient assistance - not as a process. All the same, socio-cultural factors are also quoted as determinants of poverty, like "the rigid hierarchical structuring of traditional institutions that does not provide equal opportunities and restricts circles of solidarity and social dynamics". Overall however, the paper draws upon the concepts of vulnerability and risk management. Eventually, *social inclusion* (undefined yet mentioned 2 times, associated with women and youth respectively) and *elimination of social exclusion* are announced as policy objectives for 2015.

(...) by 2015 Senegalese men and women will be living in a society offering equal access to economic opportunities and public services for all citizens, with effective elimination of social exclusion factors and discrimination⁷

One of the PRSP's 4 pillars to contribute to this aim is accelerating access to basic social services; another is social protection. The latter is dealt with exhaustively in a 2005 strategy paper, which announces stepwise extension and reform of formal social security and a series of safety nets for identified vulnerable groups⁸.

⁷ République du Sénégal (2006) Document de Stratégie pour la croissance et la Réduction de la Pauvreté (DRSP-II). 103pp
The paper can be downloaded at <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTSENEGAL/INRENCH/Resources/DRSP-II.pdf>

⁷ Republic of Senegal (2006) Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP-II). 106pp

The paper can be downloaded at [http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPRS/Resources/Senegal-PRSP\(Sept2007\).pdf](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPRS/Resources/Senegal-PRSP(Sept2007).pdf)

⁸ République du Sénégal, Ministère de l'Economie et des Finances, Cellule de Suivi du Programme de Lutte contre la Pauvreté (2005) Stratégie Nationale de Protection Sociale (SNPS). 109pp

The paper can be downloaded through the embedded link [ELABORATION DE LA STRATEGIE NATIONALE DE PROTECTION SOCIALE](http://www.senegal.gov.sn/ELABORATION_DE_LA_STRATEGIE_NATIONALE_DE_PROTECTION_SOCIALE)

GHANA: PROMOTING AN INCLUSIVE SOCIETY

Ghana is the only African country with a Human Development Report explicitly dedicated to *social inclusion*⁹. After a thorough analysis of status and process of *social exclusion* in the country (partially discussed in the July 23rd Newsletter), the report concludes with a plea for more *social inclusion*. The report does not define *social inclusion*, but does make clear that - to be successful - any strategy to reduce *social exclusion* needs to deal with all dimensions and determinants

at once. It also specifies health as one dimension, and advocates increasing access through removal of the NHIS' bottlenecks.

⁹ UNDP (2007) Ghana Human Development Report 2007: towards a more inclusive society. Accra, United Nations Development Programme, Ghana Office, 222pp

The full report can be downloaded at <http://www.undp-gha.org/docs/Human%20Development%20Report.pdf> / The concluding chapter on social inclusion can be downloaded at <http://www.undp-gha.org/docs/Chapter6.pdf>

INDIA: THE PARADOX OF JUSTICE BRINGING ABOUT INJUSTICE

The body of academic output on India's approach to *social inclusion* is vast enough to make any bookshelf collapse. As a starter we propose Rudolf Heredia's contribution to last week's *Economic & Political Weekly*, in which he looks back on 6 decades of quotas and minority rights¹⁰.

beyond their communities. In other words, how a well-intended *social inclusion* effort - in a context of competing rights, constructed majorities and defensive minorities - has become a source and perpetuator of *social exclusion*.

In Heredia's analysis, *reservation* has become an identity maker with antagonistic (not complementary) constructions of the 'self' and the 'other'. On top of that, with *reservation* increasingly politicized, electoral numbers have overruled the ethics of justice.

Heredia reminds us what *reservation* in the 1949 Constitution was meant for: "to address the anomalies and contradictions of (Indian) society, specifically focusing on caste, religion, and patriarchy", based on the values of liberty, equality and fraternity. As such *reservation* served the purpose of justice, expressed in quotas for vulnerable groups complementary (and not contradictory) to the interests of other vulnerable groups.

(...) a regime deemed to be just, but which eventually leads to injustice, is a contradiction in terms¹⁰

(...) what is given to dalits must not undermine what is meant for tribals; nor what is given to some within the community must not undermine what is due to other members of this community¹⁰

He then painstakingly describes how caste quotas have become a quest for upward social mobility and how the creamy layer of recipients uses them for partisan benefit to the exclusion of those more disadvantaged within and

In present-day India, the marginalisation of the Muslim community illustrates the worst in identity politics, caught in the vicious circle of Hindu nationalism demonising them, and their own defensive response isolating themselves.

Heredia does not offer a quick solution for a worsening problem. He does offer a lot of insight in only 9 pages. Essential reading.

¹⁰ Heredia R (2011) Quotas and minority rights: recapturing the constitutional vision. *Economic & Political Weekly* 46(30), 62-70

The paper can be downloaded at <http://bit.ly/ndrZGi>



QUOTE OF THE WEEK

Queremos que la expresión misma de 'exclusión social' se borre para siempre de nuestro lenguaje y de nuestra realidad
We want the term 'social exclusion' to disappear altogether from our language and lives

Ollanta Humala: *Inaugural address of the president of Peru*, Lima, 28 July 2011