

Social Exclusion of *Bihari* Community: A Sociological Study on Geneva Camp, Dhaka



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ABSTRACT

The study of social exclusion is historically significant in sociology because of its gravity for explaining existing social problems embedded to the disadvantaged section of population in a given society. Accordingly, the aim of this thesis is to explore the patterns, dimensions and incidences of social exclusion among the *Bihari* community in the Geneva Camp, Dhaka. The previous research works on *Bihari* community have given the answers why they are excluded. However, the present research work has tried to find out why and how they are excluded and to be what extent they are excluded. For guiding this empirical study, different research works have been reviewed to find out the research gap and three pertinent theories of social exclusion, offered by Silver (1994), Clavel (1998), and Levitus (2005), also have been used for perceiving the underlying dimensions of social exclusion. Moreover, the methodology of this piece of writing involves: purposive and systematic sampling for area and respondent selection, and, mixed methods (survey and case study) for data collection. Besides, some statistical measurements have been used for data analysis such as percentile calculation, chi-square test (for measuring social exclusion) and the CBN method (for measuring poverty). The main findings of this thesis are mentionable here. From the findings it has been found that more than 95 percent of the respondents claimed that they hide their identity and dwelling place when they are outside the Camp. Moreover, by using the CBN method for measuring poverty the study found that about 30 percent people are poor, while nearly 70 percent respondents claim that they have sufficient income to run their family, but they are deprived from all basic rights, those a state usually provides. However, about 70 percent people think that they are poor and excluded in terms of ethnic identity, civic alienation, stigmatization, poor social capital, and etc. In addition, the chi-square test found most of the factors of social exclusion are strongly associated with ethnic identity at the significance level of $\square \square$. Most of the respondents claimed that they don't have access to proper housing, sanitation, health facilities, and education. Besides, about 70 percent respondents said that they do not possess or enjoy any political power for negotiation with the state. For example, they have voting rights, but no one is allowed to get a passport. Besides, the study shows that about 65 percent respondents are living in jobless home, which is considered as labor market exclusion. Finally, they reported that they are facing discrimination in all sphere of society wherever they involved, and they are spatially alienated from main stream people wherever they live in the country.

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Every research work is considered to its researcher as a finished product, which naturally comes after completing many steps that start from planning phase to the report writing. Arguably, every thesis has a sociological imagination from the viewpoint of its nature. As we know that sociological imagination looks everything from holistic perspectives, anyone can look back to this particular type of work from that angle of vision. Thus it can be said that every step of this thesis involves a fostering and caring urgencies. For completing this research many persons from various corners helped me, and without their assistance I would not be able to complete my work precisely.

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Acronyms	Elaboration
BBS	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
CBN	Cost of Basic Needs
DCI	Direct Calorie Intec
FEI	Food Energy Intec
H	Head count
HH	Household
NGO	Non-government Organization
PSU	Primary Sampling Unit
VGF	Vulnerable Group Feeding
ICRC	International
SPGRC	Stranded Pakistanis' General Repatriation Committee
CHT	Chittagong Hill Tracts
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
HRP	Human Rights Practices
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioners for Refugees
WASA	Water Supply & Sewerage Authority

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

“Luxury ruins republic, poverty ruins monarchies, and exclusion ruins masses in society”.

--- Charles de Montesquieu

1.1 Statement of the Problem:

Studying social exclusion is a profound attempt in sociology from its commencement as a discipline in the Western societies. It is thought-laden because of its nature, which is associated with the fresh piece of scientific knowledge regarding the disadvantaged section of people in a given society. For a researcher having with a first-hand experience, it is always exhilarating to take the challenge for conducting an empirical study. In order to take this challenge this study has also been designed to know the underlying causes and consequences of exclusion among the *Bihari* community, who are living in many parts of the country including in Geneva Camp, Dhaka. After scrutinizing the previous research works on *Bihari* Community it has been found that the pattern and trend of social exclusion is not sufficiently studied from the sociological point of view. Accordingly, I have conducted an empirical study in Geneva Camp for searching the answer of some basic questions such as: why and how they are excluded and what degrees of exclusion are found in them? Previous works have given the answers of the questions of why. Though these works are significant in many ways, they had a minimal endeavor to find out the answer of how they are excluded and what the levels of their exclusion are. But I have tried to give the answers of those questions throughout the whole paper.

From global literature on exclusion I have tried to trace out some important works so that I can have some insights and guidelines for my thesis. Consequently, I have reviewed many works on exclusion which are carried out throughout the European and North American countries. Some extraordinary pieces of research works on exclusion which are

pertinent for my study are conducted by David Gordon et al. (2000), Pierson (2002), Paul Hutchison *et.al.* (2002), Diane M. Houston (2004), and Jane Millar (2006). These works helped me a lot to make guidelines for research design and writing. Because operation definition of exclusion, typical dimensions, and the way they have explained exclusion from the theoretical perspectives and empirical experiences were resourceful to guide this dissertation.

For example, Pierson (2002) claimed that exclusion is mainly regarded as a procedure that withdraws persons, neighborhoods and groups from gaining the resources for involvement in socio-economic, cultural and political action. Moreover, he argued that there is a strong correlation between ethnic minority (race) and exclusion, in other words ethnic minority communities are more likely to be excluded. In this vein, David Gordon et al. (2000), showed that exclusion and poverty are dialectically interlinked i.e. poverty leads to exclusion and exclusion further promotes the poverty conditions. In addition, they argued that minority community people such as unemployed, retired people, sick and disabled, divorced and separated are more likely to be poor and excluded rather than the others. In my study, I have also found that these sections of people are more excluded than others.

I have also found that poverty, lack of resources, lack of goods and opportunities are responsible for social exclusion, which is the reflection of the findings of Jane Millar (2006). In this study, women are examined as more excluded than the men in terms of decision making power in the family and out the family. This notion also has been explained in the writings of Diane M. Houston (2004). Another study (carried out by Paul Hutchison *et. al.*, 2002) showed that exclusion has immediate and harmful impacts on people's behavior, inspiration and happiness, which have also been reflected in my findings. Because almost every people of the Camp hides their identity and dwelling place to the people when they are outside the Camp.

In Bangladesh, I have found some significant works on social exclusion among the *Bihari* Community and ethnic minority group people. Among them Ahsan and Hussain (1990), Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit (RMMRU), 2003, Yasmin (2004), Sattar (2007), Khan and Samadder (2007), Farzana (2008), Hussain (2009), and Mashiur Rahman (2011) are mentionable. Arguably, I have used these literatures for my study to

find out the research gaps and to formulate the research questions. Based on the above study findings from Bangladesh I have found that the exclusion has yet not been studied though the lens of sociology, particularly on *Bihari* community. Thus it is obvious that I have tried to fill up some research gaps in this field by conducting this study. The study addresses the overall issues regarding the exclusion (four major types of exclusion: social, economic, political and spatial) as well as attempts to find out the incidence of exclusion among the *Bihari*.

The study shows that more than 95 percent of the people hide their identity and dwelling place outside the Camp. Moreover, about 30 percent of the people are poor among the respondents, while nearly 70 percent respondents claim that they have sufficient income to run their family but they are deprived from all basic rights that provide the state. However, about 70 percent people think that they are poor and excluded in terms of ethnic identity, civic alienation, stigmatization, poor social capital etc. most of the respondents claimed that they don't have access to proper housing, sanitation, health facilities, and education. The shortage of these basic needs make them excluded. Besides, about 70 percent respondents said that they do not possess or enjoy political power for negotiation as a full citizen of this country. For example, they have voting rights, but they are not allowed to get a passport. The study also shows that about 65 percent respondents are living in jobless home, which is considered as labor market exclusion. Finally, they reported that they are discriminated in all sphere of society wherever they involved and they are spatially alienated from main stream people in the country.

1.2 Objectives of the Study:

According to the sociologist, social exclusion is a complex term to define and explain. Simply, social exclusion means non-participation. In other words, social exclusion is the incapability of the individual in a given society to bind together with all sections of people irrespective of ethnic identity, class, caste, color, and faith. Social exclusion is the root cause of all types of discrimination and deprivation of people in society. Accordingly, this study aims to explain historical pattern of exclusion among the *Bihari* community through reviewing literatures and attempts to find out the extent, incidence, and prevalence of exclusion among the *Bihari* community. And arguably, this study

focuses on the vulnerability of *Bihari* people to poverty, which is making them more and more socially excluded.

Each study has very precise objectives in sociological works. Without having specific objectives it is quite difficult to get a scientific result. Accordingly, this study has five specific objectives which are been delineated here in the following:

1. to investigate the pattern and trend of exclusion among the *Bihari* community.
2. to explore the extent and incidence of exclusion among the *Bihari* Community.
3. to figure out why and how exclusion exists among them.
4. to examine how exclusion is making them vulnerable and pushing into the poverty conditions.
5. to know the comprehensive nature of exclusion among the people.

1.3 Sociological Significance of this Study:

By the present study it has presumably noticed that the insights of sociological knowledge regarding social exclusion have come out through the empirical studies using different methods and techniques. From ethnographic observations of this study I have found that the Camp area is non-livable place for people in modern day world. The environment of *Bihari* Camp is very dirty, deplorable, obnoxious, awful, unhygienic, unclean, unhealthy, and unwholesome. These people are living here in inhuman conditions without having minimal access to basic needs and rights. The Camp dwellers are seriously facing the housing problem. More than 8 people live in a small room and they have to share this single room for sleeping.

Majority of them cannot rent house outside the Camp due to lack of money and due to their ethnic identity. In many cases they cannot rent house because Bengali people distrust them. Bengali people suspect them because they think that *Bihari* people are connected with Pakistan and are harmful for Bangladesh. The Camp dwellers are also facing serious shortage of sanitation facilities. At least 15-18 families have to share a single toilet, which reveals that the numbers of toilets are totally inadequate. The numbers of bathrooms are also insufficient and pitiful. Women and young girls face problem in

using these toilets at night as the toilets are very far from the living rooms and always remained crowded. In some cases they also face insecurity in using toilets at night because the Camp area is not restricted; rather it is an open place for all. Findings also reveal that the *Bihari* people are mainly excluded from the Bengali community because of their Urdu language. That means language is the main barrier of this community to assimilate with the mainstream society. However, many of them are learning Bengali well in order to integrate with the Bengali community or for social inclusion.

From survey data it has revealed that *Bihari* people are more excluded than the mainstream Bengali community in many respects. They have limited access to health services, educational facilities, labor-market and social services. *Bihari* people are mainly facing four types of exclusions such as: social, economic, political and spatial exclusion. Through the survey data I have also found that poverty is a prime feature of *Bihari* Camp. About 30 percent *Bihari* people are living in abject poverty. Due to this poverty *Bihari* people are unable to meet all the necessities of their life. Most of them fail to bear the educational and health expenses of their family. As a result many *Bihari* children are dropping out from school as well as living under malnutrition.

The rate of female literacy rate is very low in the Camp. Many young girls have to leave their school due to eve-teasing and improper care. *Bihari* people often face discrimination in their working place through offering low pay, compelling to do long-hour work and firing from job without prior notice. It has been found that women are more discriminated in their working place than *Bihari* men. They are also sexually harassed in their working place in many regards, as the case studies show.

From case studies it has been found that *Bihari* people are facing discrimination in all parts of their life. That means discrimination and exclusion is a vital part of their life. I have taken 15 case studies from Geneva Camp in order to know the type and pattern of exclusion among the people of *Bihari* community. These case studies also provide comprehensive insights that survey did not cover up. Most of the respondents argued that housing crisis is their main problem. They have achieved the citizenship status, though most of them feel as stateless they have limited access to the state facilities unlike Bengali citizens. They reported that they cannot exercise political power because they have no

political parties and no national representative. Rather their political life is controlled by the Bengali political leaders and local *mastans*.

The case studies also reveal that local *mastans* demand subscription from the *Bihari* people in the name of local musclemen. If *Biharis* disagree to fulfill their demand then they make a lot of harms to them. The Geneva Camp is a safe place for illegal business, for example, drug business is a common scenario of this Camp. Local Bengalis and *Biharis* both are involved with this business. Many young *Biharis* are getting addicted with drug, which is destroying the youth and children from their own track. It is harmful for the Camp dwellers as a whole. Most of the Camp dwellers protested against this illegal business but failed to stop for a single day. Crime and violence are also increasing rapidly in Geneva Camp. Many criminals consider this Camp as a black-hole for concealing or hiding their arms, weapons as well as perpetrating their criminal activities. *Bihari* people have restricted right to get passport because the state issues no passport to them because of criminal record. They can only get passport if they use a fake address, which is being considered as political exclusion.

Index and measurement showed that exclusion and poverty is the principal characteristics of *Bihari* Camp. Data revealed that almost 30 percent people of this Camp are poor. These people have no enough money for maintaining their life. Even, they want to educate their children but could not continue their study due financial inability. Most of the Camp dwellers are rickshaw puller, day laborer and construction worker whose income is inadequate for maintaining their family. Illiteracy is also high among *Biharis*. It has been found that the older people are more illiterate than the youths. The new generation is trying to obtain the light of education but they are facing massive discrimination in their schools, which is regarded as social exclusion. For example, being a *Bihari*, people are admitting their students to the low grade schools through hiding identity and dwelling place. They cannot use their Camp address for getting admission in good and high-quality educational institutions. In educational institutions they are often teased and insulted by their Bengali classmates. In many cases the teachers do not give much attention to *Bihari* children because they cannot speak Bengali properly. The *Bihari* people cannot use their Urdu language in public sphere. Bengali people are reluctant to make friendship with *Biharis* only for their identity. Thus identity crisis is the prime problem of *Bihari* people. The older generation of *Biharis* is willing to repatriate in

Pakistan but the newer or present generation considers Bangladesh as their homeland and are unwilling to repatriate. In spite of all problems the youths want to live in this country. Thus there is a debate between the older and newer generation.

In a nutshell, it could be argued that the stranded Pakistanis or the *Biharis* are living in an inhuman and ruthless condition. They are deprived from all basic necessities of modern life. The government of Bangladesh does not offer any special facilities (e.g. health, education, nutrition, housing, etc.) for *Bihari* people. Both married and unmarried women, young girls, pregnant women, adult and disabled people face more health problems rather than the Bengalis. Only some NGOs offer them some health facilities but these are inadequate in true sense. *Bihari* people are always in the fear of arrest. The police often arrest them, though in most cases they don't have criminal reports. In many cases, Bengali local *mastans* and local political leaders commit crime but the blame were given to the *Bihari* Community. The *Biharis* are excluded from the mainstream community which reveals their social exclusion. So it is essential to study their problems sociologically.

1.4 Organization of the Thesis

This paper aims to understand the social exclusion of *Bihari* community. In so doing, the present research paper has been divided into twelve specific chapters and every chapter contains precise, particular, separate and definite argument on the subject matter of this study.

Chapter one of this paper deals with the preamble and preface of the study which includes the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, rationale of the study as well as sociological significance of this study.

The Second chapter of this study is literature review. This chapter deals with the specific and relevant literatures which are the prime elements of this study. The main aim of this chapter is to find out the origin of the notion of social exclusion. It also tries to explain various types and patterns of social exclusion. This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section deals with exclusion in the global arena and the second section deals with the patterns of exclusion in Bangladesh. Firstly, this chapter explains the global

exclusion by focusing on “Poverty and Social Exclusion (PSE) Survey of Britain” (1999), Pierson’s “Tackling Social Exclusion” (2002), Jane Millar, Diane M. Houston, Barry, Burchardt and many other scholars article on social exclusion. According to this chapter the main types of social exclusion are service exclusion, income exclusion, exclusion from labor market, exclusion from social relationships and economic exclusion, etc. Secondly, this chapter discusses the types, patterns, extent and incidence of social exclusion among the *Bihari* community of Bangladesh. The background of the *Bihari* problem and their present situation has been also discussed in this chapter. Then it explains the major findings of the literature and the research gap.

Chapter Three discusses both the theoretical and conceptual framework of this study. The main aim of this chapter is to clarify, elucidate and make clear that the theories are relevant with the study. Another aim of this chapter is to also explain that the conceptual framework of this study fits with the available and accessible materials.

Chapter Four discusses the methodology of the study. The main parts of this chapter are the discussion of the study area, study people, tools of the study, data collection techniques, operational definition, research questions, sapling method, sample size, validity of the study, reliability of the study, etc. This chapter also deals with the limitations of the present thesis paper or study.

Chapter Five discusses the general characteristics of the respondents including their socio-demographic uniqueness. For example this chapter deals with the sex, age and marital status of the respondents. It also explains the occupation, household size and the level of education of the respondents.

Chapter Six discusses the patterns of social exclusion among the *Bihari* community. This chapter explains why the *Bihari* people are excluded from the mainstream Bengali community and society by focusing on their present conditions. Their attitude towards poverty, causes of poverty among this community, the condition of their health, sanitation and education has been described in this chapter. Finally, this chapter also tries to focus on the discrimination of *Bihari* children in educational institutions as well as their drop out from school.

Chapter Seven discusses the forms of political exclusion among the *Bihari* people. This chapter explains whether the *Bihari* people receive any facilities from the government organizations or NGOs. It also explains which types of facilities *Bihari* people get from GOs and NGOs. Their voting power, access to passport, access to bank account, access to bank loan, access to insurance facilities, access to protest, access to file a case, etc are also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter Eight deals with the economic exclusion of the *Bihari* people. This chapter explains whether the *Bihari* people are living in a jobless home and the causes of their labor market exclusion. Unemployment problem, underemployment problem, housing problem and the savings of *Bihari* people has been discussed in this chapter. In addition this chapter also explains the forms of discrimination of *Bihari* people in labor market and their relationship with Bengali community. The marital condition and forms of marriage among Bengali and *Bihari* people has been described in this chapter.

Chapter Nine deals with the Neighborhood exclusion of the *Bihari* people. This chapter argues that the *Bihari* people are deprived of the basic necessities of life like proper housing, sanitation, employment, medical facilities, Gas and other services. These people are also excluded from the facilities that the state provides to its citizens. This chapter illustrates the patterns of crime and violence in this area.

Chapter Ten illustrates the presentation of the case studies. For this study I have taken fifteen case studies. These case studies helped me to know the overall pattern of social exclusion among the *Bihari* people in Geneva Camp. Through these case studies I have tried to make an empirical relationship between my study findings and theories. These findings are supported by the theories.

Chapter Eleven deals the discussion and analysis. This chapter is the overall conversation of my study. It explains the background, causes and consequences of *Bihari* problem in Bangladesh. The findings are mainly analyzed and discussed in this chapter. Moreover this chapter also links the study findings with the present situation of *Bihari* people.

The final chapter of this paper is Chapter Twelve. It is the concluding chapter. Here the prime points and analyses of this study have been summarized. This chapter explains the concluding remarks regarding the social exclusion of *Bihari* community in Bangladesh by indicating the direction of future work in this field.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

“Social exclusion is a complex and multi-dimensional process. It involves the lack of denial of resources, rights, goods and services, and the inability to participate in the normal relationships and activities, available to the majority of people in a society, whether in economic, social, cultural or political arenas. It affects both the quality of life of individuals and the equity and cohesion of society as a whole”.

--- Levitas et al. (2007:25)

In sociology, literature review works as a guide for any empirical study. It gives insights about the research gaps in the particular field as well as provides key insights about the theories and methodologies for writing a dissertation. In this chapter I have reviewed the relevant literatures that deal with social exclusion. This section has been divided into two such as: (1) exclusion in global arena and (2) exclusion in Bangladesh. Both sections are essential in order to obtain a comprehensive view regarding the social exclusion as well as exclusion of *Bihari* community.

2.1 Exclusion in Global Arena

Throughout the global literature on exclusion I have found some extraordinary pieces of research works which are pertinent for this study because of their operational definition of exclusion, typical dimensions, and the way they have explained these issues from the theoretical perspectives and empirical experiences. In the following, I have discussed the previous works on social exclusion drawing basic insights from them which has been used as a guide for this study.

Pierson (2002), a prominent scholar on studying social exclusion, makes his arguments on different aspects of social exclusion by considering it as a generic term. The objective of

his research is to make an analysis of social exclusion from below. This book tries to explain the meaning of social exclusion, and provides a measurement of it in order to get the incidence of social exclusion. The concept of social exclusion explained by him has become primary to every person who is working in different public services such as education, housing, health, neighborhood, police and social services. This concept is widely used as inequality or poverty and in many ways these two aspects are the denouements of social exclusion. Accordingly, it is mainly regarded as a procedure that withdraws persons, neighborhoods and groups from gaining the resources for involvement in socio-economic, cultural and political action. These resources are not only material but also related with the feature of social interaction. It damages or destroys controls of access for chance and opportunity. There are five elements that are enhancing the procedure of social exclusion, which are: poverty and low income, inability to access job market, inadequate access to quality services, living in a distressed neighborhoods and civic alienation. Moreover, he posits that studying social exclusion offers various types of interconnected ideas on some especial issues like poor physical and mental health, oppression and frustration, child poverty, adult poverty, stress of family and retirement of older people from social responsibilities, actions and relationships.

Pierson mainly tried to explain the degree and quantity of social exclusion which is experienced by the families with special emphasis on young people. He also tried to explain the needs of socially excluded children. It also deals with socially excluded adults and disabled people. He pointed out that social structure is mainly responsible for excluding these people through its institutions. Furthermore, a disadvantaged neighborhood is another manifestation of social exclusion. Because socially isolated people are much weaker in social and cultural capital, which eventually creates civil alienation.

This book also finds out the connection between racism and social exclusion. According to the Pierson, ethnic minorities are more socially excluded than white people. It is vividly manifested in accommodation, wages, schooling and other indicators. Racism occupies a special position which creates social exclusion. Another excludes people who are also living in lower tier of society is regarded as refugees. He argues that refugees are the most vulnerable section as a group of people in a society.

David Gordon et al. (2000) in their study show poverty and social exclusion as the major problem in recent British society. This new survey is titled as the “Poverty and Social Exclusion Survey of Britain” (PSE), 2000. The survey is based on a critique of preceding 20 years evidences, which shows how poverty and social exclusion are interconnected. It started developing the ways to measure social exclusion by including the measures which are well-suited with the international standards of poverty measurement.

The study deals with the number of poor people who are adult and their several characteristics. Moreover, it studied children and their poverty conditions from the same household they studied for adult poverty. For this study, the people who cannot afford the socially recognized necessities can be termed as adult poor. The survey showed that unemployed and retired people consider themselves as poor. The people who have no income support, and are sick and disabled also belong to this category. Divorced and separated people consider themselves poorer than normal married people. The study found that 30 percent of young people consider themselves as poor.

This survey included several questions on the perceptions of health in order to build a relationship between poor health conditions and poverty. Social, economic and demographic factors are responsible for being poor and excluded. A lot of demographic features and low income are also associated with this exclusion study. As an example the study found that dissatisfaction with local environment is considered as a crucial item of exclusion in Britain. Thus, it shows that due to lack of material and social power poor people are more socially excluded than non-poor people.

While measuring child poverty this study takes into account some important aspects such as: household type, employment status of the parents, income and expenditure of the household, age of child, number of children, illness, disability, tenure, ethnicity, housing condition, the reception of benefits from society and educational background etc. I have also taken some indicators from this study to prepare my questionnaire regarding poverty measurement. This study found that the children who live in lone parent household are more vulnerable to poverty and social exclusion. A relatively significant number of children in Britain are living in a poverty condition, which is mainly responsible for making them excluded. The study uses some indicators for measuring child and adult poverty, which are also important for my study.

The main part of this report is discussion on social exclusion in Britain. The study examines exclusion by involving four dimensional aspects of exclusion such as: exclusion from sufficient assets and income or impoverishment, exclusion from the labor market, exclusion from services and exclusion from social relationships or relations. All of these dimensions are closely associated with one another. Economic exclusion mainly focuses on the exclusion of individual and household from the labor market. The individuals who are in unpaid work seem to be more socially excluded though they are living with paid adults and eventually their household is not poor. This is a manifestation of labor market exclusion which leads to poverty, social exclusion, exclusion from services and exclusion from social relationships. It is also applicable for the jobless or workless households.

Another dimension of social exclusion is manifested within the notion of service exclusion that focuses on the lack of access to basic services. It can happen both inside and outside the house. The examples of internal service exclusion are lack of water supply, gas supply, power supply, telephone etc. Lack of transport amenities, shopping amenities and economic services are the examples of external service exclusion. A prime characteristic of this survey is that it provides straight information regarding the issue of social participation as well as social relationships. This is termed as exclusion from social relations. There are some ways by which we can explain and look this type of social exclusion which are: nonparticipation in general social actions, segregation, unavailability of support, imprisonment, and detachment. These types are interconnected with poverty and labor market exclusion, which are the main concern of my study. The people who live alone are in a high danger of social exclusion. If people are able to participate in the wider society then they will be able to tackle exclusion from social relations. The PSE survey has given much more importance on the exclusion from social relations which is a unique feature of this survey.

The term social exclusion simply means non-participation. This survey found that 43 percent of adult people are facing labor market exclusion because they lack access to paid work. Labor market exclusion is a significant risk issue for exclusion from basic services and social exclusion. The PSE survey found that collective exclusion is higher than individual exclusion (this pattern of exclusion has been found in my study). Around half

of the population has very limited access to the full range of services which directs the service exclusion.

Jane Millar (2006) in her article (edited by Abrams, D. et al., 2007) examined various definitions of social exclusion within the framework, circumstance and background of European Union (EU). She argued that the meaning of social exclusion is not easy to understand. Social exclusion is a multidimensional concept which comprises of political, material and social indicators or aspects. Social exclusion is produced in a societal structure through which people are excluded by others action. In contrast of it people react to the danger of social exclusion in some cases actively or passively. According to her study, poverty, lack of goods and resources, lack of opportunities are also responsible for social exclusion. The findings of the study show that for tackling social exclusion people usually try to find out the ways to improve their conditions, while state is absent to take the responsibility. Having been taken many research findings in its consideration this study argued that social participation and inclusion are the effective measures of tackling social exclusion.

Diane Houston (2004) (edited by Abrams, D. et al., 2007) deals with the social exclusion of women in UK society. The data of this study mainly came from a national survey. Houston challenged the prime perspectives of social exclusion especially the frame or outline of Burchardt *et al.* (2002) which neglected women who are mainly the solitary excluded group in society. Houston argued that women are excluded from the main stream society because of their low participation in different sections of society such as political affairs, education, policy making, business etc. Due to the non-participation of women in these actions inequality and social isolation occur in society, the study reports. The policies of social exclusion do not give enough importance on the issue of this inequality.

Women want to take a lot of domestic responsibility and caring tasks than men carry out. Due to these kinds of private works they are unable to get time for engaging in different types of public actions, which eventually denied social inclusion. By mentioning Barry (2002), Houston outlined that women are more socially excluded than men because of their lack of opportunities. His study found that women and men have no identical participation within the prime actions of society namely consumption, production,

political engagement and social interaction. Moreover, community or communal life is dominated by men who are responsible for women's social exclusion. Women are working hard for gaining equality in all respects of society but it is impossible for them without the help of men. Men have to change their attitudes, behaviors and roles for improving the overall situation of women in society as well as to tackle social exclusion among them.

Paul Hutchison *et. al.* (2002) (edited by Abrams, D. et al., 2007) works with the social psychology of exclusion. The main aim of this paper is to evaluate study on the contexts of exclusion of individuals from expected social groups, social relationships and the process of social psychology by which social exclusion occurs. Exclusion is the result of individual's deprivation from basic needs. It is the root of dysfunctional responses among individuals, for example: lower self-confidence, depression, misery, hopelessness, hostility, antagonism and incapability to reason sound, etc. Aggressive and unsociable reactions are the consequences of social exclusion. Hutchison's study further shows that exclusion has immediate and harmful impacts on people's behavior, inspiration and happiness. Social exclusion is sometimes regarded as a viable societal dynamism for the rich and for the state, because this process is beneficial for them, not for the poor. The paper indicates that strong political promise can tackle social exclusion of individuals.

Authors of this book (edited by Abrams, D. et al., 2007) argued that the elements of social psychological and demographic variables are affected by individual's specific positions, which denies the social relations as a whole. Some advantageous groups can use exclusion as a way for controlling the actions and activities of members as well as the personal strength of the principles and norms of the group. On the other hand people who are poor and powerless are more vulnerable to be victim of the advantageous social group.

2.2 Exclusion in Bangladesh

In Bangladesh I find limited number of significant works on exclusion from sociological point of view. The works which I find have been reviewed here with gingerly. The works that I have reviewed are pointing out in the following way which have discussed on

social, political, economic and spatial aspects of exclusion from various directions and corners blending multiple forms of methodologies.

Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit (RMMRU) has published a periodical named "*The Camp-based Bihari Community: Perception of the New Generation*" in April 2003. The main aim of this series is to find out the background of the *Bihari* problem and the present situation of this community. This periodical also explains the different aspects of *Bihari* women who are living in 70 Camps of Bangladesh. This periodical shows that the people of *Bihari* community are leading a vulnerable life inside and outside the Camp. They are stateless refugees because they have no state of their own, though recently they got the citizenship status in 2008.

There are 10 articles in this periodical. I have reviewed these all articles because these are very much relevant for my study. The first article entitled "*The Camp-based Bihari Community: Historical Background*" deals with the historical or chronological background of the *Bihari* problem. In this article S. R. Rashid and S. M. Akram argued that the word "*Bihari*" mainly came from the Bihar, a constituent province of India. But Ahmed Ilias, the chief director of the Al-Falah, argued that the origin of this word is the term "*Bahar*". In Bangladesh those people are regarded as *Bihari* who came in the then East-Pakistan (at present Bangladesh) from different states of India especially from Bihar during and after 1947. They are mainly Urdu-speakers so they supported West Pakistan in 1971 and were against the Liberation war of Bangladesh.

Many of them helped Pakistani military by joining in *Al-Badar*, *Al-Shams* and *Rajakar Bahini*. With their direct and indirect help the Pakistani military made genocide in Bangladesh. So, during and after the liberation war of Bangladesh the freedom fighters and the Bengalis took revenge. These *Bihari* people were evicted from their own houses and took shelter in different Camps which were established by ICRC. Since then they are leading an inhuman life. Many of them repatriated to Pakistan but the majority was in the false hope of repatriation. Due to ineffective political policy and crude reality the process of repatriation remained incomplete, though both Bangladesh and Pakistan talked on this issue many times. Approximately 1, 61,000 *Bihari* people were repatriated to Pakistan

and about 41,000 families or approximately 2, 50,000 *Biharis* are currently living in Bangladesh. These people are also called “Stranded Pakistanis”.

S. M. Akram discussed in his article “*The Bihari Community of Bangladesh: Restricted Camp life*” about the present situation of different *Bihari* Camps of our country. He found that more than 20,000 *Bihari* people are living in Geneva Camp of *Mohammadpur*. The living condition of this Camp is very unwholesome, insanitary, dirty and unhygienic. These people are facing extremely housing problem because 10-12 people have to sleep in a single room. The sanitary and drainage system is also inadequate. The supply of water is not adequate which creates a lot of competition and quarrel among the Camp dwellers. There is no school and playground for the *Bihari* children in particular. Most of the Camp dwellers are unaware about family planning and in many cases they are unwilling to follow any family planning method. As a result high population growth is a common problem of *Bihari* Camp. There are no proper health and educational facilities for this community. Only a few NGOs provide medical facilities for *Bihari* people which are also inadequate. Robbery, eve-teasing, theft, extortion and sexual harassment are the common scenario of this Camp. The same condition is present in other 69 *Bihari* Camps of Bangladesh, the paper reports.

From another article titled “*The Urdu Speaking Women living in the Camps of Bangladesh*” we found S. R. Rashid who discussed the different aspects of women’s life in *Bihari* community. Most of the researchers are reluctant to study the discrimination pattern among the *Bihari* women. There is no exact data about the number of women living in *Bihari* Camps. Women and children are more socially excluded than *Bihari* men, the paper argued. The *Bihari* women are living in an inhuman situation because they sleep in the same room with other family male family members, which create a lot of complexity in their personal life. The *Bihari* women are responsible to maintain the family in spite of all problems. They have to use the toilets and bathrooms with shyness and hesitation.

Moreover, many Camp dwellers are reluctant about their daughter’s education due to poverty. Eve-teasing is also responsible for the dropping-out of girls from school. Early marriage and dowry system is widely practiced among *Bihari* community. Lack of educational facilities and security are the impediments for the proper mental development

of *Bihari* children, girls, teenagers and women. Many women firmly believe that the repatriation to Pakistan is totally impractical. So they demand the nationality of Bangladesh. Many of them are engaged in different types of handicraft, embroidery and boutique for maintaining the living cost of their family.

In her article “*Biharis in Bangladesh: Present Status, Legal Impediments and Solutions (2000)*” Sultana Nahar argued that in order to get rid of economic insecurity many of the *Bihari* women adopted prostitution, which is a pivotal sign of social exclusion. In another article titled “*The Leadership Problem of Camp-based Bihari Community*” Nur Islam tried to find out the different leadership problems of *Bihari* people for which they are unable to protest against the grievances. Their present situation is the result of unskilled, inexperienced and inept leadership. There is a lot of conflict regarding the leadership of SPGRC. Some inexperienced decision of the *Bihari* leaders brought a lot of disaster for this community in earlier. The author argued that in order to solve the problems of *Bihari* people experienced and skilled leadership is essential.

The next article of the periodical deals with the identity crisis and the economic condition of this community. Another article having with the title “*Idea of Repatriation in Pakistan: Old vs. New Generation*” argued that the old generation wants to repatriate but the new one wants to remain in this country and consider themselves as Bangladeshi. The next article deals the citizenship status of *Bihari* women. The last article of this periodical series deals with the trend of assimilation of new generation of *Bihari* community with the Bengalis. Thus the study concluded that the reality of *Bihari* repatriation is now fruitless and ineffective.

Mashiur Rahman (2011) in his book “*Struggling Against Exclusion: Adibasi in Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh*” shows the multiple dynamics of social exclusion among the ethnic minority groups in the CHT. From the sociological point of view this work is more useful for my thesis to get a guideline to work on an ethnic community. The main thesis of this book is to find the answer regarding the question of why this ethnic minority group people are excluded and marginal in their life chances. To find out the answer of these questions the writer tried to explore how people are being denied from their basic needs such as food, health, sanitation, education, security etc. Along with this, dispossessed from their own land is a very crucial factor of social exclusion for the CHT

people, which is examined by the writer thorough political economic perspective. This book is an outline of the poverty and social strategy regarding the *Chakma* tribe of Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) in Bangladesh. Social policy primarily deals with social exclusion and marginalization of the underprivileged and disadvantaged sections of people in society. Different ethnic minorities of Bangladesh are living in deprivation, poverty and marginal situation. *Adibasi Chakma* is also such a group. So the main focus of this study is to understand the patterns and types of deprivation, marginalization and social exclusion among the *Chakma* tribe in Bangladesh.

The study's another aim that deals with *Chakma* people's human rights condition on the basis of their life style, historical milieu and present circumstances. The process of peace and the efforts for the creation of social integration and social cohesion in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) introduced by the Government of Bangladesh is a prime concentration of this study. The *Chakma* tribe in CHT of Bangladesh is living in abject poverty and suffering from a lot of extraordinary problems. From the data of the survey the author found that each year approximately 40 percent respondents live in economic adversity and debt.

Moreover, the author tried to identify the exclusion and marginalization of the *Chakma* tribe at Sonai and Mayni villages by using a triangulation or mixed method. There is an overall discussion on patriotism, ethnicity and the procedure of minority or *Adibasi* exclusion with special reference to the political background of the CHT problem. The author also tried to propose a solution of this problem. Chapter seven and eight of this book reveal the ethnic clash and social exclusion of the *Chakma* community in villages of Sonai and Mayni. The next chapter of this book deals with the management of ethnic conflict and the function of social policy for bringing a change in this area through the establishment of peace.

Mashiur's work shows that the ethnic groups of the CHT are poorer and socially excluded than the local Bengalis or the settlers living in the different plain lands of Bangladesh. Their economic, social and cultural condition is largely different than the Bengali settlers. They cannot enjoy political autonomy and human rights properly. Most of them are facing the problems of identity crisis, citizenship problems. They are also deprived of the rights in land because of their ethnic identity. They are unable to move freely in the area and have unequal access to market trade.

The study also indicates that the state deployed a huge number of army officers and military in the region of CHT for monitoring the activities of the ethnic minorities. For the solidarity and security of the state the army control, limit, and confine the mobility of the tribal people by imposing their decisions on *Adibasi*. But these forms of exclusion are absent among the Bengali settlers. Land grabbing, income inequality, inequality in agriculture, land loss, restricted economic freedom, *jhum* cultivation, money owing, abject poverty, inadequate livelihood, women's hardship, food insecurity, inadequate health, water and sanitation facilities, low education and inequality in business are the ways by which the ethnic minorities are excluded from the conventional Bengali society. Moreover, they are also excluded from the local governance, social security, communication, administration and development. These reveal that the ethnic minorities of the CHT are excluded from the mainstream Bengali society and they enjoy less freedom than the Bengali people.

Ahsan and Hussain (1990) discussed about different pattern of exclusion among the *Bihari* Community. The *Bihari* Camp dwellers of this country are living in an inhuman or sub-human condition. It has a negative effect on the economy and society of Bangladesh. This study made an inquiry on the social and economic state of the *Biharis* who are residing in the *Khalishpur* Camp under the district of Khulna. It has made a comparison between the *Bihari* Camp dwellers and Bengali slum residents of *Khalishpur*.

The researchers collected data mainly from key sources by using systematic sampling procedure. A total number of 300 households (150 *Bihari* and 150 Bengali) were surveyed. Qualitative and quantitative techniques were used to analyze data. This study focuses that the *Bihari* people are living in an inhuman and low standard of life in terms of food, medical costs, education, earnings and services. Around 250,000 *Bihari* people who are living in approximately 116 Camps in diverse districts is an extra load for this country. They are mainly Muslims and came from different provinces of India especially from Bihar to Bangladesh (the then Pakistan) in 1947 following the division of Indian subcontinent. They supported Pakistan during the liberation war of Bangladesh in 1971. After the independence of Bangladesh many of them tried to move Pakistan but could not afford.

Social Exclusion of Bihari Community: A Sociological Study on Geneva Camp, Dhaka

From census data the researchers found that about 20,300 *Bihari* people live in this Camp which occupies 4.05 hectares of total city area. Among them 9,500 people reside in government provided free accommodation. And rests of them are facing severe housing problems. There is also unhygienic environmental situation which is also responsible for creating contagious diseases and ecological hazards inside the Camp. Investigation reveals that in the Camp area tuberculosis is 15% higher than an equivalent Bengali slum.

There is also a difference between these two groups in terms of employment. *Biharis* are more unemployed than Bengali people. A reason behind this is that the *Biharis* are not interested to work in a distant place but Bengalis are interested to do that. From this comparison it can be said that, the *Biharis* are excluded from the Bengalis in terms of employment opportunity. The study found that income is strongly correlated with food and nutrition. 70% Camp dwellers who have less income than the Bengalis could expend a lesser amount of US \$ 20 monthly on food. But 77% of the Bengali people expend a more amount of US \$ 23 per month on food. About 98% Bengalis take 3 meals a day comparing to 72% *Bihari* Camp dwellers, though a significant percent (19%) of *Bihari* people take only a meal per day, which is considered as a kind of starvation. Moreover, this study shows that whereas Bengalis intake approximately 1950 calorie, the *Biharis* intake about 1370 calorie in a day.

The pattern of medical expenditure among *Biharis* also offers the same picture. They are poor so they cannot afford the costs of medicine. Very few of them spend money for medicine and average numbers of households expend nothing on it. The difference is not so significant between the two groups in this respect. Lack of education is a familiar factor in *Bihari* Camp. This study found that 76% of the *Bihari* Camp household heads are illiterate comparing to 10% of the Bengali household heads. *Bihari* Camp children attend school less than Bengali children. The percentage is 65 for *Biharis* and 16 for Bengalis. Language, identity, poverty and mental instability are responsible for the low schooling of *Bihari* children. As a result unemployment is a common factor for *Bihari* people. The attitude of *Biharis* is depressed in many regards which is responsible for their current situation which leads them to commit crime and violence. This study proposes two solutions of this problem. The first one is repatriation of *Biharis* and the second one is community participation.

Hussain (2009) also worked on *Bihari* community people, who have achieved citizenship status in 2008. In this study the writer found that the term “stranded Pakistani” is applied to the *Bihari* community of Bangladesh. These people speak in Urdu and they are Muslims. These people lived in different provinces of India especially in Bihar but they moved to East Pakistan in 1947 after the partition of India. After the Liberation war a new nation named Bangladesh is born in 1971. Many *Bihari* people supported the West Pakistan during the war and tried to leave this country after the war but failed. So these people were not welcomed in this country. Since then they were regarded as stateless and facing different types of discrimination. There are approximately 116 *Bihari* Camps in Bangladesh where about 160,000 *Biharis* are currently living. Urban areas are the main location of these Camps (Hussain, 2009:30-32).

The main features of these Camps are lack of sanitation, basic services, overcrowded housing and other many other problems. They are living in slum like conditions and the situation is worsening day by day as the population is growing rapidly. The Camp dwellers are facing discrimination in the labor market, educational institutions and health services which hampers the proper development of this community. Many young Camp dwellers are struggling to get the citizenship status of Bangladesh for many years.

In order to get the voting rights with the High court of Bangladesh they filed 2 petitions. The first petition was filed in 2001 by ten young Geneva Camp dwellers. At last they were declared as Bangladeshi citizens by the High Court. This court ordered the Election Commission of Bangladesh to encode the name of the *Bihari* people in the voter list. But a new and fresh list of the eligible *Bihari* voters was prepared in the month of January at 2007. They were also issued the national identity cards which gave them entrance to 22 fundamental services. During 6 September 2007, the government of Bangladesh decided to offer citizenship status to those *Bihari* people who were below 18 years in 1971 and who born after 1971.

During November 2007, 23 intellectuals including journalists, academics, human rights activists and lawyers prepared a joint statement to urge the government to give citizenship status to all *Bihari* people who are living in different Camps of Bangladesh. In August of the following year, the Election Commission of Bangladesh started a drive for registering the *Bihari* communities in all of the Camps of Bangladesh. At present all Camp dwellers

are the citizens of Bangladesh and they contain national identity cards. In spite of their present improvement in voter list and identity cards they are now living in dire poverty conditions and are facing inequality and discrimination. Still they don't have any access to Bangladeshi passports because the authorities have no instructions from the government on issuing of passports to *Biharis*.

Besides, the dwellers of the Geneva Camp are facing serious housing problems. More than 8 to 10 people share a single room and they are always in the threat of eviction. This paper also finds out the political, cultural and educational exclusion of *Bihari* people. Most of the *Biharis* are poor. But the government does not deal with the necessities of the *Bihari* community in Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP). So they are becoming poor day by day. There is no initiative to gather baseline information about this community by the NGOs and the UN agencies for their rehabilitation. Many people argue that the rehabilitation of 160,000 Camp dwellers needs a large amount of money and a series of well-planned programs which is very difficult for Bangladesh Government. This paper proposes that Bangladesh government must set up a rehabilitation trust fund to manage funding from mutual donors, national donor agencies, international donor agencies and International Islamic Organizations to ensure a sound, secure and protected future for the upcoming generations of *Biharis* in our country.

Khan and Samadder (2007) in another study showed that after the liberation war of Bangladesh the *Bihari* people has attracted a lot of concentration. Many scholars and researchers studied comprehensively on various issues and aspects of *Bihari* community. This paper examined various *Bihari* Camps in order to document various types of experience of violence and crime which are present inside these Camps. This study also deals with the fear of sexual harassment, oppression, violence, crime, violation of humanity and abuse of rights among the *Bihari* Camp dwellers. Law enforcing agencies are responsible for their fear and insecurity, the paper claims. Political leaders and local *mastans* are also the familiar perpetrators of crime and violence inside the Camp. They are also responsible for the miserable poverty conditions of *Biharis* because they weakening the economic strength of them. This community is excluded from the conventional Bengali society and from most of the improvement initiatives that is leading them to an inhumane situation.

The survey data revealed that in the first phase 170,000 *Bihari* people were repatriated. The time period of this first phase was 1973-1974. The second phase of repatriation took place in 1977 when 4,790 *Bihari* people were repatriated. The third phase occurred in 1979 when 2,800 *Biharis* were repatriated. The next phase took place in 1980 when 7,000 people were repatriated. The fifth phase occurred in 1984 when 6,000 *Biharis* were repatriated. The final phase of repatriation took place in 1993 when 325 people were repatriated (Refugee International, RI Bulletin, 2004).

At present, it is estimated that about 300,000 *Biharis* are in Bangladesh without clear identity, status or recognition (HRP, 2004). UNDP report argued that, human security depends on seven specific values. These are economic, personal, food security, health related, environmental security, political and community security values. But the *Biharis* are deprived of these values. They cannot manage job easily for them which reflects their food and economic insecurity. There are inadequate medical facilities in *Bihari* Camps which reflects their health insecurity because they are vulnerable to illness and contagious diseases. They have no access to the ownership of land. It is a violation of human rights, the report posits. They are also facing personal insecurity because of their identity crisis. They have no political power to save them from different types of crime, violence and violation of human rights. They are not acquainted with the mainstream community because they live in Camps. Thus this study is more significant for my thesis.

In many cases they are stigmatized for their identity. They are in identity crisis which is a pattern of exclusion. This study tried to find out their experiences about vulnerability. They are stateless community and for this reason their economic, cultural, political and social life is different from Bengali community. Discrimination and insecurity is a common part of their life, for example, lack of basic rights, violation of human rights and entrance to justice. When Bengali community celebrates different national days the *Biharis* feel insecure and this feeling turns them into fear. Moreover, they are always in the fear of being arrest by the police.

There is another debate regarding the Bangladeshi citizenship. The young *Biharis* want Bangladeshi citizenship but the old ones want to repatriate to Pakistan. This is a generation gap. *Biharis* are also the victim of voting politics. Many political leaders and parties pushed them for casting false vote. In addition, the Camp environment is not

hygienic and the work space of women is limited. This pushes the *Bihari* women in shameful ground. The paper argues that they pass their days in the tension of being the victims of sexual harassment and trafficking.

Furthermore, limited job opportunity pressed them to involve in illegal activities. The Camp area is a safe place for criminal activities like drug business. Arguably, poverty is a basic feature of *Bihari* Camp which leads them to involve in criminal and illegal activities. The situations of the Camps are terrible due to lack of reform or reconstruction. Government as well as NGOs is not interested in this respect. So, housing problem is severe in *Bihari* Camps.

The sanitary system of the Camp is inadequate which increases the vulnerability and panic of sexual harassment inside the Camp. At night the situation is very risky. Women and young girls become the victims of eve-teasing and sexual harassment. So many of them leave school without completing their primary education and confine themselves inside the houses. The women who work outside the Camp also face a lot of problems. They are always in the fear of being physically and verbally abused by outsiders. The parents of girls remain silent against the teasers and cannot protest due to the fear of further harassment. Many *Bihari* women work as housemaids who are in the fear of being sexually abused by the owners of the households. Economic insecurity pressed them to engage in different types of shameful and undignified activities.

Yasmin (2004) in her study "*Beyond the Archive of Silence: Narratives of Violence of the 1971 Liberation War of Bangladesh (2004)*" shows that during 1971 Pakistan saw two wars. The first one was a national war between East and West Pakistan and the second one was between India and West Pakistan which was an international war. In these wars ethnicity played a conflict with civil interests and the politics of the state. The armies of both countries involved in violent behavior. Their main target was the inhabitants of East Pakistan, especially women. Local people supported them in these brutal activities.

The Urdu speaking Muslim *Bihari* community raised their voice against the division of Pakistan and supported West Pakistan in order to save an integrated Pakistan. A significant number of *Bengali* people mainly supporters of the like-minded political

parties also raised their voice against the independence of East Pakistan and supported united Pakistan.

On the other hand, the autonomist Bengalis (both Hindus and Muslims) of East Pakistan supported the Indian army. The government of India helped Bengalis to create a local armed force named *Mukti Bahini*. The united forces of *Mukti Bahini* and Indian military conquered the war against West Pakistan and enforced them to accept defeat. After this war, a new nation born in the world named Bangladesh which was formerly known as East Pakistan. This paper exclusively focuses on the examination and explanation of clash among the army of West Pakistan, India and militia of East Pakistan.

The paper also aims to explain the outer contexts of battles among the various racial groups of Bengalis, Pakistanis and *Biharis*. The internal clashes among these groups led them to widespread brutality against women during the Liberation war of 1971 but the women could not protest against this violence and remained silent. In order to amalgamate these silences regarding gendered violence, the present paper applied a number of methods like oral history, historical review, documentary, archival study, fieldwork and the experiences of survivors. The respondents were both men and women of Bangladesh, India and Pakistan who witnessed the war of Liberation. The researcher's aim is to investigate the memories of gendered violence, women's victimization, the experiences of women and men and the strain created as an outcome. The researcher tried to find out the conflicting experiences of people and their sufferings during the war.

Besides, this paper is an attempt to reorganize common and mutual state violence within postcolonial South Asia. Many women described 1971 as the period of anxiety, fear and the end of sympathy. Housewives, school and college students, professional women and sex workers were the real victims of violence, the study shows (Saikia, 2004:275-287).

Farzana (2008) in her article titled "*The Neglected Stateless Bihari Community in Bangladesh: Victims of Political and Diplomatic Onslaught*" depicted that since 1971 after the liberation of Bangladesh, a huge number of Pakistanis have been stranded in this country. They are mainly *Biharis* and known as Stranded Pakistanis. Due to the ineffective repatriation policies *Bihari* community failed to repatriate to Pakistan.

The aim of this piece of writing is to examine the condition of the *Bihari* people in Bangladesh with special respect to their socio-economic, political problems and the identity crisis. They do not know whether they are Bangladeshi or *Bihari*. Another identity crisis is whether they are refugees or minorities. Farzana said that they are deprived of all types of basic rights. Governments are reluctant to solve the problems of the *Bihari* community because they were against the Liberation war of Bangladesh in 1971 and supported Pakistan.

The *Biharis* are facing multiple problems as they are deprived of the facilities and benefits provided to the refugees by the state and by the UNHCR. The special purpose of this paper is to investigate the status, socio-economic, political and the diplomatic problems of the *Bihari* community. This paper considered the *Bihari* people as an “artificial minority” because these people are not the mainstream community of Bangladesh and they are a separate group of people. They are living in our country as unwanted refugees. In this paper the researcher analyzes the problem of *Bihari* community by dividing these problems into three sections. The sections are: (1) historical background of the problem and the political position of *Biharis* in Bangladesh, (2) the socio-political condition of this community, and (3) the diplomatic problems of the repatriation process of *Bihari* community.

The background of this problem started in 1947 when approximately one million Muslims came in the then East Pakistan (in present Bangladesh). They are Urdu speakers and came from different parts of India like Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. But in this country they became alienated from the Bengali community in terms of environment, professions, language, traditions, culture and customs. This community by no means assimilated with the local Bengalis and maintained coalition with the central government of Pakistan against the rights of Bengali people.

The *Bihari* community was not considered as refugee after the partition of Indian subcontinent in 1947 but they became refugee when Bangladesh became independent and separated from Pakistan (Farzana, 2008). The *Bihari* people also have the characteristics of minority as they are racially and culturally different from the Bengali people. They speak in Urdu language and maintain *Bihari* social and cultural values which give them a different ethnic identity. Artificial minority is a status that has been given to this

community which means that they are neither refugee nor minority. Only they can be considered as minority because they are not significant in numbers and they are separated from the Bangladeshi society.

According to the article, the living conditions of *Bihari* Camps are very unhealthy, unclean, humid, unhygienic and deplorable. They could not afford to maintain a healthy life. Due to the extreme shortage of deep tube well there is a severe scarcity of clean and safe drinking water in every Camp. As a result many people collect water from nearby canals or ponds. But, the people who live in inner city Camp are more vulnerable to get safe water than the people who live in rural areas.

The sources of water are not safe so cholera, typhoid jaundice and skin diseases are very common inside the Camp. In recent times NGOs like the OBAT Helpers, the Concern and some others are assisting them by providing tube wells and other facilities. About 25,000 people are currently residing in Geneva Camp, which is relatively in good positions among the *Bihari* Camps of Bangladesh and the biggest of all. But there is only one clinic in this Camp named Al-Falah Model Clinic. This clinic is poorly outfitted and provides inadequate medical facilities to the Camp dwellers.

In educational institutions *Bihari* children face a lot of discriminations in many cases either by their classmates or by the teachers for their identity and language. It has been found from different studies that approximately 1% of the Camp children go to school. This is why majority of them are illiterate. In the Geneva Camp, a school named Non Local Junior High School is present only. It was established in 1974 and it is running the classes from Kindergarten to class 8. The number of teachers is inadequate and they are not regularly paid. The tuition fees are very high which is very difficult for the *Bihari* people to afford. As a result most of the children are deprived of basic educational skills.

Sattar (2007) in her article “The rejected *Biharis*” explained the dilemma of the *Bihari* people who were deprived of the citizenship by the governments of Bangladesh and Pakistan. She started her paper by giving importance on the historical actions which led to the trial or hearing of the *Biharis* living in Bangladesh. It seeks to offer different arguments given by the government of Bangladesh, Pakistan and *Bihari* community. It also explained how the *Bihari* people are labeled as the enemies of Bangladesh for their

role in 1971. They supported Pakistan government during the Liberation war of Bangladesh. Though the government of Pakistan frequently assured the *Biharis* about the repatriation to Pakistan, it did not recognize finally (Redclift, 2010, p. 28).

The author argued that ethno-linguistic tensions within a state thwart the recognition of legal citizenship. This became true for the *Bihari* Communities in Bangladesh like the Tamil of Sri Lanka. Before independence all people living in this country were regarded as Pakistani and the Pakistan government gave the *Bihari* people priority over the Bengalis in some particular jobs sector such as: postal services, railway services and telegraph. But after independence the *Biharis* lost their citizenship status and eventually the loss of Pakistani citizenship led to the division between *Biharis* and Bengalis (Redclift, 2010, p. 34).

2.3 Summary of the Literature Review

The major findings that I have reviewed from the previous works have been summarized here in the following:

1. Inhuman living condition of *Bihari* people.
2. Unsuitable, dirty and deplorable situation of the *Bihari* Camps.
3. Unhygienic and unhealthy environmental situation of the *Bihari* Camps.
4. Severe housing problems and overcrowded housing.
5. Lack of proper medical facilities.
6. Urdu language is mainly responsible for the cultural exclusion of *Bihari* people.
7. Identity crisis of *Bihari* people leads them to the feeling of statelessness which is a pattern of exclusion.
8. Abject poverty is a prime feature of the *Bihari* Camps.
9. The presence of labor-market discrimination and exclusion.
10. Inadequate waste management system and sanitation facilities inside the *Bihari* Camps.
11. The Camp is also a safe place for crime and violence.
12. The presence of illegal drug business inside the Camp.
13. Insecurity, fear and harassment of *Bihari* women inside and outside the Camp.

14. Lack of basic services and other facilities.
15. *The Bihari* children are facing discrimination in the educational institutions.
16. The Camp dwellers are facing discrimination in the health services.
17. People are living in slum like conditions and the situation is worsening day by day due to rapid population growth.
18. The threat of eviction is a common problem.
19. *Bihari* community is excluded from the conventional and mainstream Bengali community.
20. *Bihari* people are vulnerable to illness and contagious diseases like jaundice, diarrhea, etc.
21. The government of Bangladesh issues no passport to the *Bihari* people which is a pattern of political exclusion.
22. People are stigmatized for their *Bihari* identity.
23. They have no access to the ownership of land which is a violation of human rights and a clear case of exclusion.
24. The *Bihari* people are deprived of personal, economic, political, food, health, environmental and community security.
25. Above all, the *Bihari* people are becoming the victims of violence and living like prisoners.

From the above literature I have been able to identify the research gap for my study. This gap guides me to explore the untouched area in studying *Bihari* people through incorporating the questions of how they are excluded and what extent of exclusion exist in them. Moreover, it is sociological because this thesis used theories and suitable methods to get reliable findings.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL APPROACHES

“A useful theory illuminates what you are seeing in your research. It draws your attention to particular events or phenomena and sheds light on relationships that might otherwise go unnoticed or be misunderstood.”

--- *J. Maxwell (1996:33) Qualitative Research Design: An Interpretive Approach, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.*

“...social exclusion is a theoretical concept, a lens through which people look at reality and not reality itself”.

.... *de Haan, 2001:28.*

3.1 Theories of Social Exclusion

Existing theories on a particular field of knowledge always guide an empirical study through its major postulates, concepts, variables, and tested theses. The present study is no longer an exception. Accordingly, the purpose of this chapter is three fold: (1) it has involved a pertinent discussion on a good number of theories of social exclusion, (2) it has used three renowned theories (Silver, 1994; Clavel, 1998; Levitus, 2005) to guide this study, and (3) it has made a conceptual and a theoretical framework based on its assumptions and findings.

3.1.a Sociological Theories on Social Exclusion

Theories of social exclusion in sociology can be traced back through the writing of Emile Durkheim, a renowned classical moral sociologist. Because of his focus on functionalist

perspectives, Durkheim tried to formulate his theory on social exclusion engaging the ideas of social order and solidarity. He claimed that modern industrial society comes through a major transformation from agrarian society (Durkheim, 19...). Arguably, he said that this transformation phase creates solidarity and order in society in one hand, and creates social enclosure or dislocations on the other hand (Room, 1995 cited in O'Brien and Penna, 2007:3). For Durkheim, this dislocations and disorders are the root cause of social exclusion in society (Rawal, 2008:161-162).

Moreover, we find a good number of reputed theoretical works in sociology on exclusion except Durkheim, explaining why and how exclusion originates and sustains in the broader arena of society. Accordingly we find many important theorists in classical sociology such as Weber's theory of social enclosure, Georg Simmel's Dyad and triad perspectives, and Robert Park's Marginal Man theory. Later, we find more comprehensive and rigorous theories on social exclusion by the writings of R. Lenoir (1974), Hillary Silver (1994), Pierre Clavel (1998), Sen (2000), Aasland and Flotten (2000), Jo Beall (2002), Dave Muddiman (2003) and Ruth Levitas (2005). In the following I have discussed these theories in order to get more inclusive ideas about social exclusion.

In the 1970s, a famous work on social exclusion carried out by French sociologist R. Lenoir who coined the term social exclusion. By this study he explains that the minority group people are always excluded in society (Lenoir, 1974: 11-16). He shows that the people who are excluded are labeled as: delinquent youth, youth addicts, runaways, physically disabled persons, mental patients, elderly invalids, suicidals, alcoholics, vagrants, former delinquents, the mentally deficient, the marginal or anti-social, irregular prostitutes and so on (DIMÉ, 2005:7).

Hillary Silver, a reputed scholar on social exclusion from France, provides three influential discourses of social exclusion derived from the real experiences of the disadvantaged people from French society (Hillary, 1994:539). She shows multiple meanings of exclusion using her threefold typologies (or discourses) of exclusion such as: solidarity, specialization, and monopoly. According to Silver, these three paradigms are distinguished from political ideologies and national discourses and based on different

notions of social integration and political philosophy regarding the multiple forms of social disadvantages (Rawal, 2008:167-170).

Based on French Republican political ideology, the solidarity paradigm demonstrates that exclusion is the powerful agency for the breakdown of a social bond between individual and society. This social bond is culturally and morally constructed rather than economically manufactured. This approach is based on Durkheimian social theory of anomie, which indicates the normlessness situation that threatens social order and eventually creates social exclusion. This approach also incorporates the multicultural notions of solidarity. She argued when solidarity decays, exclusion arises (Mathieson, Jane, et.al. 2008:17).

The second paradigm of Silver, the specialization paradigm, illustrates that exclusion is the outcome of market failure or the denouement of economic discrimination. The basic postulate of this paradigm is based on the Anglo-American liberal thought, which express that individuals are free actors, who can participate to any economic and social division of labor by their own capability and gains livelihood as they wish (Silver, 1994:560). This paradigm emphasizes the individual and micro-sociological causes of exclusion. According to Silver:

The split between supply-side and demand-side theories parallels the division between classical and social liberalism... In contrast to supply-side theoreticians who attribute poverty or unemployment to individual failings, most sociologists now accept that the new poverty and long-term unemployment have demand-side or structural causes (Mathieson, Jane, et.al. 2008:17).

Moreover, we find the Silver's main points of this approach from the arguments of Rawal. He states that:

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 (Rawal, 2008:167-170).

Drawing attention on Weber and Marx, the monopoly paradigm of Silver depicts that exclusion germinates when a segment of population are intentionally driven out from the access to mainstream resources. This approach also claims that hierarchical power relations are the determinant of exclusion. According to Silver:

Exclusion arises from the interplay of class, status and political power and serves the political interests of the included...exclusion is combated through citizenship, and the extension of equal membership and full participation in the community to outsiders (Silver 1994: 543; Rawal, 2008:167-170).

Pierre Clavel (1998), another renowned scholar on social exclusion has drawn four approaches to exclusion by conducting study in France. He showed that in society there are four types of exclusion we find, such as: (1) an approach by population groups—in which people in the society have segmented into major social classes where somebody are beneficiaries and others are disadvantaged; (2) the economic approach—in which social exclusion is defined by some indicators such as income, socio-economic inequalities, levels of poverty; (3) denial of rights approach—refusal of or lack of access to resources; and (4) extreme situations approach—the situation where people are considered as outsiders, alien, and unwelcomed (1998:p. 186).

Ruth Levitas, another towering figure in studying social exclusion, has also identified three discourses of social exclusion. She is primarily interested to find out the underlying trends of change into the causes of social exclusion. Focusing on the UK society, her work is based on an analysis of political discourse regarding exclusion over the past two decades or more (Levitas, 2005:3; Jane Mathieson et.al. 2008:18).

The first one is redistributionist discourse. According to this discourse, poverty is the pivotal cause of social exclusion, which also claims that lack of full rights to citizenship undermines people's well-being conditions that further create poverty and eventually this poverty conditions create exclusion. For her, this approach is closely associated with the notion of social, political, cultural and economic citizenship, which is one kind of critique of inequality (Levitas, 2005:14).

The second discourse is moral underclass. This idea focuses on cultural dimension of exclusion rather than material explanations of poverty. By this approach it has been argued that the excluded persons are responsible for their own fate. It focuses on the dependent behavior of the poor who are destroying their capability through welfare dependency (Levitas, 2005:21). The social integrationist discourse, the third one, examines exclusion in terms of labor market attachment. It emphasizes on inequalities between paid workers, particularly gender inequalities (Levitas, 2005:26; Jane Mathieson et.al. 2008:18).

Other important theorists on social exclusion are mentionable here. Dave Muddiman (2003) argued that exclusion is a process of disempowerment and alienation which comes through interplay between individual and social structure. Aasland and Flotten (2000:1028) have mentioned four important variables to explain social exclusion such as: (1) lack in formal citizenship rights, (2) limited access to labor market, (3) civic nonparticipation, and (4) social isolations. According to Charles Murray the underclass are excluded because of their culture. They are excluded because they are fatalists, members from broken family, drug addicted, criminals, and single parenthood (Murray, 1990). Amartya Sen (2000) also explains why exclusion is an unavoidable condition in society. For him, exclusion exists because of incapability to enter into the facilities those are available in political, social and economic arena (Sen, 2000:4).

3.2 Conceptual Framework for Explaining Social Exclusion of *Bihari* Community:

[Figure: 1]

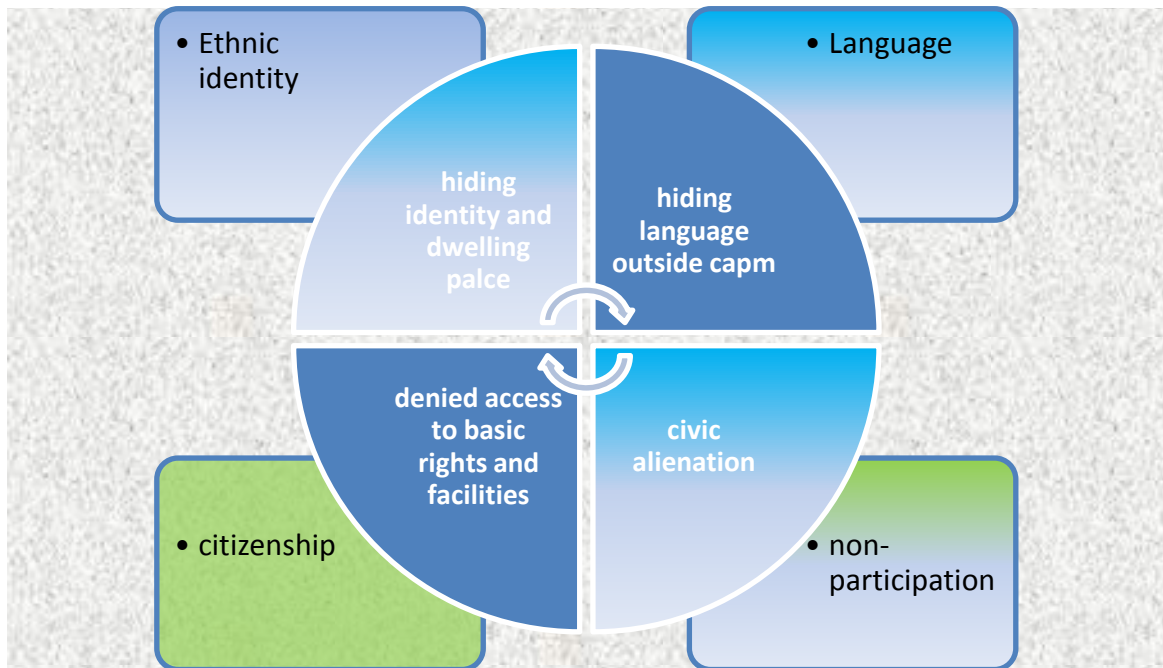
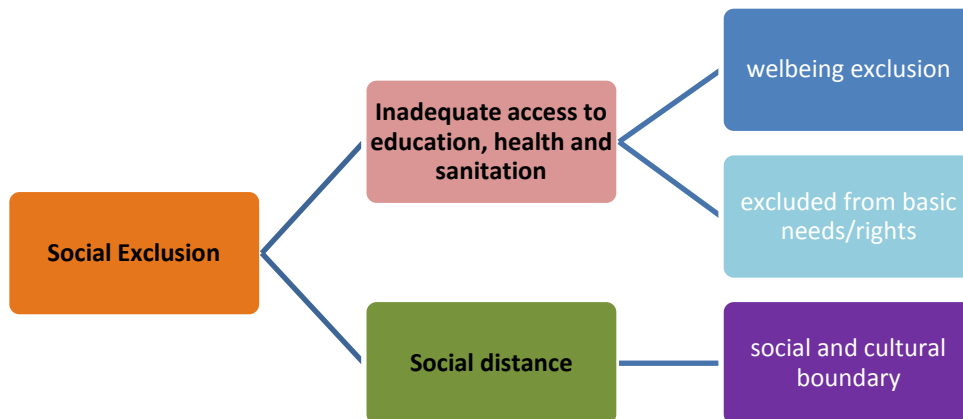
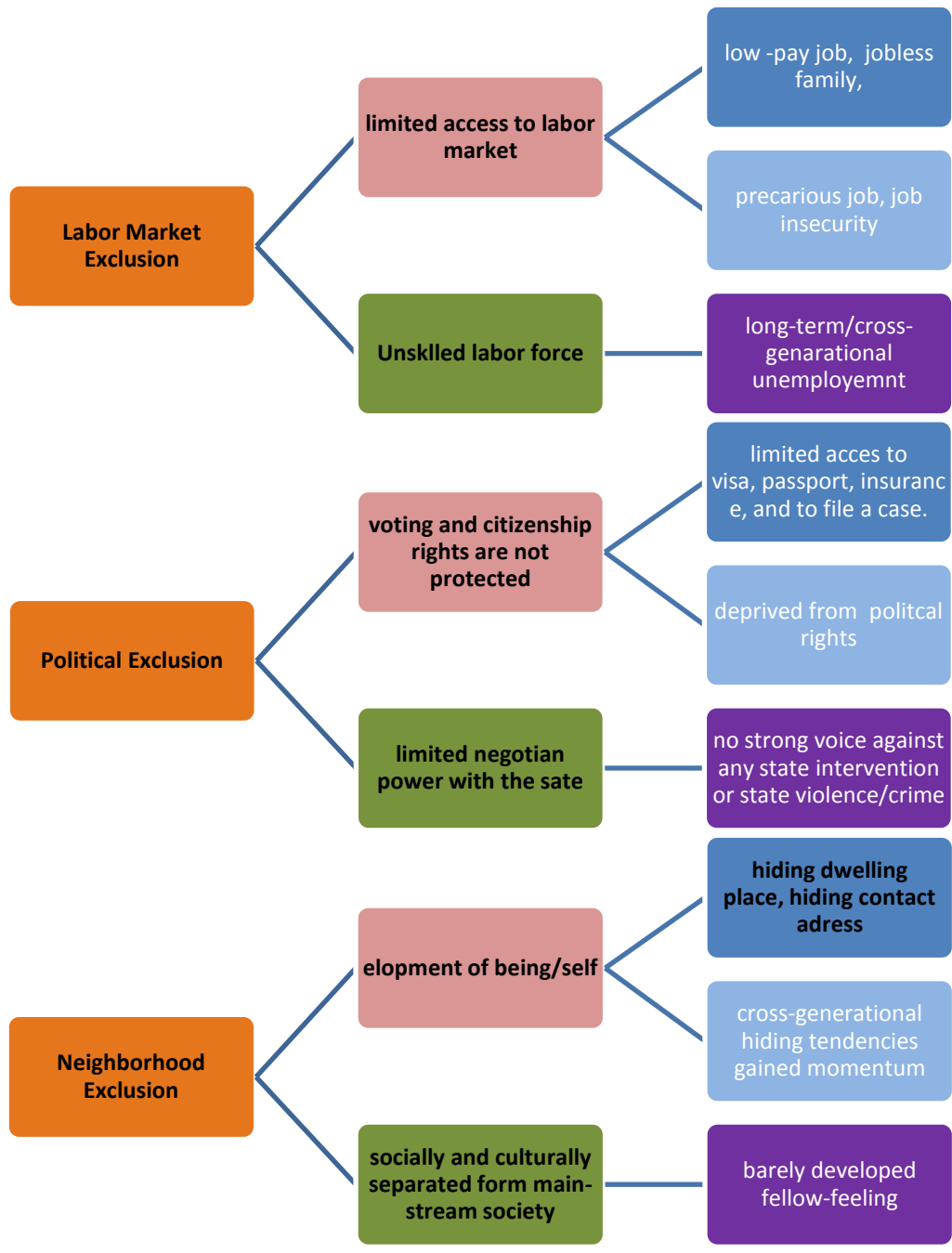


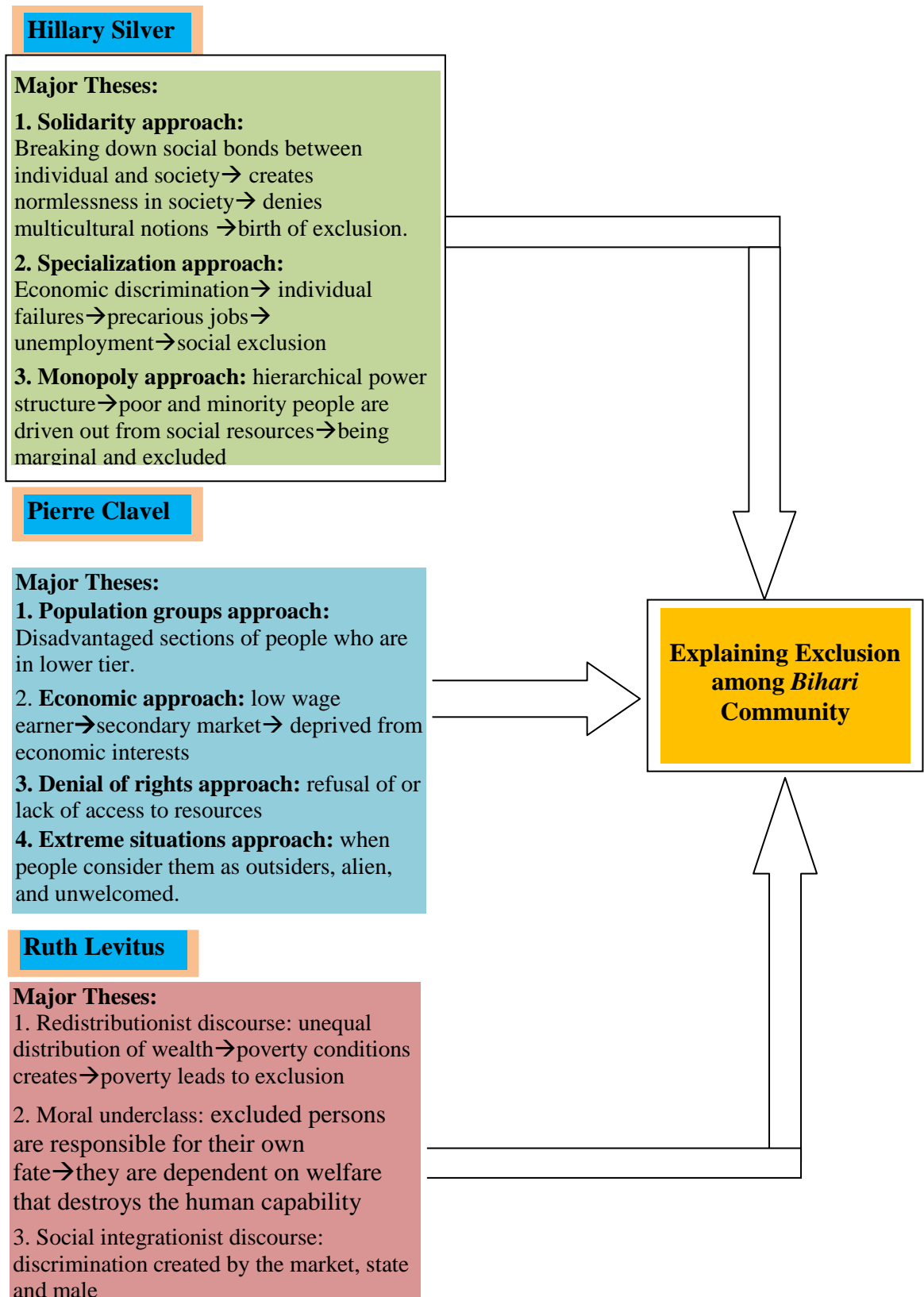
Figure 2: Multi-dimensionality of Exclusion among the *Bihari* Community



Social Exclusion of Bihari Community: A Sociological Study on Geneva Camp, Dhaka



3.3 Theoretical Framework for Explaining Exclusion of *Bihari* Community: [Figure 3]



CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

“The aim of all science is to make discoveries and every discovery more or less disturbs accepted ideas”

--- Emile Durkheim (1895), The Rules of Sociological Method

For any scientific study, methodology is the most significant part to guide the whole process of conducting an empirical study. Generally, methodology incorporates the following central issues: research questions, hypotheses formulations, research design (including selecting areas and households, drawing sample size, interviewing respondents, developing questionnaire), techniques of data collection and analysis. The study has followed mixed methods (both quantitative and qualitative) for figuring out the nature of exclusion by collecting empirical data. Moreover, the measurement techniques those I have used for measuring exclusion and poverty and for analyzing the incidence of exclusion are: chi-square and exclusion indices. The above issues on methodology have been discussed here in the following way.

4.1 Research Questions:

An empirical study must have some precise research questions. So I have some research questions here for exploring the underlying dynamics of exclusion in Geneva Camp. The main research questions are as follows as:

- a. Does ethnic identity lead to exclusion and how?
- b. Does exclusion contribute to poverty conditions and vice versa?
- c. Why and how exclusion creates spatial alienation and tendency to hide identity?
- d. How exclusion is related to socio-demographic, political, and economic correlates?

4.2 Hypotheses Formulations

For this study I have some specific hypotheses which have been formulated here on the basis of study objectives and research questions. They are:

- a. Is there any association between exclusion and socio-demographic, political, and economic correlates?
- b. Is there any association between ethnic identity and exclusion?
- c. There is a relationship between ethnic identity and occupational structure.
- d. There is a relationship between exclusion and poor social capital.
- e. Is there any correlation between ethnicity and access to basic needs/rights?

4.3 Research Design:

This piece of empirical research is designed in order to get comprehensive insights on exclusion by deploying both quantitative and qualitative methodology, which is known as mixed methods. In the following I have discussed the overall research design from area selection to data analysis.

Selecting Areas and Households:

The study area, Geneva Camp, is situated in *Mohammadpur*, Dhaka under the Ward no. 45. I have selected this area for my study because Geneva Camp is the biggest *Bihari* Camp in Bangladesh. Around 4084 households are found having with 18,945 people in this Camp. Firstly among the major *Bihari* Camps (*Dhaka, Khulna, Syedpur, Nilfamari*) Dhaka metropolitan city had been selected through purposive sampling technique. Because, this area is the nearest one for me to visit and to collect data as many times as I want. Then from three Camps in Dhaka metropolitan city (*Tejgaon Bihari* Camp, *Kalshi Bihari* Camp [Mirpur] and Geneva Camp [*Mohammadpur*]) I have selected Geneva Camp through random sampling technique for this study.

Drawing Sample Size:

From 4084 households I have taken 150 respondents using systematic sampling procedures. Though, according to scientific formula I needed to interview 376 respondents, but due to time and budget constraint I have taken 150 respondents. Among 150 respondents, male are 78 and female are 72 (as sex ratio is 108). In order to balance gender criteria, proportionate quota sampling has been used e.g. sampling order was male-female-male i.e. from one household, male has been selected but female has been selected from the next one. The area and sample size selection process have been presented here in the following way.

District	Area	Name of the <i>Bihari</i> Camp	Population	Sample Size (HH is the sampling unit)
Dhaka	Mohammadpur	Geneva Camp **	18,945 * [total household 4084]	150
			Male= 9833	78
			Female= 9112	72
Dhaka	Tejgaon	Tejgaon <i>Bihari</i> Camp	–	–
Dhaka	Mirpur	Kalshi <i>Bihari</i> Camp	–	–

* Source: (BBS, Population & Housing Census 2011 [Community Report], 2013)

When I found any refusal, I have followed the replacement method. In other words, if I interviewed first person from my sampling sheet (1 to 4084), then I moved to the 27th no. respondent (see sampling frame in Appendix six). It is systematic sampling. But when 27th no. respondent refused me to give the interview, I replaced from 26th no. respondent. If 26th refused me, then I moved to the previous one (25th). Here partial interviews and

proxies were excluded from the eligible sample. The example of my sampling sheet is (See detailed in see sampling frame in Appendix six):

1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20,21,22,23,24,25,26,27,28,29,30,31,32,33,34,35,36,37,38,39,40,41,42,43,44,45,46,47,48,49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55.....



Map 1: Dhaka City Map

Map of Geneva Camp:



Formula for Drawing Sample Size (using W G. Cochran's theorem):

$$\text{Sample Size } SS = \frac{Z^2 \times (p) \times (1-p)}{C^2}$$

Where:

Z = Z value (e.g. 1.96 for 95% confidence level)

p = percentage picking a choice, expressed as decimal
(.5 used for sample size needed)

c = confidence interval, expressed as decimal (e.g., .04 = ±4)

Interviewing Respondents:

For this study I have conducted survey from 15th September to 15th November, 2014. A close-ended questionnaire with some options of being open-ended is directly administered to the respondents. The respondents are asked to indicate which of the items they consider important without which they would feel socially excluded, deprived, and poor. The average interview time was one hour. For case studies, I have talked to the respondents about one and half hours (in an average) using a check list having with important variables regarding the underlying factors of exclusion.

Developing Questionnaire:

Firstly, the Interview Schedule is consisted of some set of questions which have been divided into five major sections. The sections are as follows: (a) personal and demographic information, (b) social exclusion, (c) political exclusion, (d) economic exclusion, and (e) spatial exclusions.

Techniques of Data Collection and Analysis:

I have taken interview schedule (face-to-face interview) and check list as my tools for data collection following mixed method principles.

For collecting qualitative data through case study in order to fulfill the gap of the survey method I have made a check list having with open-ended questions. Respondents were mutually exclusive for both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods and respondents were varying in the quest of age, gender and other specific purposes. I have taken 15 case studies from Geneva Camp to know the overall pattern of social exclusion of *Bihari* community and to support the data collected by survey method.

By the SPSS (Statistical Package or Social Sciences,, version 16) program the raw data has been processed and at the same time it is used to analyze data and test hypotheses through chi-square and correlation (inter item).

4.4 Measurement of Exclusion and Poverty

The measurement techniques those I have used for measuring exclusion and poverty are (a) exclusion index (based on the frequency values) consisting of most essential items which constitutes exclusion and (b) the CBN method respectively.

4.5 Operational Definitions of the Key Terms

1. **Social Exclusion:** lack of facilities and services, and non-participation
2. **Poverty:** lack in material conditions, multiple forms of deprivation
3. **Bihari community:** an ethnic community who speaks Urdu and is also known as “Stranded Pakistanis”. They are mainly Muslims and came from Bihar province of India to Bangladesh.

4.6 Limitations of the Study

During the study, I faced many non-sampling errors and problems, which is often called limitations of a study. The major difficulty was the time constraint. Time for this study was not sufficient. Moreover, some respondents were hesitant and some were reluctant to answer certain issues like, income, household resources, crime, threats etc. After the persuasion of the discussion and explanation they personated me to carry out the conversation.

The survey method has certain defects because it is highly individualistic. Sometimes to get information about the nature of exclusion, survey method has failed. In those cases I have taken case study method for collecting data with long duration to understand the actual features. It was very difficult for me to gather information about the pattern of crime and violence in Geneva Camp, because the respondents were much reluctant to share this information.

When I thought that the respondents are not giving me authentic information I rechecked those from neighboring shops or houses or from other households. In some cases, I had to collect data by standing on road or outside the door.

4.7 Validity and Reliability of the Study

For any empirical research work validity and reliability is a crucial issue. Any empirical work claims its validity when it uses the scientific method for research design and data collection. However, a research work can claim its validity when it can meet up all the required criteria such as universality (ability to produce same result using different time and location i.e. repetition).

4.8 Ethical Consideration

Ethical consideration is an inevitable part of any research. Thus, to conduct any research, the researcher should be careful about the ethical issues (Baker, 1999). In this study, I have tried to maintain the ethical standards in every phase. I have welcomed the respondents with utmost warmth and cordially requested them to answer the questions. Then I tried to maintain confidentiality to share their information to others. All the respondents were ensured that the collected information will be kept confidential. Alongside, I have tried to ensure the privacy of the respondents. The interview was conducted in such a situation where no external factors could influence. There were no involuntary pressures or coercion on the respondents to take part on this study.

CHAPTER FIVE

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

FINDINGS – PART ONE

“The activities of collecting and analyzing data, developing and modifying theory, elaborating or refocusing the research questions, and identifying and eliminating validity threats are usually going on more or less simultaneously, each influencing all of the others”

----- J. Maxwell, (1996)

Introduction:

This section is primarily helpful for understanding the pattern of exclusion because exclusion is here manifested into the respondents’ detailed personal profiles. For this study I have collected some basic information regarding the respondents such as name of the respondents, sex, age, marital status, household size, and level of education. In the following I have presented the basic findings of this study.

5.1 Sex Composition of the Respondents:

The study had respondents from both section of population: male and female. Among the respondents the men are 52 percent and the women are 48 percent. Here male respondents are little bit more (4 %) because they are more informative regarding the overall situation of the Camp. Moreover, sex ratio of this Camp is disproportionate compare to the national sex ratio. In order to get a comprehensive view on social exclusion I have interviewed both male and female respondents. Table 1 below is the evidence of this sex composition.

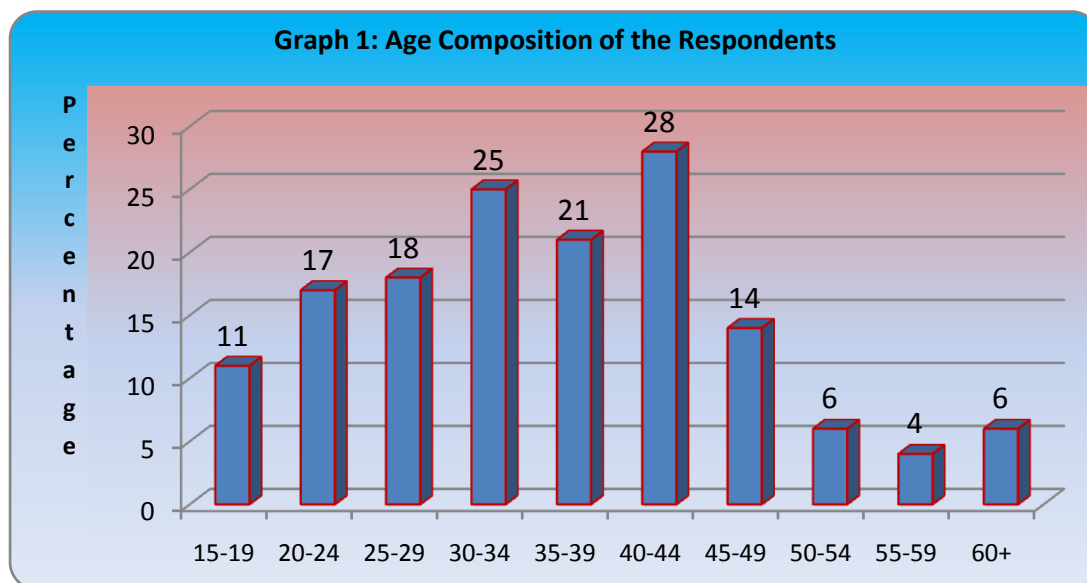
Table 1: Sex of the Respondents

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Male	78	52.0
Female	72	48.0
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

5.2 Age Composition of the Respondents:

The people whom I interviewed have age range from 15 to above 60 years (see graph 1). This range in age is the example of how the study involves all section of population. The highest percent of the respondents belong to age group 44 to 44 years. This age group people are more experienced persons and more exposure to give information in this community as I have perceived. Next highest group of people are in age 30 to 34 years. The third highest number of respondents is in age group 35-39, who are also key persons of this study. Finally, about 11 percent respondents are in age group above 50 years. This group of people is very informative about the background of the Camp. Thus they were the resource persons for this study.



Source: field work, September-October, 2014

5.3 Marital Status of the Respondents:

The table 2 below shows the marital status of the respondents. In my study I have found both married and unmarried respondents. Among the respondents 84.7 percent are married and 15.3 percent are unmarried. That means most of the respondents are married and only a small number is unmarried. In order to obtain a holistic view on exclusion I have interviewed both married and unmarried respondents. They gave me information on the overall situation of the Geneva Camp.

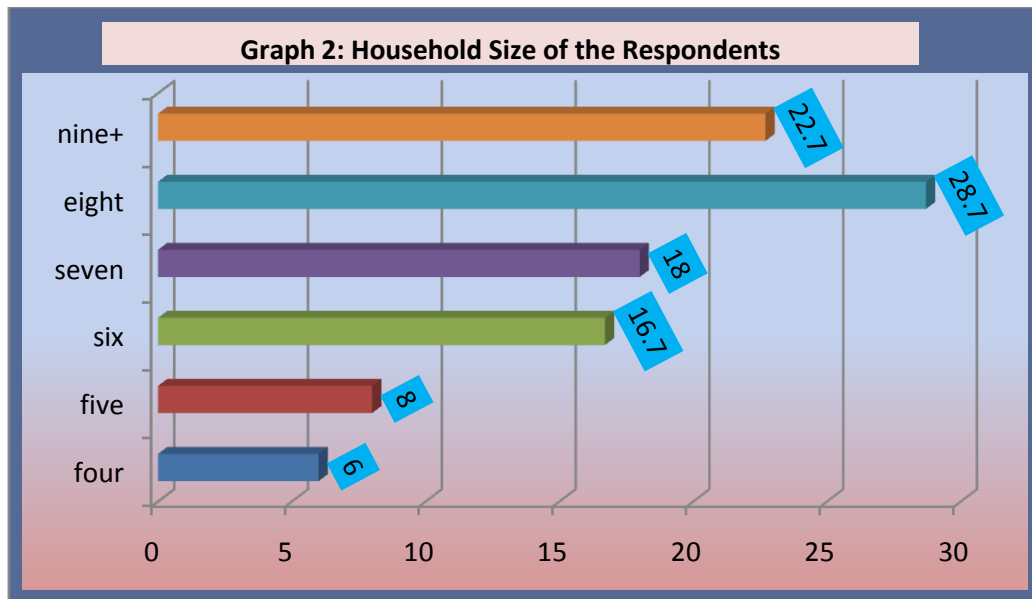
Table 2: Marital Status of the Respondents

Marital Status	Frequency	Percent
Married	127	84.7
Unmarried	23	15.3
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

5.4 Household Size of the Respondents:

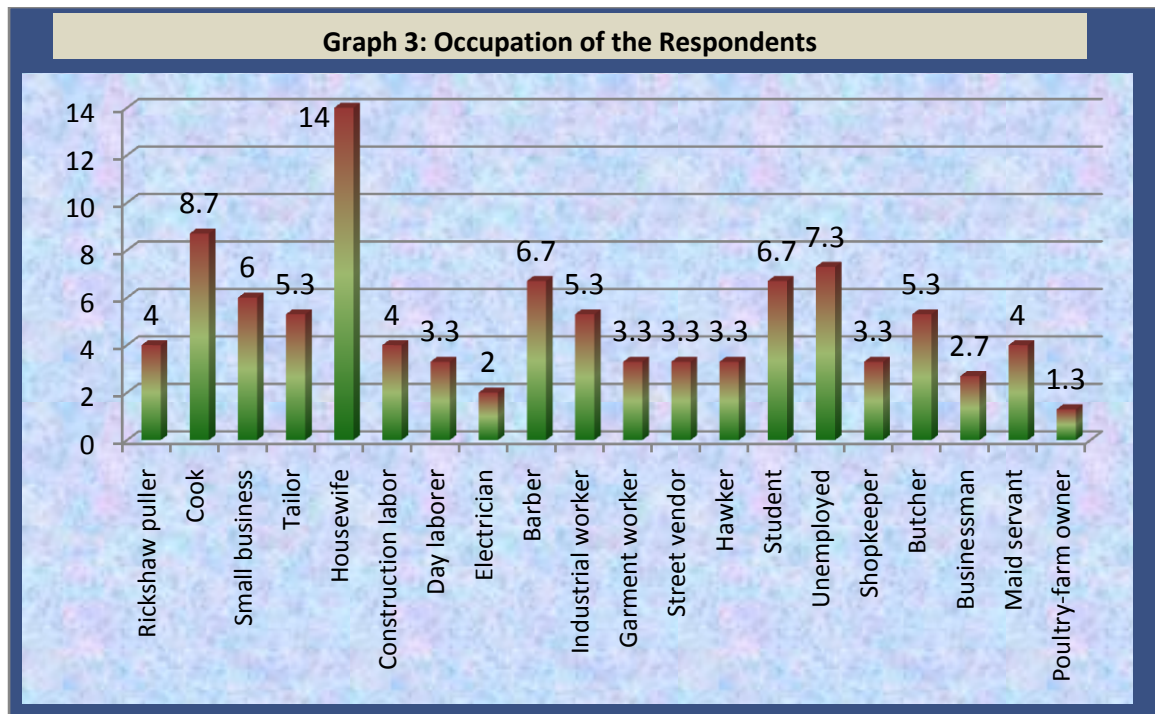
The bar chart below shows the household size of the respondents. The household size of the respondents is not similar with each other. The household size of the respondents ranges from four to nine and above. The highest household size of the respondents belongs to eight. The frequency is 43 and the percentage is 28.7. Next highest size is nine and above. The frequency is 34 and the percentage is 22.7. The third highest household size is seven where the percentage is 18. Finally, about 16.7 percent respondents have a household size of six which is the next highest category. However, about 8 percent people have a household size of five and 6 percent are living in a household size of four.



Source: field work, September-October, 2014

5.4 Occupation of the Respondents:

The bar chart 3 below shows the occupation of the respondents. In my study I have found that the respondents are engaged in various types of occupations. I have found around twenty categories of occupation among the respondents. The highest number of the respondents is housewife and the percentage is 14. The next highest category is cook and the percentage is 8.7. The third highest number of people is unemployed (about 7.3%). That means labor-market exclusion is severe in Geneva Camp. The fourth highest category is both students and barber whose percentage is 6.7. The fifth highest occupational category is small business (6 percent). Other highest categories are industrial worker, tailor and butcher whose percentage is 5.3. The percentage of rickshaw puller is 4, construction labor is 4, day laborer is 3.3, electrician is 2, garment worker, hawker, shopkeeper and street vendor is 3.3 respectively and businessman is 2.7. The percentage of poultry-farm owner is 1.3 and maid servant is 4. From the above analysis it can be said that occupational variation is present in Geneva Camp.



Source: field work, September-October, 2014

5.6 Level of Education of the Respondents:

The table 3 below deals with the respondents’ level of education. I have found mainly 5 levels of education among the respondents. The first category deals with illiterate and the percentage is 42 (which is the highest in number). The next highest category is primary level and the percentage is 25.3. The following category is SSC level (who are 20 percent among all). The people who have HSC and Bachelor’s degree are 10.7 and 2 percent respectively. From my study, I have found that most of the respondents are deprived of the light of education. The Camp dwellers are facing exclusion in education.

Table: 3 Level of Education of the Respondents

Level of Education	Frequency	Percent
Illiterate	63	42.0
Primary	38	25.3
SSC	30	20.0
HSC	16	10.7
Bachelor's	3	2.0

Level of Education	Frequency	Percent
Illiterate	63	42.0
Primary	38	25.3
SSC	30	20.0
HSC	16	10.7
Bachelor's	3	2.0
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

6.6 Summary and Discussion:

The findings that I have found from the field work has been summarized here. This study considers both male and female respondents as important because exclusion is varied in terms of gender differentiation. For example, in my study I have found women are more excluded because they are not decision maker at home and are more likely to be poor in terms of food, basic needs. Age, as an indicator, is much crucial for understanding the political exclusion in *Bihari* Community because people who are more than 40 years old are much experienced about their discrimination perpetrated by the state and those who born in Bangladesh after 1971 are less authoritative about the holistic features of exclusion and the people those who are ready for labor market are being discriminated by the state and society. Moreover, the family size is a vital indicator for measuring exclusion in Geneva Camp because it is possible to find out the number of employed and unemployed person in a family. Education as a whole is a vital issue for comprehending the consciousness of the people regarding voting rights, citizenship status, right to basic services etc.

CHAPTER SIX

(FINDINGS – PART TWO)

SOCIAL EXCLUSION

“Social exclusion is a broader concept than poverty, encompassing not only low material means but the inability to participate effectively in economic, social, political and cultural life and in some characterizations alienation and distance from mainstream society”.

---Duffy, K. (1995)

Social exclusion and human dignity in Europe. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Introduction:

This chapter deals with the pattern of social exclusion among the *Bihari* Community in Geneva Camp. The main subject-matters of this section are to know the manifestation of social exclusion through poverty sanitation, health facilities, education, etc.

6.1 Attitude towards Poverty:

The table 4 below illustrates the attitude of *Bihari* people towards poverty. Among the 150 respondents 30 percent people claimed that they are non-poor. But rests of them (70 percent) have claimed themselves as poor. Though, among the poor, 21 percent people are very poor. This reveals that poverty is a prime feature of Geneva Camp, which contributes to make people as excluded.

Table 4: Attitude toward Poverty

Attitude towards Poverty	Frequency	Percent
Non Poor	45	30
Poor	73	49
Very poor	32	21
Total	150	100

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

6.2 Measurement Poverty: By the CBN Method

For this study, it has been found that poverty is an unavoidable consequence of exclusion. Accordingly, poverty has been defined through subsistence level and measured by the CBN (Cost of Basic Needs) method. Though, in Bangladesh, the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics measures poverty by the various methods (DCI, FEI, etc.) including CBN method. The poverty measurement (see table 5) show that a family with four members need to earn Tk. 9000 in order to be non-poor. The family which has income less than Tk. 9000 is considered as poor in the Geneva Camp.

Table 5: Poverty measurement by the CBN method for a Family of four (husband, wife and two young children) in Geneva Camp, Mohammadpur, Dhaka			
Items	Quantity	Cost of Basic Needs (in taka)	
I. Food bundle: ¹	3 meals a day— (breakfast, lunch and dinner * 30 days)		5500.00
II. Non-food bundles:			3500.00
a. Power ²	Every 30 days	---	9,000.00
b. Fuel	”	600.00	
c. House rent ³	”	700.00	
d. Festivals	”	400.00	
e. Clothing	”	600.00	
f. Transport	”	500.00	
g. Medicare	”	700.00	
Total:			

This measurement is based on income on what people can spend money for their basic needs. This measure found that about 30 percent of the people among the respondents of this Camp are poor (which also can be found if you have a look to the income data).

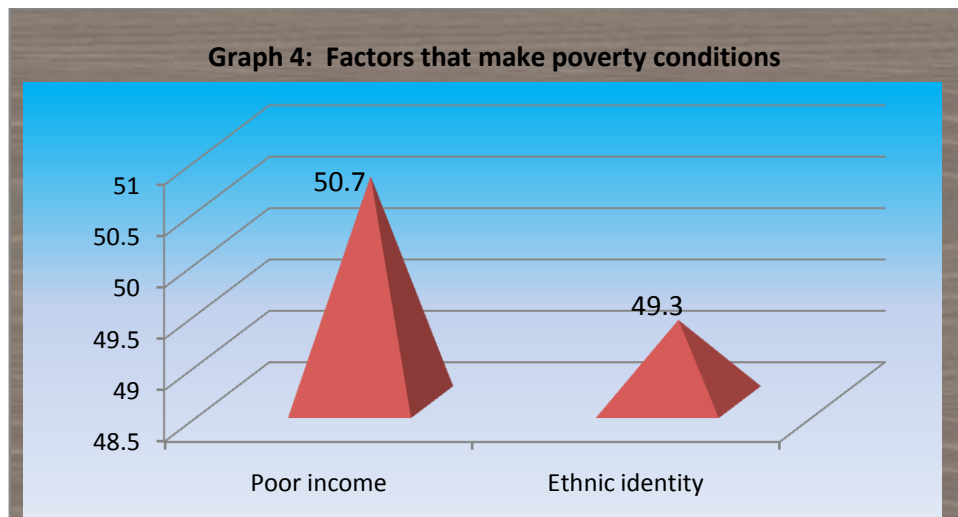
¹ To get minimal nutritional requirements corresponding to 2,122 kcal per day per person (as BBS followed) food bundle includes the nine food items (rice, wheat, meat, fish, oil, vegetables, pulses, local wine, and milk) which have been adjusted to the present market price list.

² Power is supplied by the Government with free of cost.

³ They pay a token money of Tk. 700 to the Government for hosing in the Camp

6.3 Factors that Make Poverty Conditions

The graph 4 below shows the causes that make the *Bihari* people poor or that are responsible for the poverty conditions of the *Bihari* people. Among the poor (30%) about 51 percent of the claimed that they have the low income and about 49 percent posits that their ethnic identity is the main cause of being poor, because they are not welcomed in broader job market.



Source: field work, September-October, 2014

6.4 Govt. Health Service Available to *Bihari* People:

The table 6 below illustrates the availability of government health services to *Bihari* people. Among the 150 respondents 46 people (30.7%) claimed that some government health services are available in Geneva Camp. Another 104 (69.3%) respondents claimed that there are no government health services in Geneva Camp for them. Accordingly it can be argued that *Bihari* people are deprived of government health services.

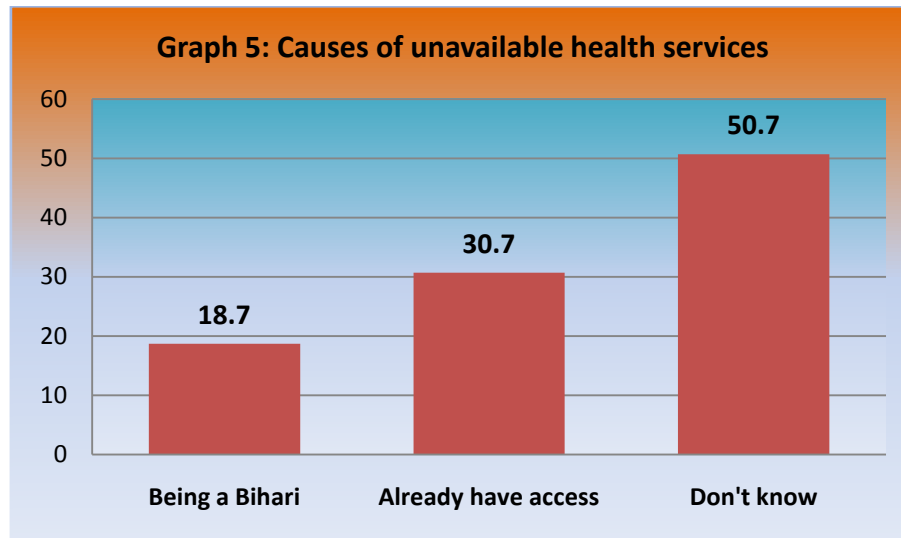
Table 6: Govt. Health Service Available to *Bihari* People

Govt. health service available to you	Frequency	Percent
Yes	46	30.7
No	104	69.3
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

6.5 Causes of Unavailable Health Services:

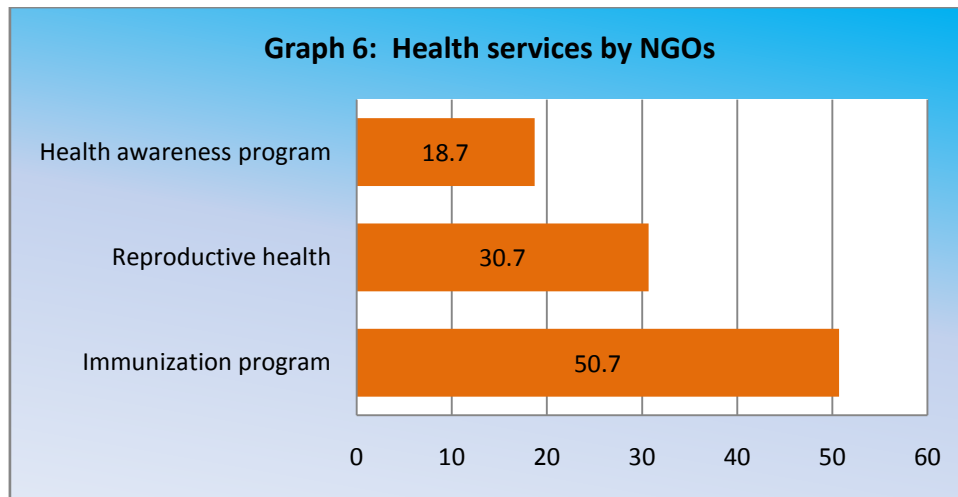
The graph 5 below depicts the causes of unavailable government health services to *Bihari* people. Among the 150 respondents, 18.7 percent people said that their *Bihari* identity is mainly responsible for the unavailable health services in this Camp. Another 30.74 percent respondents claimed that they already have access to health services. However, 50.7 percentage respondents certified that they do not know the reason at all.



Source: field work, September-October, 2014

6.6 Health Services by NGOs:

The graph 6 below demonstrates the pattern of health services provided by the NGOs to the *Bihari* people. Among the 150 respondents about 51 percent people said that NGOs provide immunization program to them. Another 46 respondents (about 30%) said that NGOs provide reproductive health services to them. Moreover, 28 respondents claimed that NGOs provide health awareness program to them and their percentage is 18.7.



Source: field work, September-October, 2014

6.7 Facing Discrimination in Hospital or Clinic:

The table 7 below shows that the *Bihari* people have experiences of discrimination in hospital or clinic, though some people claim that they have no experience of that kind of. About 31 percent respondents report that they are facing discrimination in hospital or clinic, on the other hand 69 percent admit that they are not deprived of.

Table 7: Facing Discrimination in Hospital or Clinic

Facing discrimination in hospital or clinic	Frequency	Percent
Yes	46	30.7
No	104	69.3
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

6.8 Sewerage System in Camp:

The given statistics (table 8) illustrates that the sewerage system in Geneva Camp is roughly bad in terms of usability. Among the 150 respondents nearly 31 percent people said that they have the proper sewerage system inside their Camp. However, about 69 percent people claimed that the sewerage system is very bad, because almost all the year the sewerage system is being blocked with garbage.

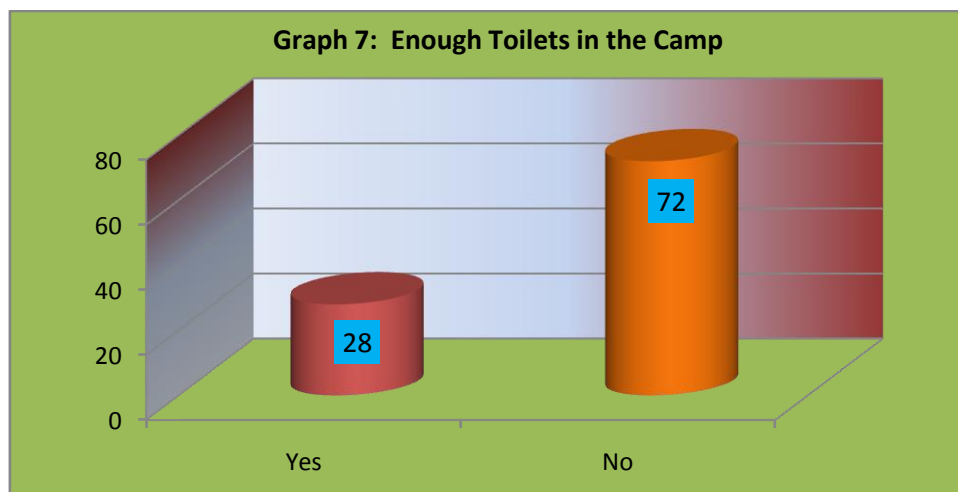
Table 8: Sewerage System in Camp

Sewerage System in Camp	Frequency	Percent
Yes	46	30.7
No	104	69.3
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

6.9 Enough Toilets in Camp:

The graph 7 below shows whether the number of toilet is enough in Geneva Camp. 28 percent of the respondents claimed that the number of toilet is enough in Geneva Camp whereas 72 percent people express that they are very dissatisfied with the toilet system in the Camp. In most cases, they suffer huge urinal problem, according to the findings.

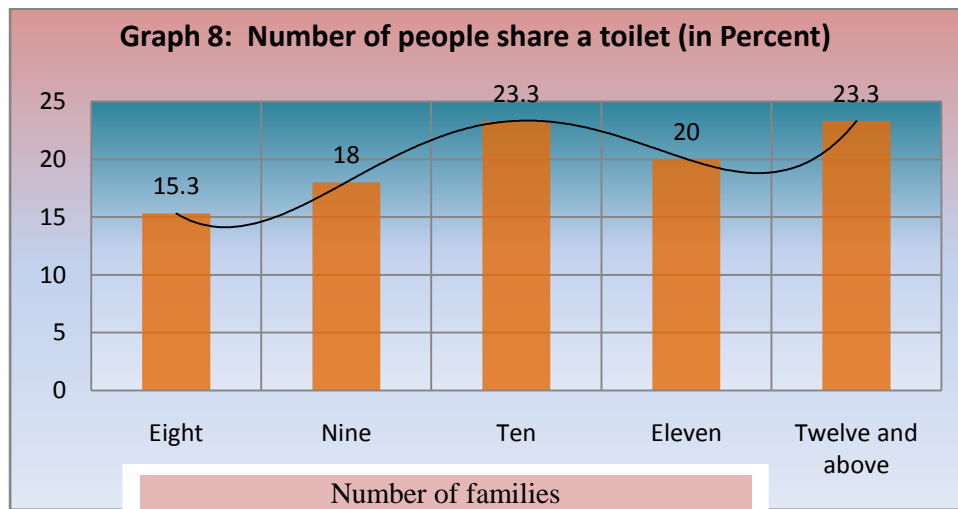


Source: field work, September-October, 2014

6.10 Number of Families Shares a Toilet:

The graph 8 below demonstrates the number of families who share a toilet in the Cam. About 15 percent respondents said that they share a toilet with eight families and 18 percent of the respondents claimed that they share also with nine families. Moreover, more than 43 percent of the respondents said that they share a toilet with ten to eleven families. But about 23 people claim that they are sharing a toilet with more than 12

families. In this respect it can be said that the sanitary condition is very worse in Geneva Camp.



Source: field work, September-October, 2014

6.11 Number of People Live in a House:

The table 9 below demonstrates the number of people lives in a house. Among the 150 respondents, 10.22 percent people said that they are living eight people in their one-roomed house. However, about 15 percent respondents claimed that they are living 13 people in a small room. This statistics shows that these people are really excluded from housing facilities and from private lives.

Table 9: Number of People Live in a House

Number of people live in a house	Frequency	Percent
Eight	15	10.0
Nine	22	14.7
Ten	30	20.0
Eleven	25	16.7
Twelve	36	24.0
Thirteen and above	22	14.7
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

6.12 Number of People Sleep in a Room:

The table 10 below depicts the number of people sleeps in a room. Among the 150 respondents 23.3 percent respondents said that they are living in a room with 5 people. Highest percent of the respondents (about 27%) are living with eight persons in a small room. Though, about 14 percent people are living in a single room with nine persons.

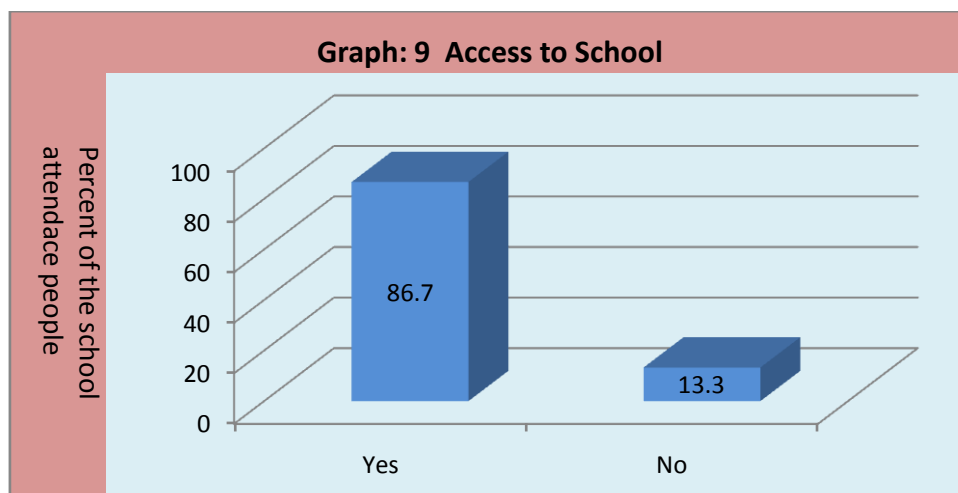
Table 10: Number of People Sleep in a Room

Number of people sleep in a room	Frequency	Percent
Five	35	23.3
Six	28	18.7
Seven	25	16.7
Eight	40	26.7
Nine	22	14.7
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

6.13 Access to School:

The graph 9 shows whether the *Bihari* children have access to school. 130 respondents (86.7%) said that their children have access to school, though other 13.3 respondents claimed that their children have no access to school.



Source: field work, September-October, 2014

6.14 Discrimination in School:

The table 11 below illustrates whether the *Bihari* children face discrimination in school. Among the respondents 49.3 percent people reported that their children are facing discrimination in school, though 16.7 percent people denied this claim. Moreover, a significant number of people (34 percent) said that they don't know about the discrimination in the school.

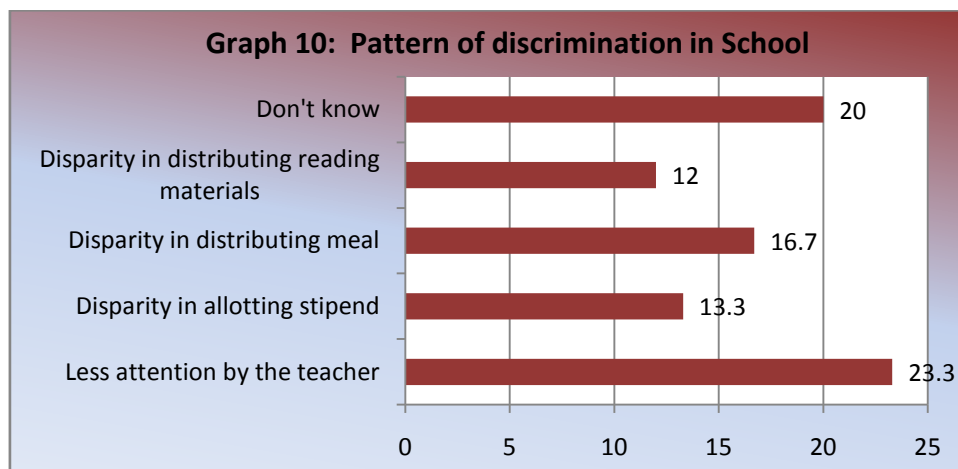
Table 11: Discrimination in School

Discrimination in School	Frequency	Percent
Yes	74	49.3
No	25	16.7
Don't know	51	34.0
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

6.15 Pattern of Discrimination in School:

The graph 10 below shows the pattern of discrimination that the *Bihari* children are facing in school. 35 respondents (23.3%) said that the teachers pay less attention to their children. Another 13.3% respondents said that *Bihari* children are facing disparity in allotting stipend. About 17 percent respondents reported that their children are facing disparity in distributing school time meal. Moreover, 12% respondents said that *Bihari* children are facing disparity in distributing reading materials and 20 percent admitted that they do not know anything about this issue.



Source: field work, September-October, 2014

6.16 Drop-out from the School:

The table 12 describes the drop-out of *Bihari* children from the school. Among the 150 respondents 60 percent people said that their children usually drop-out from the school for various reasons such as disparity, poverty and unequal treatment to them. However, 40percent people claimed that their children do not drop out from the school, because they are getting facilities like others in the school. Though this response indicates some anomalies with other section of responses, it is acceptable as sampling error.

Table 12: Drop out from the school

Drop out from the school	Frequency	Percent
Yes	90	60.0
No	60	40.0
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

6.17 Summary and Discussion

This chapter explains the pattern of social exclusion taking into account some important indicators such as poverty, health, sanitation, and education. The poverty scenario for this group of people is much more acute than the national poverty level. Because in Geneva Camp 30 percent respondents are found poor, while national poverty rate is only 26 percent. Moreover, people are not satisfied with their health facilities that are available for them. They are deprived of this kind of services those the other section of the people are getting in regular basis. If the question of sanitation comes to forward to explain the deprivation pattern of them, it can be said that they are not receiving minimum sanitation facilities. Finally limited access to education for their children is another indicator of social exclusion, which is more frustrating issue to them.

CHAPTER SEVEN (FINDINGS PART- THREE)

POLITICAL EXCLUSION

‘In symbolic politics, the power to name a social problem has vast implications for the policies considered suitable to address it... the discourse of exclusion may serve as a window through which to view political cultures’.

--- Silver, 1994.

Introduction:

From my study I have found diversified dimensions of political exclusion among the *Bihari* community people. The findings that I have drawn from the study are illustrating in the following manner. This type of exclusion is embedded in the state machineries, which deals *Bihari* people in their own purposes.

7.1 Possess Political Power for Negotiation:

The table 13 below shows whether the *Bihari* people possess political power for negotiation with state or government or political parties. Among the respondents there is a debate about this issue. I have found that 30.7 percent respondents agreed that they have political power for negotiation. But 69.3 percent respondents said that they do not possess or enjoy political power for negotiation. This is a pattern of political exclusion and the *Bihari* people are excluded from the Bengali community in this respect.

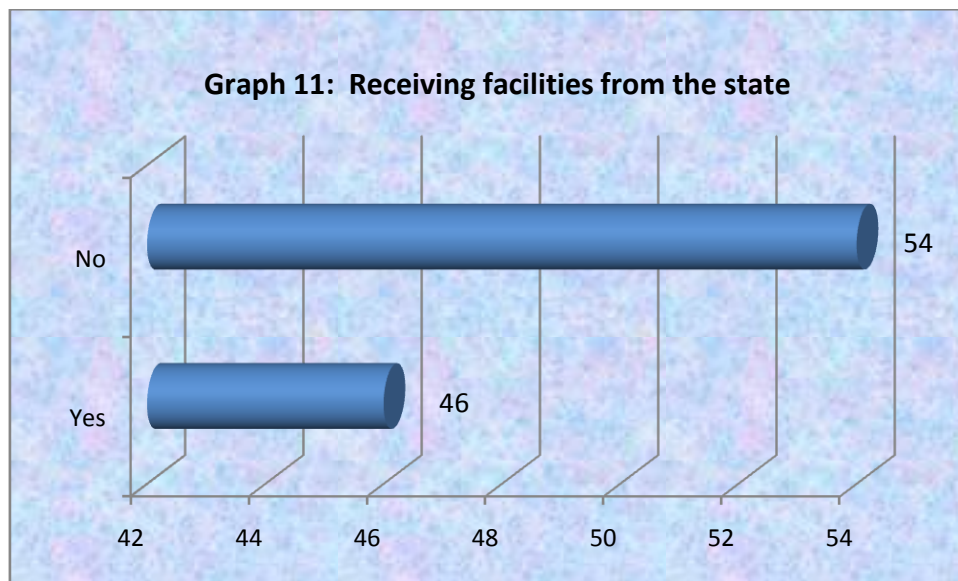
Table 13: Possess Political Power for Negotiation

Possess political power for negotiation	Frequency	Percent
Yes	46	30.7
No	104	69.3
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

7.2 Receiving Facilities from the State:

The graph 11 below depicts whether the *Bihari* people receives any facilities from state. There is also variation among the respondents regarding the answer of this question. 46 percent of the respondents said that they receive some facilities from state but these facilities are not quite satisfactory or adequate. But 54 percent of the respondents claimed that the state does not give them any facilities or they do not receive any facilities from the state. It is another typology of political exclusion for them.



Source: field work, September-October, 2014

7.3 Having Voting Rights:

The table 14 below describes the voting rights of the *Bihari* people. Recently the state has given them voting rights and issued national identity cards. From my fieldwork I have found that 84.7 percent of the people have voting rights and 10.7 percent of the people do not have voting rights. There is another category where 4.7 percent of the *Bihari* people do not know whether they have voting rights or not. That means the people of this category are unaware about voting rights.

Table 14: Voting rights of the respondents

Having voting right	Frequency	Percent
Yes	127	84.7
No	16	10.7
Don't know	7	4.7
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

7.4 Having a Passport:

The table 15 below illustrates whether the *Bihari* people have right to own a passport. Among the respondents 8.7 percent said that they have a right to get a passport. But 91.3 percent people answered no. They claimed that the state never issues passport to *Bihari* people. In order to get a passport they have to hide their *Bihari* identity or have to use a fake address. Thus being a citizen of the country the *Biharis* are now facing exclusion in this regard.

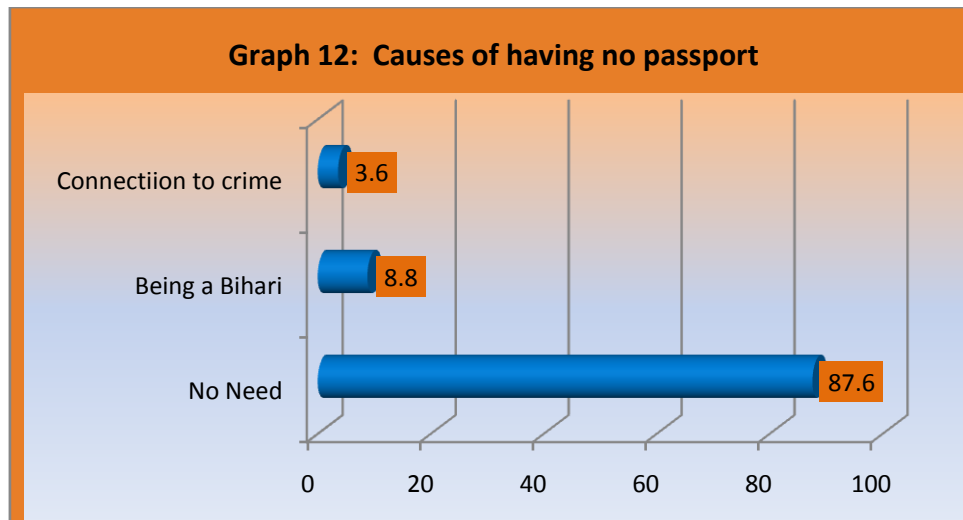
Table 15: Having a Passport

Having a Passport	Frequency	Percent
Yes	13	8.7
No	137	91.3
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

7.5 Causes of Having No Passport:

The graph 12 below shows the causes of not having a passport to the *Bihari* people. Among the 137 respondents 87.6 percent said that they have no need to have a passport. However, 8.8 percent said that they do not get passports because of their *Bihari* identity. Another 3.6 respondents claimed that they did not get passport because they are blamed as criminal, though they said it is a blame game. The state and the government suspect that most of them are closely connected to crime, violence and illegal activities. That is why the state is unwilling to issue passport to *Bihari* people.



Source: field work, September-October, 2014

7.6 Access to Bank Account:

The table 16 below demonstrates the access of *Bihari* people to a bank account. From this study, it has been found that among the all respondents 17.3 percent have access to bank account because they use the address outside the Camp. On the other hand, 82.7 percent of the respondents claimed that they have no access to bank account. As a reason they said that being a *Bihari* and living in a Camp it is difficult to open a bank account because bank wants permanent address and other particular documents.

Table 16: Access to Bank Account

Access to bank account	Frequency	Percent
Yes	26	17.3
No	124	82.7
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

7.7 Causes of having no bank account:

The table 17 below answered the question of why *Bihari* people have no access to bank account. Among the 124 respondents 21.8 percent said that they have no need to have a bank account. Another 78.2 percent said that they do not have access to bank account because of their *Bihari* identity and address.

Table 17: Causes of Having no Bank Account

Causes of no bank account	Frequency	Percent
No need	27	21.8
As <i>Bihari</i> people	97	78.2
Total	124	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

7.8 Access to Bank Loan:

The table 18 below lists the access of *Bihari* people to bank loan. Among the all 26 respondents the study found that the about 31% of the people have access to bank account. However, 69% percent have no access to bank loan. This is again a pattern of political exclusion.

Table 18: Access to Bank Loan

Access to bank loan	Frequency	Percent
Yes	8	30.8
No	18	69.2
Total	26	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

7.9 Insurance Facilities:

The table 19 below shows the access of *Bihari* people to insurance facilities. Among the 150 respondents the study found that 12 percent people have access to insurance facilities while 88 percent respondents have no access to insurance facilities. That means a lot of people are deprived from insurance facilities for various reasons.

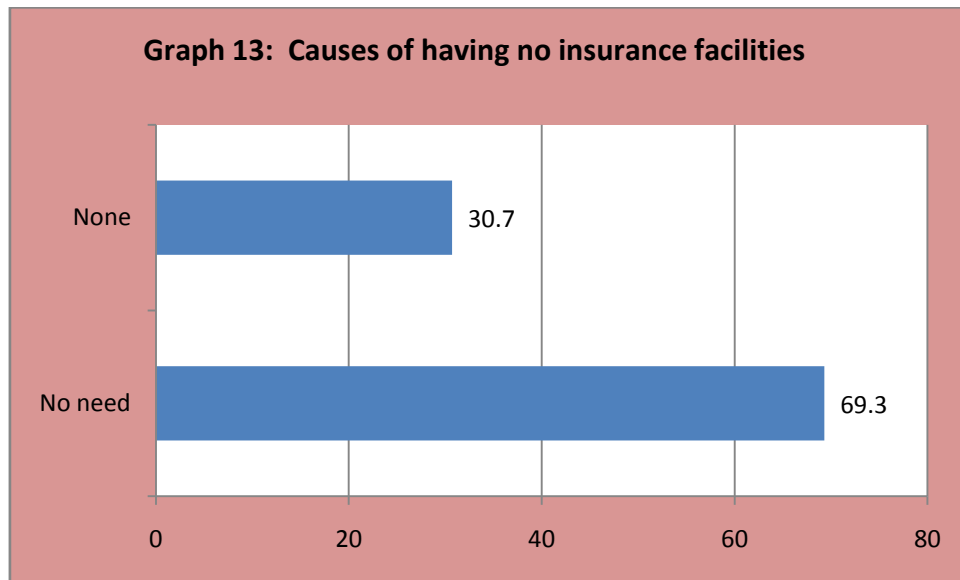
Table 19: Access to Insurance Facilities

Insurance Facilities	Frequency	Percent
Yes	18	12.0
No	132	88.0
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

7.10 Causes of having no insurance facilities:

The graph 13 shows that why the *Bihari* people have no access to insurance facilities. The study found that 31 percent people have no access to insurance facilities because of no reason. However, 69.3 percent said that they have no need to have insurance facilities.



Source: field work, September-October, 2014

7.11 Participation in the National Election:

The table 20 below describes the participation of *Bihari* people in the national election. About 47 percent of the respondents said that they can participate in the national election. But 53 percent respondents claimed that they are unable to participate in the national election due to their identity. Though they can now participate in national election those who have the voter ID cards.

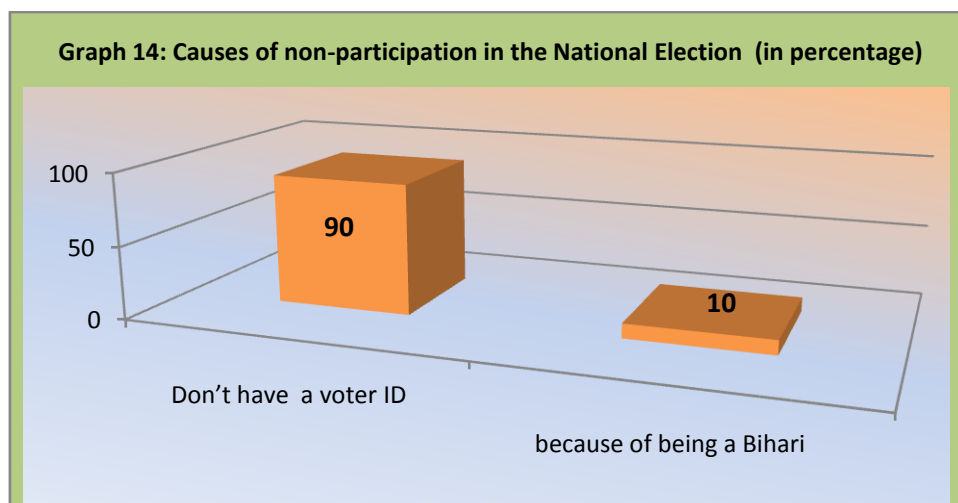
Table 20: Participation in the National Election

Participation in the National Election	Frequency	Percent
Yes	70	46.7
No	80	53.3
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

7.12 Causes of no Participation in the National Election:

The graph 14 shows the reasons of why the *Bihari* people cannot participate in the national election. There are a number of reasons behind it. Among the all 80 respondents 90 percent people cannot participate in the national election because they do not have a voter ID card. However, 10 percent people cannot participate in the national election due to their *Bihari* identity.



Source: field work, September-October, 2014

7.13 Facilities Provided by the GOs:

The table 21 below illustrates the facilities provided by the government organizations of Bangladesh to *Bihari* people. About 15 percent respondents said that the GOs provide some facilities to them, though those are very limited. However, 85 percent of the respondents claimed that the GOs provide no facilities to them.

Table 21: Facilities Provided by the GOs

Facilities provided by the GOs	Frequency	Percent
Yes	23	15.3
No	127	84.7
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

7.14 Facilities Provided by the NGOs:

The table 22 below describes the facilities that the NGOs provide to the *Bihari* people. 70 percent of the respondents said that the NGOs provide some facilities to them whereas 30 percent of the people claimed that the NGOs provide no facilities to them. Rather they are providing facilities to them who are not poor.

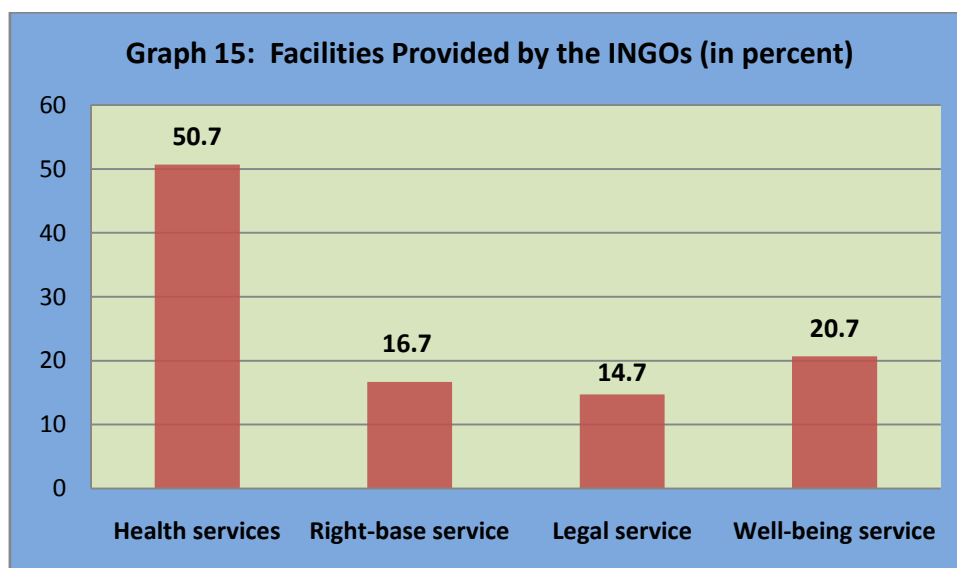
Table 22: Facilities provided by the NGOs

Facilities provided by the NGOs	Frequency	Percent
Yes	105	70.0
No	45	30.0
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

7.15 Facilities Provided by the INGOs:

The graph 15 below deals with the facilities provided by the International Non-government Organizations to *Bihari* people. 76 respondents (51%) said that the INGOs provide health facilities to them, but 17 percent people claimed that the INGOs provide right-based services to them. 14.7 percent respondents claimed that INGOs provide some legal services to them while 20.7 percent respondents claimed that they get some well-being services from them.



Source: field work, September-October, 2014

7.16 Access to File a Case:

The table 23 below describes that some people have access to file a case and others don't have. The study found that 51 percent of the people have access to file a case whereas 19 percent people said that they have no access to file a case. Besides, 30 percent of the respondents claimed that they do not know anything about this issue.

Table 23: Access to File a Case

Access to file a case	Frequency	Percent
Yes	76	50.7
No	28	18.7
Don't know	46	30.7
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

7.17 Ability to Make Protest against Grievances:

The table 24 below shows whether the *Bihari* people are able to make protest against grievances. The study found that 99 respondents (66 percent) are able to make protest against grievances while 34 respondents are unable to make protest. They claimed that they are powerless and have no ability to be powerful.

Table 24: Ability to Make Protest against Grievances

Ability to make protest against grievances	Frequency	Percent
Yes	99	66.0
No	51	34.0
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

7.6 Summary and Discussion:

This chapter has discussed the major issues that are creating political exclusion in Geneva Camp. The issues those are liable for creating the political exclusion are: minimal facilities provided by the state, partial voting rights, no access to passport, bank account, bank loan, and insurance facilities, no participation in the National Election, minimal facilities provided by the GOs, NGOs and INGOs. They also do not have access to file a case and have no power to make protest against grievances.

CHAPTER EIGHT (FINDINGS PART FOUR)

ECONOMIC EXCLUSION

“The real importance of the idea of social exclusion lies in emphasizing the role of relational features in the deprivation of capability and thus in the experience of poverty”.

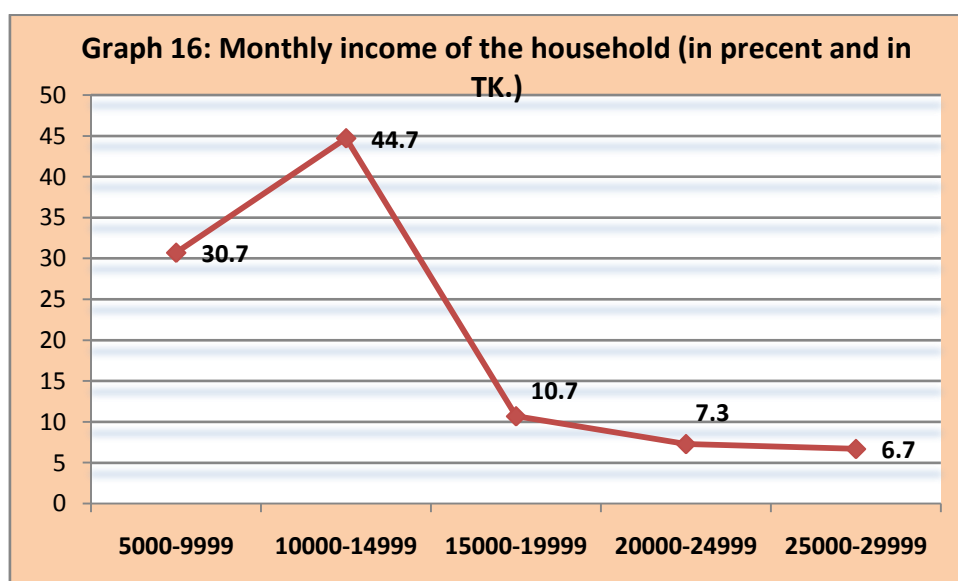
--- Amartya Sen, 2000:8.

Introduction:

The aim of this chapter is to describe economic exclusion through quantitative data derived from the field-work. The findings in the following show how much *Bihari* people are excluded from labor market and how much they are facing discrimination and exploitation.

8.1 Income of the Household:

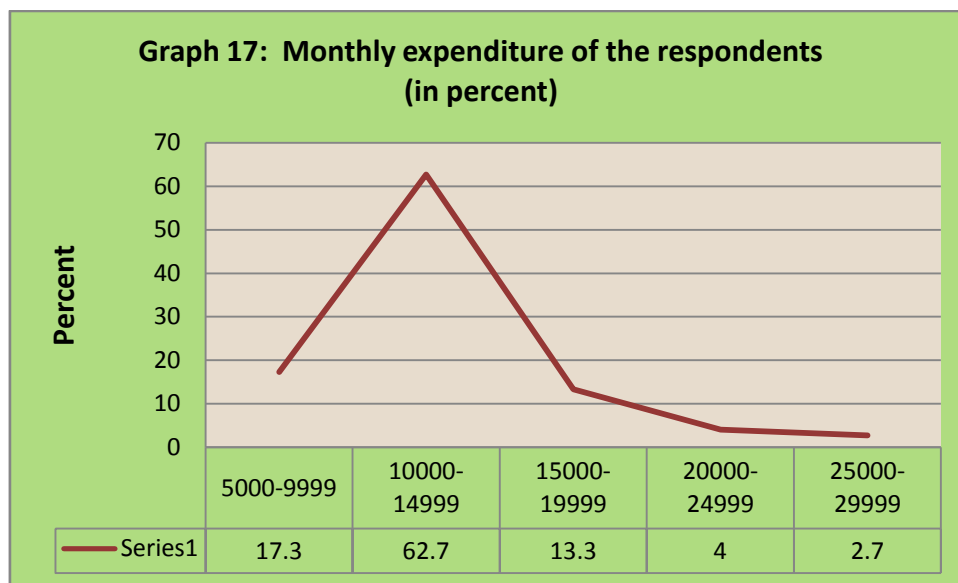
The graph 16 below shows the income of the *Bihari* household in Geneva Camp. The highest number of people (about 45%) belongs to 10000-14999 income groups. The next highest income group is 5000-9999, where 31 percent people are living with that level of income. Another 10.7 percent respondents have income of 15000-19999. Moreover, 7.3 percent respondents have income of 20000-24999 and 6.7 percent belongs to 25000-29999 income groups.



Source: field work, September-October, 2014

8.2 Expenditure of the Household:

The graph 17 below illustrates the expenditure of the *Bihari* household in Geneva Camp. The highest number of people (about 63%) belongs to 10000-14999 expenditure groups. The next highest expenditure group is 5000-9999, who are consisted of 17 percent respondents. Another 13.3 percent respondents have expenditure of 15000 to 19999. However, only 4 percent respondents have expenditure of 20000-24999 and 2.7 percent belongs to 25000-29999 expenditure groups.



Source: field work, September-October, 2014

8.3 Living in a Jobless Home:

The table 25 below demonstrates the job status of the *Bihari* people. Among the 150 respondents 97 respondents (65%) claimed that they are living in a jobless home. Another 35 percent respondents said that they are not living in a jobless home. This table vividly shows that how much excluded the *Biharis* is from the labor market.

Table 25: Living in a Jobless Home

Living in a Jobless Home	Frequency	Percent
Yes	97	64.7
No	53	35.3
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

8.4 Job Confinement:

The table 26 below describes the job confinement of the *Bihari* people. Among the 150 respondents 63.3 respondents said that their job is confined to some low pay works while 36.7 percent people claimed that their job is limited but they are able to switch away.

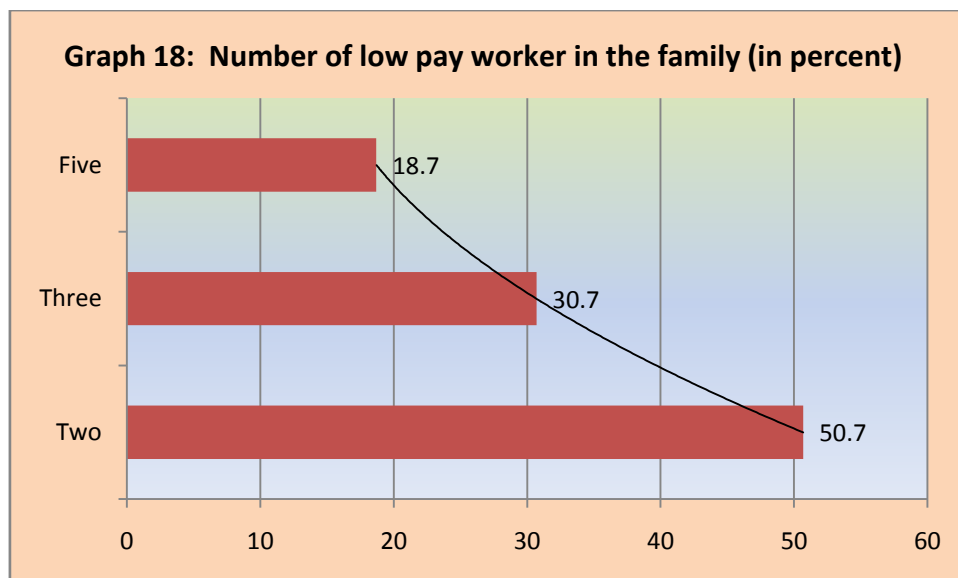
Table 26: Job Confinement

Job Confinement	Frequency	Percent
Yes	95	63.3
No	55	36.7
Total	150	100

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

8.5 Number of Low Pay Worker in the Family:

The graph 18 below shows the number of low pay worker in the family. Among the 150 respondents 50.7 percent respondents said that the number of low pay worker in the family is two. The next highest category is three and the percentage is 30.7. In addition, 18.7 percent respondents said that the number of low pay worker in the family is five.



Source: field work, September-October, 2014

8.6 Number of Unemployed Worker in the Family:

The table 27 below illustrates the number of unemployed worker in the family. Among the 150 respondents 46 percent respondents said that the number of unemployed worker in the family is two. The next highest category is three and the percentage is 35.3. Moreover, 18.7 percent respondents said that the number of unemployed worker in the family is five.

Table 27: Number of Unemployed Worker in the Family

Number of unemployed worker in the family	Frequency	Percent
Two	69	46.0
Three	53	35.3
Five	28	18.7
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

8.7 Access to NGO Job:

The table 28 below describes the access of *Bihari* people to NGO job. Out of 150 respondents 71.3 percent people said that they have access to NGO job. But 28.7 percent people said that they do not need the NGO job. Moreover, the study shows that low education is a main reason for economic exclusion. Thus they need to go for NGOs job, because they have almost no access to government job.

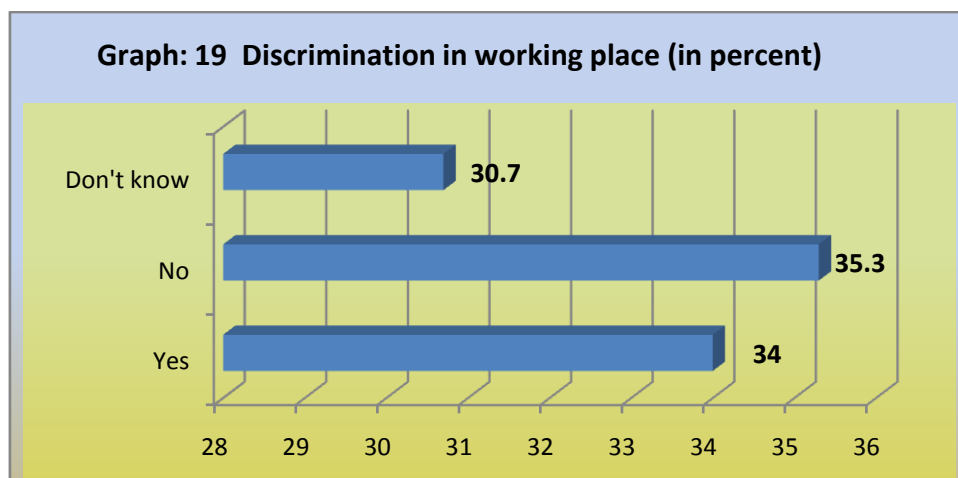
Table 28: Access to NGO Job

Access to NGO Job	Frequency	Percent
Yes	107	71.3
No need	43	28.7
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

8.8 Discrimination in Working Place:

The graph 19 below shows the discrimination of *Bihari* people in working place. Fifty one respondents (34%) said that they are facing discrimination in working place. Another 35.3 percent respondents said that they are not facing discrimination in their working place. Exceptionally, 30.7 percent respondents claimed that they do not know about this issue.



Source: field work, September-October, 2014

8.9 Satisfaction with Recent Job/Business:

The table 29 depicts the satisfaction of *Bihari* people with their recent job or business. About 35 percent respondents claimed that they are satisfied with their recent job and businesses. However, 65 percent respondents reported that they are not satisfied with their recent job. Thus it is found that there is a variation in the job satisfaction of *Bihari* community which reflects that they are doing precarious jobs.

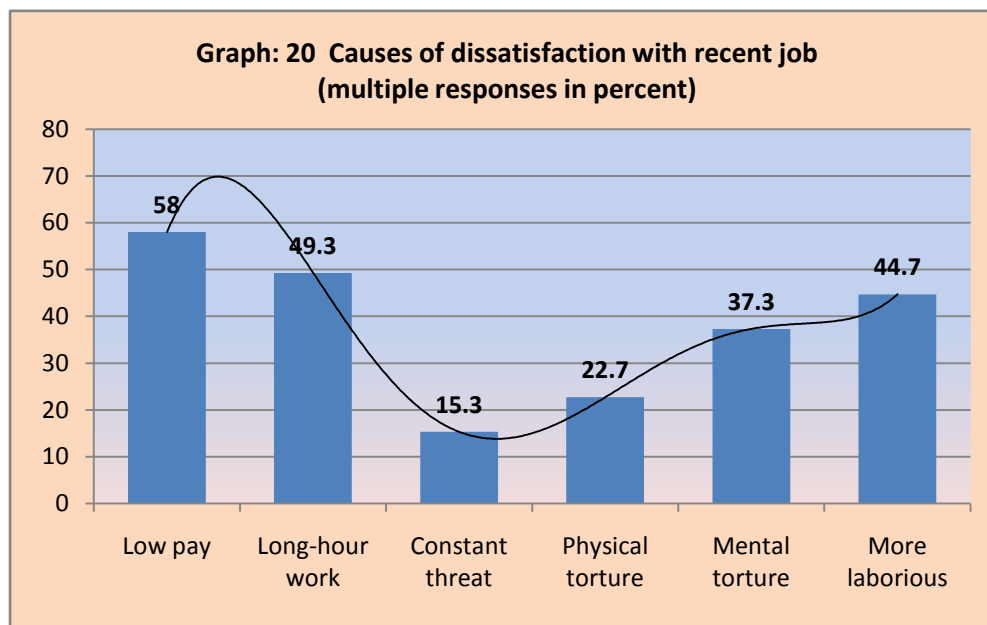
Table 29: Satisfaction with Recent Job/Business

Satisfaction with recent job/business	Frequency	Percent
Yes	53	35.3
No	97	64.7
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

8.10 Causes of Dissatisfaction with Recent Job:

The graph 20 below shows the causes of dissatisfaction of *Bihari* people with recent job. 58 percent respondents are dissatisfied due to low payment. 49.3 percent respondents are dissatisfied because they are to do long-hour work. Moreover, 15.3 percent respondents are dissatisfied due to constant threat in working place. Furthermore, 22.7 percent respondents are frustrated due to physical torture in the working place. 37.3 percent respondents are dissatisfied due to mental torture while 44.7 percent respondents are dissatisfied because of labor intensive working environment.



Source: field work, September-October, 2014

8.11 Pattern of Savings:

The table 30 below describes the savings of *Bihari* people. Out of 150 respondents 74 respondents (about 49%) said that they have savings, though it is very minimal amount. Another 15.3 percent respondents said that they have no savings because it is day dreaming for them to save money for the rainy day. However, 35.3 percent respondents did not agree to share the information about their savings, so they answered as don't know.

Table 30: Pattern of Savings

Do you Have Savings	Frequency	Percent
Yes	74	49.3
No	23	15.3
Don't know	53	35.3
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

8.12 Types of Savings:

The table 31 below shows the types of savings of *Bihari* people. 14.9 percent people said that they save their money in bank, 31.1 percent respondents claimed that they save their money at home, about 38 percent people save their money by lending it to someone. However, 16.2 percent people are investing their money in different small business. Thus it is clear that there is variation in the types of savings.

Table 31: Types of Savings

Types of Savings	Frequency	Percent
Money in bank	11	14.9
Money at home	23	31.1
Money to lend to someone	28	37.8
Money to investment	12	16.2
Total	74	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

Summary and Discussions:

This chapter shows that economic exclusion is acute among the *Bihari* people. Because the income data shows that there are 30% people poor in the Camp among the respondents, who are unable to expend Tk. 9000 in a month (a family with 4 members). Moreover, this chapter has shown why and how people are living there in a jobless home. In addition, people are found in low pay work and unemployed. Besides most of the respondents are facing discrimination in Working Place and many of them are not satisfied with their recent job.

CHAPTER NINE (FINDINGS PART FIVE)

SPATIAL AND CULTURAL EXCLUSION

Introduction:

This chapter deals with the spatial exclusion, which is a pattern of exclusion that take into account the physical problems of a place for the people as well as socio-cultural aspects embedded into the space.

9.1 Ability to Rent House outside the Camp:

The table below shows whether the *Bihari* people can rent house outside the Camp. About 49 percent respondents claimed that they can rent a house outside the Camp whereas 35 percent reported that they cannot rent a house outside the Camp because of their identity. Moreover, more than 15 percent people said that they do not know anything about this issue, because they never tried to take a house for renting.

Table 32: Renting House outside the Camp

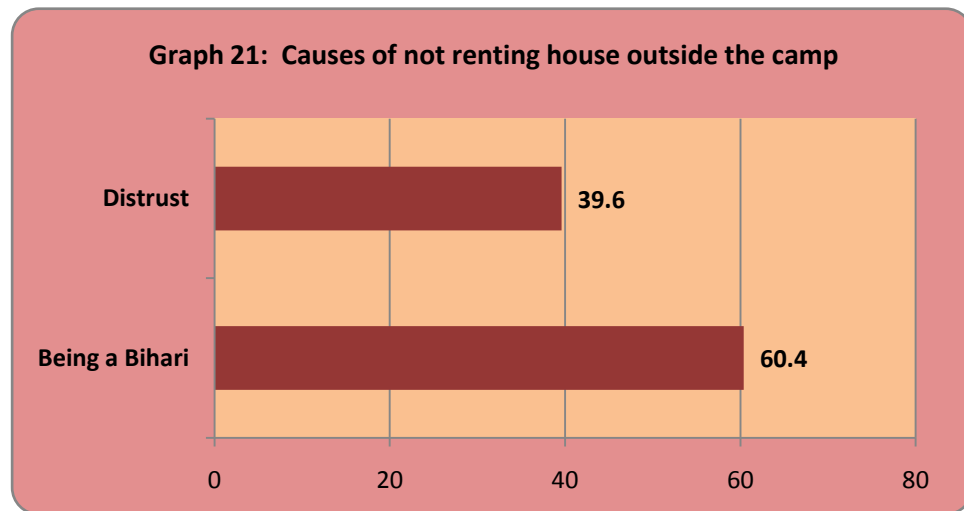
Renting house outside the Camp	Frequency	Percent
Yes	74	49.3
No	53	35.3
Don't know	23	15.3
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

9.2 Causes of not Renting House outside the Camp:

The graph 21 shows the causes for which the *Bihari* people cannot rent house outside the Camp. Among all respondents, 32 respondents (about 60%) claimed that their *Bihari* identity is mainly responsible for this type of exclusion. Moreover, about 40 percent

people claimed that they do not get a rent house because the Bengali people do not trust them, which is being treated as spatial or cultural exclusion.



Source: field work, September-October, 2014

9.3 Housing and Land Facilities:

The table 33 below describes the housing and land facilities of the *Bihari* people. Among the 150 respondents 23 respondents (15.3%) said that they have housing and land facilities. Another 127 respondents (84.7%) claimed that they have no housing and land facilities.

Table 33: Housing and Land Facilities

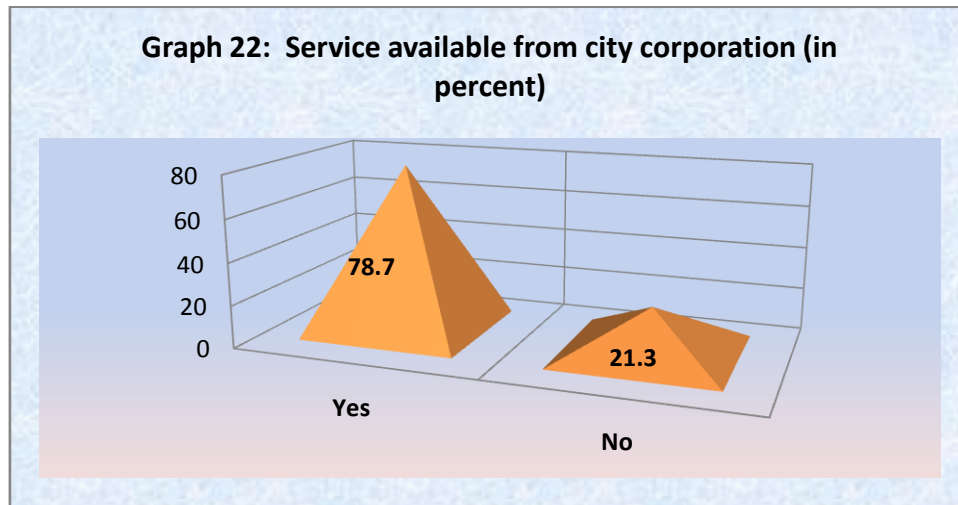
Housing and land facilities	Frequency	Percent
Yes	23	15.3
No	127	84.7
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

9.4 Service Available from City Corporation:

The graph 22 below shows the service provided by the city corporation to *Bihari* people. About 79 percent respondents said that services are available from City Corporation in

Geneva Camp while 21 percent respondents said that services are not available from City Corporation for them.



Source: field work, September-October, 2014

9.5 Access to Govt. Hospital:

The table 35 below shows whether the *Bihari* people have access to government hospital. 80 percent people answered that they have access to government hospital when they need; whereas 20 percent claimed that they have no access to government hospital because the hospital required some information (eg. Voter ID, address etc.) for some emergency case (e.g. surgery) those are not available to us.

Table 34: Access to Govt. Hospital

Access to Govt. Hospital	Frequency	Percent
Yes	120	80.0
No	30	20.0
Total	150	100.0

9.6 Access to Private Clinic:

The table 36 below illustrates the access to private clinic by the *Bihari* people. Among 150 respondents 25.3 percent claimed that they have access to private clinic while 25.3

percent people answered that they have no access to private clinic because this service is costly to them.

Table 35: Access to Private Clinic

Access to Private Clinic	Frequency	Percent
Yes	38	25.3
No	112	74.7
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

9.7 Well-being Facilities:

The table 37 below deals with the well-being facilities provided to the *Bihari* people. 100 percent claimed that they have no access to gas supply inside the Geneva Camp. In contrast, 100 percent respondents claimed that they have full access to electricity. Moreover, 65 percent respondents said that they have no access to safe water in their Camp.

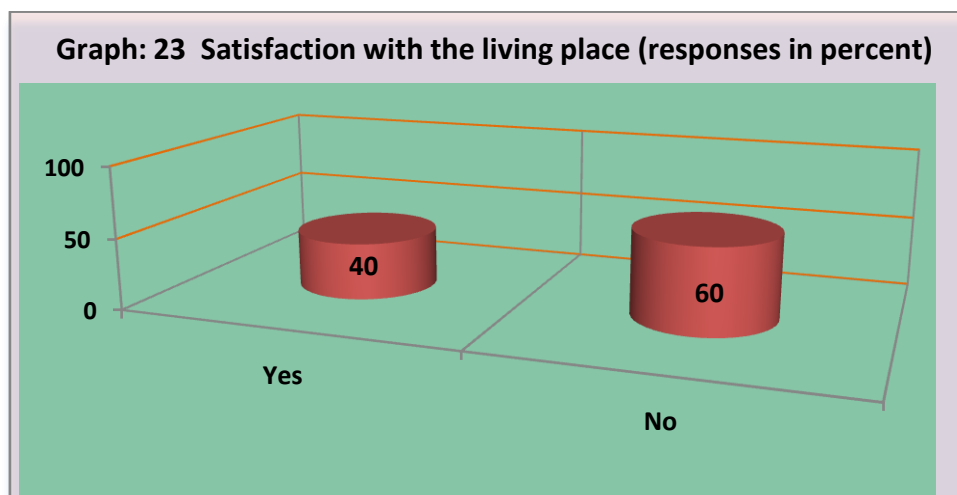
Table 36: Access to Well-being Facilities

Well-being Facilities	Yes (%) N=150	No (%) N=150
Access to gas	---	100
Access to electricity	100	---
Access to safe water	65	35

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

9.8 Satisfaction with the Living Place:

The graph 23 below shows the satisfaction of *Bihari* people with their living place. Out of all 40 percent people said that they are much more satisfied living in this Camp while 60 people claimed that they are living in a stigmatized place with huge frustration and anxiety.



Source: field work, September-October, 2014

9.9 Feelings of Alienation:

The table 38 below describes the feelings of alienation among the *Bihari* people. 58.7 percent respondents claimed that they have the feelings of alienation being a *Bihari* and living in this Camp whereas 41.3 percent respondents said that they have no feelings of alienation because they have a good connection to the Bengali people.

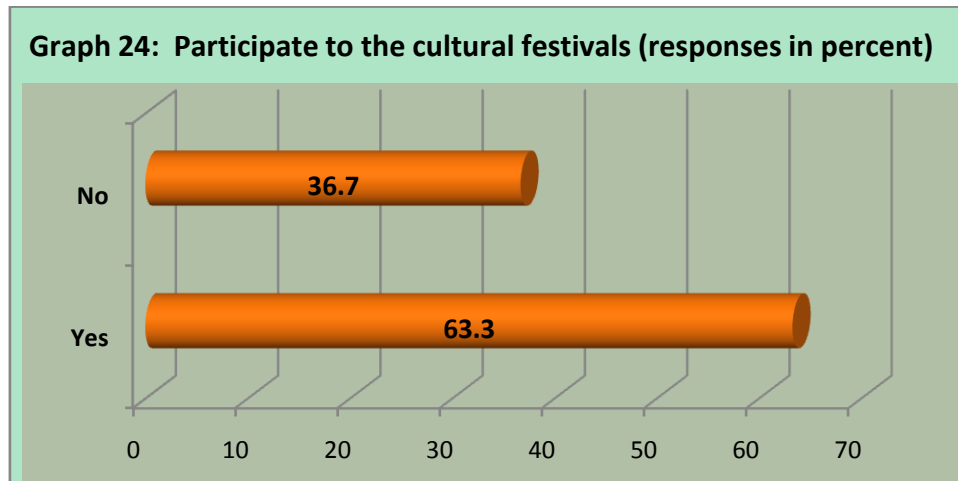
Table 37: Feelings of Alienation

Feelings of Alienation	Frequency	Percent
Yes	88	58.7
No	62	41.3
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

9.10 Participation to the Cultural Festivals:

The graph 25 below shows whether the *Bihari* people are able to participate in the national level cultural festivals. 95 respondents (63.3%) claimed that they can participate to the cultural festivals of the Bengali community, however, 36.7 percent people claimed that they cannot participate in the cultural festivals of the Bengali community because they feel alienated them.



Source: field work, September-October, 2014

9.11 Tendency to Make Friendship with Bengali People:

The table 39 shows the tendency of making friendship with the Bengali people. About 31 percent respondents said that they are interested to make friendship with the Bengali people while 69 percent respondents claimed that the Bengali people are not interested to make friendship with the *Bihari* people.

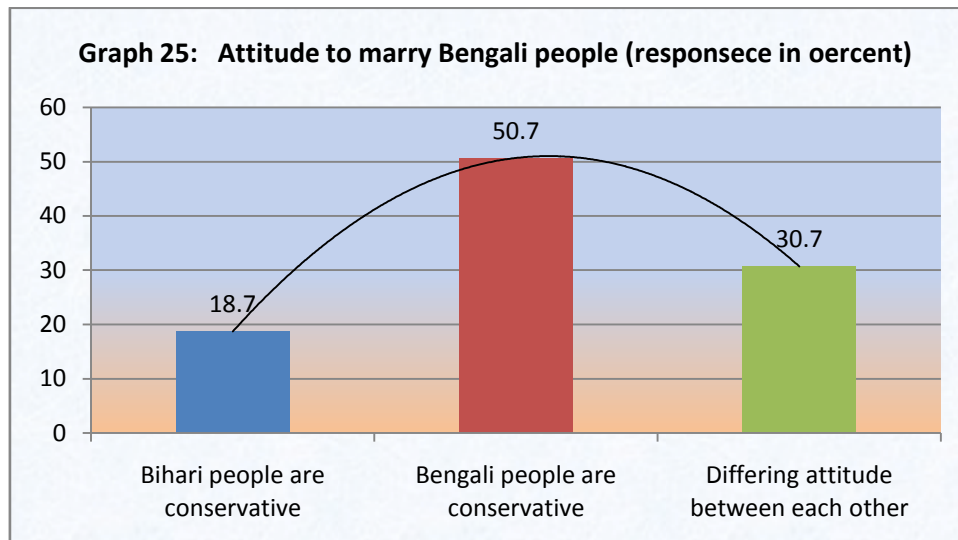
Table 38: Tendency to Make Friendship with Bengali People

Tendency to make friendship with Bengali people	Frequency	Percent
<i>Bihari</i> people are interested	46	30.7
Bengali people are not interested	104	69.3
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

9.12 Attitude to Marry Bengali People:

The graph 25 below depicts the attitude of *Bihari* people to marry the Bengali people. Among the 150 respondents 18.7 percent people said that *Bihari* people are conservative to marry Bengali people. On the other hand, 50.7 respondents said that Bengali people are conservative to marry *Bihari* people. Though, 30.7 respondents claimed that there are differing attitudes in marriage between each other.



Source: field work, September-October, 2014

9.13 Trends of Marriage:

The table 40 below demonstrates the trends of marriage between *Bihari* and Bengali people. 46 respondents (30.7%) claimed that *Bihari* marry Bengali people whereas 50.7 percent claimed that both *Bihari* and Bengali marry each other. However, 18.7 percent respondents claimed that both *Bihari* and Bengali are conservative to marry each other.

Table 39: Trends of Marriage

Trends of marriage	Frequency	Percent
<i>Bihari</i> marry Bengali people	46	30.7
Both marry each other	76	50.7
Both are conservative to marry each other	28	18.7
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

9.14 Tendency toward Hiding Identity

Table below 41 depicts the tendency toward hiding identity among the *Bihari* People. More than 95 percent respondents claimed that they hide their identity outside the Camp. However, only less than 5 percent people said that they can disclose their identity outside the Camp, but not all times.

Table 40: Tendency toward Hiding Identity

Tendency toward Hiding Identity	Frequency	Percent
Yes	143	95.3
No	7	4.7
Total	150	100.0

Source: field work, September-October, 2014

9.15 Summary and Discussion:

This chapter has discussed the spatial and cultural exclusion using some indicators, which have the influence on it. For example, many of the respondents claimed that they do not get the living house for renting, which is an indication of exclusion. Moreover, they have rights to buy the land anywhere in Bangladesh. Many of them claimed that they never get all the services from city-corporation, except few.

Without these, many people are taking the govt. hospital facilities, but they have no capacity to avail the cost of private clinic. All the people have access to electricity, but no gas connection is there for cooking or other purposes. Moreover, they have least scope of getting safe water. More than half of the population of the *Bihari* Camp is not satisfied with their living place; rather in most cases they feel alienation. Many of the *Biharis* are keeping them segregated from participating to the cultural festivals of the nation. Most of the respondents claimed that they are not allowed in most cases to make friendship with Bengali people and to marry them.

CHAPTER TEN

(FINDINGS - PART SIX)

MEASURING EXCLUSION

This chapter deals with the measurement of exclusion in order to know the association between exclusion and its associated variables such as sociopolitical, economic and neighborhood conditions. Here, associations (or hypotheses) have been measured through chi-square test (χ^2).

Based on the 5 hypotheses of this study (see chapter 4) I have extended it into 7 hypotheses in order to measure the association between items of exclusion and socio-demographic variables. For this test the independent variables are: gender, age, marital status, occupation, education, income, and ethnic identity; and the dependent variables are hiding dwelling place, poor social capital, restricted access to citizenship rights, absence from national politics, feeble voice against grievances, poor well-being conditions and civic non-participation. These are delineated in below:

Hypothesis 1:

There is a relationship between “hiding dwelling place” (dependent variable) and “socio-demographic variables” (independent variables)

Hypothesis 2:

There is a relationship between “poor social capital” (dependent variable) and “socio-demographic variables” (independent variables).

Hypothesis 3:

There is a relationship between “restricted citizenship rights” (dependent variable) and “socio-demographic variables” (independent variables).

Hypothesis 4:

There is a relationship between “absence to national politics” (dependent variable) and “socio-demographic variables” (independent variables).

Hypothesis 5:

There is a relationship between “feeble voice against grievances” (dependent variable) and “socio-demographic variables” (independent variables).

Hypothesis 6:

There is a relationship between “poor well-being conditions” (dependent variable) and “socio-demographic variables” (independent variables).

Hypothesis 7:

There is a relationship between “Social/civic non-participation” (dependent variable) and “socio-demographic variables” (independent variables).

**Table 41: Measuring Association among the Factors of Exclusion
(Summary Table of Chi-square Values of Selected Variables)**

Dependent Variable (s)		Independent Variable(s)	Chi-square ⁴ value (χ^2)	Degree of freedom	Level of significanc
Hiding dwelling place	by	Gender	253.421	17	$\alpha=.001$
Hiding dwelling place	by	Age	327.545	11	$\alpha=.001$
Hiding dwelling place	by	Marital status	529.448	5	$\alpha=.01$

⁴ Formula for calculating chi-test

$$\chi^2 = \frac{(O-E)^2}{E} \quad \text{Where,}$$

O= is the Observed Frequency in each category

E= is the Expected Frequency in the corresponding category

df= is the “degree of freedom” (n-1)

- Observations must be independent of each other (so, for example, no matched pairs)
- Cell count must be 5 or above for each cell in a 2 x 2 contingency table
- Chi-square should not be calculated if the expected value in any category is less than 5
- Chi-square requires that you use numerical values, not percentages or ratios

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Hiding dwelling place	by	Occupation	972.356	7	$\alpha=.001$
Hiding dwelling place	by	Education	677.343	13	$\alpha=.01$
Hiding dwelling place	by	Income	455.367	21	$\alpha=.001$
Hiding dwelling place	by	Ethnic identity	726.447	20	$\alpha=.01$
Poor social capital	by	Gender	677.343	7	$\alpha=.001$
Poor social capital	by	Age	755.365	27	$\alpha=.01$
Poor social capital	by	Marital status	645.126	10	$\alpha=.05$
Poor social capital	by	Occupation	529.132	4	$\alpha=.01$
Poor social capital	by	Education	722.764	4	$\alpha=.001$
Poor social capital	by	Income	474.432	5	$\alpha=.001$
Poor social capital	by	Ethnic identity	372.356	2	$\alpha=.01$
Restricted citizenship rights	by	Gender	453.439	7	$\alpha=.001$
Restricted citizenship rights	by	Age	645.543	5	$\alpha=.001$
Restricted citizenship rights	by	Marital status	534.544	26	$\alpha=.05$
Restricted citizenship rights	by	Occupation	849.568	5	$\alpha=.001$
Restricted citizenship rights	by	Education	253.425	11	$\alpha=.001$
Restricted citizenship rights	by	Income	927.545	9	$\alpha=.01$
Restricted citizenship rights	by	Ethnic identity	658.565	16	$\alpha=.01$
Absence from national politics	by	Gender	529.443	13	$\alpha=.001$

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Absence from national politics	by	Age	972.355	17	$\alpha=.01$
Absence from national politics	by	Marital status	677.345	12	$\alpha=.001$
Absence from national politics	by	Occupation	455.365	18	$\alpha=.05$
Absence from national politics	by	Education	345.124	4	$\alpha=.01$
Absence from national politics	by	Income	629.136	3	$\alpha=.001$
Absence from national politics	by	Ethnic identity	677.567	23	$\alpha=.01$
Feeble voice against grievances	by	Gender	322.764	22	$\alpha=.01$
Feeble voice against grievances	by	Age	734.434	13	$\alpha=.001$
Feeble voice against grievances	by	Marital status	453.439	15	$\alpha=.001$
Feeble voice against grievances	by	Occupation	345.543	19	$\alpha=.05$
Feeble voice against grievances	by	Education	234.543	13	$\alpha=.001$
Feeble voice against grievances	by	Income	348.567	9	$\alpha=.01$
Feeble voice against grievances	by	Ethnic identity	948.567	19	$\alpha=.01$
Poor well-being conditions	by	Gender	253.421	13	$\alpha=.001$
Poor well-being conditions	by	Age	327.546	14	$\alpha=.01$

Poor well-being conditions	by	Marital status	529.448	12	$\alpha=.05$
Poor well-being conditions	by	Occupation	572.356	16	$\alpha=.01$
Poor well-being conditions	by	Education	977.343	4	$\alpha=.001$
Poor well-being conditions	by	Income	755.367	13	$\alpha=.001$
Poor well-being conditions	by	Ethnic identity	848.567	22	$\alpha=.01$
Social/civic non-participation	by	Gender	645.124	10	$\alpha=.01$
Social/civic non-participation	by	Age	529.136	9	$\alpha=.001$
Social/civic non-participation	by	Marital status	622.764	4	$\alpha=.001$
Social/civic non-participation	by	Occupation	734.432	17	$\alpha=.05$
Social/civic non-participation	by	Education	653.439	20	$\alpha=.001$
Social/civic non-participation	by	Income	445.543	6	$\alpha=.01$
Social/civic non-participation	by	Ethnic identity	948.567	26	$\alpha=.01$

Explanation: $\alpha=.001$

From the above measurement it has been found that 7 hypotheses are tested between independent and dependent variables at the significance level of $\alpha=.01$, $\alpha=.001$ and $\alpha=.05$. Most of the factors of exclusion (dependent variables) are strongly associated with the ethnic identity (independent variable) at the significance level of $\alpha=.01$.

Moreover, some factors such as gender, income, education are also strongly associated with all the dependent variables such as poor social capital, restricted access to citizenship rights, absence from national politics, feeble voice against social grievances, poor well-being conditions and civic non-participation at the significance level of $\alpha=.01$, $\alpha=.001$ and $\alpha=.05$.

However, two independent variables (such as occupation and marital status) are poorly associated with the all dependent variables, which is significant at the level of $\alpha=.05$.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

(FINDINGS - PART SEVEN)

PRESENTATION OF THE CASE STUDIES

CASE STUDY: ONE

Md. Rubel Hussain, 19 years old, is the youngest son of his parents, who are not alive now. His father was a rickshaw puller and mother was a housewife. His father died when he was 12 years old and when he was 12 years old his mother died. He is now residing with his two siblings at Geneva Camp, of them two work in a factory at Tejgaon industrial area. Rubel has recently passed the HSC exam and now studying in a private university in Dhaka. Being a *Bihari*, he faced a lot of problems in educational institutions.

He told me, *“I have hidden my identity for taking admission in school, college and university because, good educational institutions are not intended to admit Bihari students. So, in those institutions I could not use the address of Bihari Camp. I used a fake address”*. Moreover, he also told me that in educational institutions *Bihari* students face a lot of discrimination due to their language. If they disclose their own identity then their Bengali classmates mock them. They do not want to make friendship with *Bihari* students in many cases.

In some cases, school teachers discourage the *Bihari* students’s parents by saying that: *“your child can’t speak Bengali properly. So, teach him/her Bengali first. Otherwise admit him/her in your Camp school”*. This means that *Bihari* students face identity crisis in educational institutions. He also adds that they are living in slum-like conditions and facing dismal discrimination in every phase of life, for example, overcrowded housing, poor sanitation and lack of basic facilities.

Due to population growth these conditions have worsened over the last few decades. We face chronic hygiene problems as we have inadequate waste disposal system, he reported. The provision for clean water inside the Camp is not adequate. Moreover, our drainage and sewerage systems are also poor. So we are living in an inhuman condition. Our Camp

dwellers face discrimination in labor market, education and health-care facilities. These hamper the development of our community. We are poor and facing discrimination in citizenship right. The government has recently given us the citizenship right but we cannot enjoy it properly. We are excluded from Bengali community only for our ancestors' work. They supported West Pakistan and we are facing discrimination due to their fault.

The government made Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) for reducing poverty from Bangladesh. But the government did not address our needs in the PRSPs. We are not included in the planning and strategy of the government that I have recently heard from one of my elder brother who work in a research organization. Only because of our *Bihari* identity we are excluded everywhere. But we are not responsible for our identity. Bengali people think that we are against Bangladesh. But it is not true. We and my recent generation want to live in this country. In many cases Bengali people do not want to make friendship with us. They do not even invite us in their cultural programs. Our language is mainly responsible for our exclusion. The threat of eviction is a common feature of our Camp.

CASE STUDY: TWO

Merina Akhter, 22 years old, is a housewife. Her husband is a chef of a hotel. She has two sons. Her in-laws also live with her. Her husband has two brothers, who also live with her. Thus she has a family with eight members and all of them are living in a single room. She told me that, the size of the room is 8 ft by 8 ft, where only one bed is kept for sharing with all. Her two brother-in-laws sleep in the floor. They have no other place to sleep.

According she claimed that housing problem is severe in Geneva Camp. They have no enough money so that they can rent a house inside or outside the Camp. They are poor and deeply facing the housing problem. Her elder son goes to school who is a student of grade One. In the school, she did not use the Camp address for her child. She used a fake address so that her child faces no discrimination in the school for being a *Bihari*. She is trying to teach her child Bengali language.

She also told me that her husband has no bank account and insurance facilities, so they have no savings. As a result, she is anxious about her children's future. The educational cost is increasing day by day. If it continues she thinks that one day her child might drop out from school.

Moreover she also adds that the sanitation facilities of this Camp are not satisfactory because the number of toilets is not enough for the families. Basically, women and children face a lot of problems. There are no government facilities for health and sanitation purpose in this Camp; therefore, different types of diseases are a common trend in this Camp such as diarrhea, jaundice, cholera etc. Particularly, the aged, disabled and pregnant women suffer most by these diseases.

She claimed that they have no proper knowledge about health, sanitation, nutrition, and family planning system. The environment of our Camp is not secured specially for women and unmarried girls outside the Camp. Due to lack of security many girls left their school and confined at home. Their parents cannot protest against teasers due to the fear of further teasing.

She said, *“we have no living place of our own because we are stateless. Though we have national identity card we do not have access to issue a passport. We cannot participate in national programs, too”*. In many cases local *mastans* demand subscription from us in these program days. She said that they enjoy only their cultural programs and have no interest to observe the cultural programs of Bengali people. She claimed that they don't have access to celebrate their cultural and social programs outside the Camp because Bengali people protect us to do so. Moreover, police always suspect the Camp as the safe place for crime and illegal business. They consider us responsible for any kind of violence around this area. So we are always in the fear of arrest.

CASE STUDY: THREE

Md. Shamsul Islam, 38 years old, is now an unemployed and is living in poverty conditions. Living with this impoverished condition he passed the HSC exam and managed a job in a factory in Mymensingh as a clerk. He was satisfied with his job. But he gradually found that he is facing discrimination in his working place for being a

Bihari. His colleagues who were working in the same designation got promotion. But he belonged in the same post.

At first he did not took it seriously. But for a while he found that the discrimination is increasing more and more. His salary was also poor than his Bengali colleague. So he talked with the manager of the factory. The manager told him that he would get promotion. He waited six months. But his salary remained the same. For this discrimination he decided that he would leave the job. So he resigned from the post 2 years ago. Then he came back to his family at Geneva Camp. Since then he was unemployed.

He is married and has two children. His parents also live with him, now he has 9 members in his family. His father cannot earn due to his old age. So the whole family is dependent on him. He told me that: *“I have sent my C.V to a lot of factories. But when they saw that the address is Geneva Camp, they do not call me for interview. I am an unemployed person now. What’s wrong with my identity, he asked? The only mistake is that I am a Bihari. I want to work properly for maintaining my family. I want to send my children to school. But only for my language and identity I am unable to do that”*.

Accordingly, his family is getting poor day by day. He also added that, *“I have to use another address except the Camp for getting a job. I am badly in need of a job. So I have decided to use a fake address”*. The government organizations have no scheme for our economic development. We are living in a situation that is inhumane. We are unable to get public or government jobs only because we are *Bihari*. We are minority and are stigmatized as “Stranded Pakistanis”. Bengali people hate us in many cases. But we are not against Bangladesh. We want to live in this country and expect that the government must give us our deserved rights. There are no proper education facilities for children inside the Camp.

The Camp dwellers have to face a lot of problems to afford the educational expenses of their children. So many students are now dropping out from school. He claimed that they also face discrimination in the educational institutions for their *Bihari* identity. We cannot participate in the cultural programs of the Bengali community. Our children who go to

school celebrate the national programs of Bangladesh. For example, 21st February, 26th March, 16th December, etc. But they are feel hesitation during these days.

CASE STUDY: FOUR

Aklima khatun, 40 years old, is a housewife is now living with his five children. Two of them are sons and three are daughters. Her husband is a small businessman. All of her daughters got married off. Her elder son is a factory worker. Though he was a school boy, he could not continue his study. He was dropped out from the school. Her younger son is in class eight at Camp school because she cannot afford his educational expenses. All of them live in a single room.

She has voting right but she could not exercise it to anywhere because of not having no national identity card. There are no government health facilities in her Camp. So when they are in bad health conditions, they have to go to public hospitals. In many cases the people of the public hospitals do not treat them properly. They tease them for their *Bihari* identity. There are no public health facilities for women and children in Geneva Camp. Sometimes the NGOs offer some health facilities for women and children. But in many cases women are reluctant to go to this medical camp. As a result, they cannot understand their health problems properly and cannot get proper treatment.

She reported that she has no bank account and insurance facility of her own. She tried to deposit her savings in a *Samitee* named SAFE SAVE. She is facing housing problem severely, but her family has no enough money to rent a house outside the Camp. She does not know what will happen after her son's marriage. She is illiterate and could not manage a job. She wants to do something productive for earning money, though she failed to do that. She also adds that they do not celebrate the national occasions of Bangladesh such as 21st February, 26th March, 16th December *Pahela Baishakh*, etc. Because, she thinks that these are programs for the Bengali people, which make them alien. This is an example of cultural exclusion.

She also told me that “the toilet facilities of Geneva Camp are not enough. Around 15-18 families have to share a single toilet. In many cases, pregnant women, old women and young girls face a lot of problems in this regard. At night unmarried women and girls feel

insecure in using toilets. In many cases sexual harassment also occurred when they use these toilets.

He further reported that drug business is also a prime feature of this Camp. The Camp is regarded as the safe place for strong and selling drug. Crime and insecurity are also present in Geneva Camp. Many law enforcing agencies oppress us for their own interest. Political leaders use us for their own interest. What I have found there that *Biharis* are deprived of seven specific values of human life such as economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political security. They cannot protect themselves from criminal activities and other forms of political violation. A large number of *Biharis* are living under the poverty line and the opportunities for them are also limited for their identity crisis. They are also facing the fear of crime. So they usually stay in Camp at night and avoid walking in dark sites or streets.

CASE STUDY: FIVE

Md. Shariful Islam, 48 years old, is a small shopkeeper. His shop is in the Geneva Camp market. He has seven family members including three children. All of them sleep in a single room. He has no enough money to maintain the educational cost of his children nonetheless he is trying hard. He said that he had able to complete only primary level, so he wants to continue the study of his children.

He told me that there are no government educational facilities for children in Geneva Camp, only some NGOs are providing some programs for child education. There is a school for *Bihari* children named 'SHURAVI', which provides education from class 6 to 8. It is a program of Plan Bangladesh, an international non-governmental organization. But after completion of class eight they do not get scope to enter into the general education system in Bangladesh, using *Bihari* identity it is very difficult to get admission to other schools. However, if their identity is disclosed then they have to face a lot of discrimination by their Bengali classmates.

Mr. Islam argued that unlike Bengali people they do not have access to government job. Moreover, he told me that in some cases Bengali people do not want to rent their house to *Bihari* people. Sometimes we face the threat from the *mastans*. The *mastans* demand

subscription in many cases and torture us if we unable to give them. Most of the *mastans* are Bengali and they have a close connection with *Bihari mastans*. So when I get into this trap I must pay their demand. In many cases political leaders use us for their own political interests. They force us to participate in political procession in exchange of money or in some cases nothing. We have citizenship right, but we can't exercise political power like other Bengali people. This is an example of political exclusion.

CASE STUDY: SIX

Afsana Begum, 55 years old, is a widow living with 9 members in a family. Her husband was a butcher, seven years ago he died. They came from Bihar to Bangladesh before independence. Since then they are living in this country. During liberation war her father-in-law supported the West Pakistan only for religion. So after independence they had to face a lot of problems. Since then many Bengali neighborhoods of them treat them as the enemy of Bangladesh. But her husband did not support West Pakistan. She has four children; all of them are married and have three children. They have two rooms where all the family members live. They are poor and facing the housing problem severely.

Afsana thinks that due to Urdu language they are socially excluded from Bengali community. Without making any relationship with Bengali people she has passed almost 45 years here. She has no bank account of her own. Even, she does not know about citizenship right. She did not participate in any election as a voter. But she told me that she treats Bangladesh as her own country does not want to leave this country. She is feeling sad because Bangladesh government does not treat them as a full citizen.

She claimed that there are no government and private job facilities for them inside the Camp. Moreover, she also told me that the government is not careful about them. So they are facing poverty and exclusion. There are no special health facilities or any other monetary help for widow and disabled people by the government and NGOs inside the Geneva Camp. She is very anxious about her grandchildren. Her grandchildren go to school. Her sons work hard to meet up their educational costs. Her sons are not satisfied with their recent jobs. They need a better job for maintaining the living cost of their family.

CASE STUDY: SEVEN

Md. Ramjan Ali, 50 years old, is a small businessman. His level of education is secondary. He has a bank account of his own and has insurance with Popular Life Insurance Company. He has national identity card and voting right but has no Bangladeshi passport. He tried hard to get a passport, but the passport officer told him that *Bihari* people do not get Bangladeshi passport. Then he told the officer that he has a national identity card. But the officer said that there is no rule to give the *Bihari* people a passport. Then he changed his address and applied for the passport again. This time he got the passport. He told me that they never get passport if the address is given in Geneva Camp. For this reason we change our address and apply for the passport.

The government gave us citizenship right and national identity card, but we cannot exercise our power properly. We are unable to enjoy our rights properly. Actually, our rights only remain in paper. Moreover, most of the Camp dwellers are not satisfied with their recent jobs. In many cases their jobs are insecure. Due to shortage of money they cannot rent a house outside the Camp and cannot rent a community center when they need. Most of the Camp dwellers are poor. So, poverty is a prime feature of Geneva Camp. Moreover, it is a place for illegal business. For example, drug business is increasing inside the Camp rapidly. Both Bengali and *Bihari* boys are engaged in this illegal business. There is a close network regarding this issue. The Camp people tried but nobody could control this illegal business. The police are also reluctant to take case against these criminals for many cases.

CASE STUDY: EIGHT

Amzad Uddin, 45 years old, is a married person. He studied up to class 8. He has an open hotel for food in Geneva Camp *bazaar*. He has four children: 3 sons and 1 daughter. His parents also live with him. The total member of his family is 8. All of them live in a single room. His all children go to school. But his elder son has dropped out from school recently.

He is the only earning source of his family. He told me that, in many cases *Bihari* people face discrimination on their working place especially if the work is owned by *Bengali*

people. Moreover, they have no access to government job and limited access to job in private or corporate sector, because this sector need smart and energetic person with higher education. So *Bihari* people like me cannot apply there.

Furthermore, *Bihari* employees get less salary than Bengali employees in their working place. They do more work but receive less salary. Most of the Camp dwellers are poor. Many of them are day laborer. Only some of them have own business. But they have no investment in the national market, he reported. So they are not satisfied with their job.

He also adds that our *Bihari* identity is liable for our disadvantaged position in society. This identity has made our life chance mobility limited. Our identity is stigmatized to the Bengali community. They treat us as their enemy in various ways. But we are not their enemy, because, both Bengali and *Bihari* are Muslims and are considered as brothers of each other. Though Urdu is our primary language, we love *Bangla*. We love this country and want to stay here. But the government thinks that we are harmful for them. So we cannot move freely at night. Moreover, we have no right to purchase land outside the Camp.

CASE STUDY: NINE

Mst. Shahana Kulsum, 42 years old, is a housewife. Her level of education is primary. Her husband works in a saloon. She has 3 children and two in-laws with her. They have two rooms where all the family members live together. Her daughter has dropped out from school, because her husband cannot afford the educational costs of 3 children.

Moreover, her daughter also became the victim of eve-teasing. So she left the school. Many Camp girls have to face this problem. She told me that *Bihari* girls and women are more insecure inside and outside the Camp than men. They are more deprived in the family and more powerless inside and outside the community.

She reported me that *“I am also powerless in my family. My husband takes all the decision of my family. I cannot participate in decision making. In many cases I am experiencing domestic violence. This is the common scenario of many Bihari family. In*

fact, I am not able to take the decision on reproductive issues alone". There are no government health services for women and children in our Camp so that we cannot get awareness about our rights and reproductive issues.

CASE STUDY: TEN

Md. Golam Mostafa, 45 years old, is a small businessman. He has a cloth store in Geneva Camp *bazaar*. He has no formal education. But he wants to educate his children. So he sent his 4 children to Camp school. When his two sons completed class 8 from Camp school he admitted them in a school outside the Camp. But he did not use the address of Geneva Camp. He used a fake address so that his sons face no discrimination in their school. This is a type of exclusion.

He also reported me that "Many times we experience threat from local *mastans*. They demand subscriptions from us. If we unable to fulfill their demand then they made a lot of harm to our shops and business. One of our senior fellows from the Camp, Mostakim Ahmed was murdered by them 2 years ago, because he was disagreed to fulfill their required demand. If any violence occurs in this Camp we are always victim even though we are not engaged in it all time. The blame game of crime and violence always imposes on our community people. Even the police are also more susceptible to us if any crime and violence occur in this area.

The local *mastans* have strong connection with the police in some cases. So they have no fear of arrest by the police. Many Camp dwellers of us have become the victims of this violence. We cannot protest properly against these *mastans* because we have the fear of police and *mastans*. So we are trying our best to fulfill their demand.

The Camp is also facing a new problem, which is drug business. It is an illegal business. Many young Camp dwellers are related with this business. The local *mastans*, Bengali and *Bihari* people are related with the activities. It is destroying the environment of the Camp. The young boys are becoming the victims of this drug business. Many Camp dwellers tried hard but could not solve this problem. In fact this problem is increasing day by day.

CASE STUDY: ELEVEN

Nasreen Nahar, 35 years old, is a housewife. Her husband is a rickshaw puller. She was born in Khalishpur Camp, Khulna. After her marriage the whole family came to Geneva Camp. Since then they are living in this Camp. She has 3 children. Her brother-in-law and his wife also live with her. Her brother-in-law is unemployed for two years. So her husband has to bear his and his wife's living cost.

It is very difficult for his husband to afford all the member's cost. She cannot manage her children's educational cost properly. They live in a single room. Due to low income they cannot rent a house outside the Camp. They are facing severe housing problems. In many cases she has to starve in regular basis. She cannot consult with a doctor when she becomes sick due to shortage of money.

Moreover, there are no government facilities inside the Camp for the women and children. They also face discrimination in government hospitals in many cases for their *Bihari* identity. The staffs of the hospitals do not treat them properly. So they have to hide their identity for getting medical treatment.

She also told me that *“there is no advantage for Bihari people by the government. Our only mistake is we are Bihari. Our ancestors supported Pakistan but we did not. We are not responsible for it. The Bengali people call us “Stranded Pakistani”. But we do not like it. We love Bangladesh and Bengali language. My children observe the national festivals of Bangladesh like 21st February, 26th March, 16th December, Pahela Baishakh, etc. in their school. So we do not feel alien from the Bengali community. But the Bengali people do not treat us like them”*.

Moreover, there is water pipe connection in our Camp supplied by City Corporation. But the water supplied by WASA is not purified properly. The smell of this water is bad in most cases. Besides, we are discriminated only for our language. Our children cannot do well in the school due to their language. They also face discrimination by their Bengali classmates in many cases. The teachers also discourage us sometimes to send our children to them. They advise us to teach the students Bengali properly or to admit them in our Camp school. In these ways we are excluded from the Bengali community.

CASE STUDY: TWELVE

Nazma Sultana, 20 years old, is newly married Camp dweller. Her husband is a day laborer. The total family member is 8 who live in a single room because they have no other place to live in. She studied up to class 7 but could not continue due to marriage. Her husband's income is not enough for supporting the whole family. They are poor. They have no way to increase the family income. Her father-in-law was also a day laborer. But he is now sick.

For this reason he left the work. Her brother-in-laws are students. So they cannot earn. His husband is now the only earning member of the family. The whole family is dependent on his income. Every day he works hard to earn more money. But he earns 200 taka per day. It is not enough for maintaining Nazma's family. For reducing poverty Nazma wants to do something. As her educational background is not good, she could not manage a job. She tried to manage a job in an NGO but failed. She is now living in a jobless home. Her husband's job is not secured and they are not satisfied with it.

Due to poverty her family cannot arrange any social gatherings for their own. She has no bank account and insurance and has no passport, too. Her family has no savings. She also told me that the Bengali people do not invite them in their programs.

They treat them alien but she likes the Bengali community. Language is the only barrier between Bengali and *Bihari* community. She has the voting right but she cannot exercise her power like Bengali women and girls. As *Bihari*, they are bound to live here as they have no other living place, she reported me.

CASE STUDY: THIRTEEN

Kamrul Alam, 27 years old, is an employee of a leather factory. He is unmarried and living with his parents, elder brother, brother's wife and children. Her elder brother is a shopkeeper. They have to live in a same room. He told me that, poverty and overcrowded housing pattern are the main problems of Geneva Camp.

There are no government or private programs regarding their housing problems. There are also no NGO programs for solving their housing problem. The political parties often hire the Camp people for political procession in exchange of money. They give the leader of a *Bihari* group 50,000 taka and tell him to gather at least 100 people for procession. The leader gather people and give 300 taka per person and force them to take part in the meeting or political rally. And the leader keeps rest of the money for himself.

Mr. Alam claimed that the *Biharis* are deprived from real wage in the working place. Moreover, the female workers with me from *Bihari* community are doubly exploited than the *Bihari* men. Besides, *Bihari* people can marry with Bengali people, though it not well taken in our community and vice versa. Though, most of the cases these marriage are affair marriage. So they have to face some problems in their family. But many Bengali people disagree to marry their sons or daughters. It is a form of exclusion. We cannot participate in the neighborhood programs outside the Camp like the Bengali people. We cannot move freely at night outside the Camp, he reported me.

CASE STUDY: FOURTEEN

Amina Akhter, 38 years old, is a garments worker. She works in a garment factory at Tejgaon. She studied up to class six. Her husband also works in a factory. She has 3 children. All of them go to school. Her mother-in-law lives with her. Her husband's income was not enough for supporting the family. So he tried hard and managed a job at a garment industry.

But she did not give the Geneva Camp as her address. She hides her identity in order to be free from discrimination. But one day her identity was disclosed. Then she faced a lot of problems such as low-wage, irregular pay, sexually abused and mental torture. Most of the time, her fellow workers tease her for being a *Bihari*. But after rigorous negotiation with them now-a-days she has come out from this problem and getting equal wages like her fellow Bengali workers.

She told me that *Bihari* women are more deprived in job sector than men. They are also more insecure inside and outside the Camp than men. Women are more excluded from labor market than Bengali women because of their identity and educational background.

She also adds that *“We have no country of our own. We are living in Bangladesh. But the government does not give us all the facilities like Bengali citizen. We are living in the Camp like prisoners. The environment of our Camp is unhealthy, dirty, deplorable, and unhygienic. The drainage system is also very poor. Diseases like diarrhea and dengue fever are very common in our Camp”*.

She said that my economic condition is extremely poor because I have no financial security. Moreover, we do not get enough relief and medical treatment during flood and other natural disasters. We have no boundary or gate in our Camp. Anyone can easily enter in our Camp at any time without permission. This means that there is no system of security in Geneva Camp. So sexual harassment and teasing often occurs against the Camp’s women and girls both inside the Camp and in the street”.

CASE STUDY: FIFTEEN

Md. Arman Miah, 17 years old, is a student of class 11. He has passed the SSC exam this year. He told me that *“due to my economic problem I cannot bear our educational costs for a long time. I can afford these expenses only up to a limited class, up to class 5. Because of our Bihari identity it is very difficult for us to continue our study after class five. But I was committed to continue my study. I was frequently insulted in the school by my classmates because I could not speak Bengali well. For this reason my teachers did not give much attention to me”*. We cannot play in the local play ground. Our Bengali neighborhoods labeled us as *“Dalals of Pakistan”* and also teased us by many slang languages.

Local *mastans* forced us to sell drugs and involve in illegal drug business. Moreover, they compelled us to participate to the political processions and meetings without any prior notice. We do these otherwise they beat us and threaten us to evict from this Camp anytime. Sometimes they threaten us that they could send us to jail. There is no justice for us because we are *Bihari*. Besides, these problems, many Camp dwellers do not have enough money to give donation to the local *mastans*, which create huge tension in family life.

Furthermore, in public buses we cannot speak our language. If we speak in our language then other passengers looked toward us as we are alien. Mr. Arman told me that “*our social world is very small where we are living with unlimited tension. The Bengali people treat us as enemy and behave like unwanted person. They made many mistakes toward us, but if we make any mistake we never get mercy. They must punish us*”. If anyone protests against these unlawful acts, then Bengali young boys beat him up.

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

In order to fulfill the gap of the survey method I have conducted 15 case studies (as a method of data collection from qualitative perspectives). These case studies have the focus on women exclusion, crime, drug business, personal hardship, life-long struggle, women security, problem associated with identity etc.

The most striking feature of these case studies is hiding identity. People in this Camp are always try to hide their identity to public sphere. The above case studies have shown how the *Biharis* are passing their lives with such a stigma, which is a sign of deprivation of everything.

Moreover, the crime and drug business are very sensitive issues for this study to collect data on it. Here survey method was ineffective to collect data on this issue. According to the findings, the people who are engaged with this business and crime are violating the basic rights of the Camp people, and eventually they are being excluded from their own rights.

Finally, the most excluded group of this Camp is women, who are more excluded than the man in terms of power. Though survey method did not answer the issue, the case studies provided the full-fledged answered of this issue.

CHAPTER TWELVE

COCLUSION

Social exclusion involves the study of non-participation of a group of people in a society. In this study I have tried to analyze how the *Bihari* people are excluded from society. As I found that this section of people are excluded from broad social arena, from political rights, from labor market, and from the mainstream culture and festivals. I have examined that *Bihari* people are excluded from four types of exclusion such as social, political, economic, and spatial and cultural. I have also found that most of the people are excluded from these four types.

Moreover, poverty, lack of resources, lack of goods and opportunities, powerlessness are the manifestation of social exclusion in this Camp. In addition, hiding identity and dwelling place is most robust indicator of exclusion, by which I can say they are excluded from their own social being or from their biological entity. For example, the study shows that more than 95 percent of the people hide their identity and dwelling place outside the Camp.

Moreover, about 30 percent of the people are poor among the respondents, while nearly 70 percent respondents claim that they have sufficient income to run their family but they are deprived from all basic rights that provide the state. However, about 70 percent people think that they are poor and excluded in terms of ethnic identity, civic alienation, stigmatization, poor social capital etc. most of the respondents claimed that they don't have access to proper housing, sanitation, health facilities, and education. The shortage of these basic needs make them excluded.

Besides, about 70 percent respondents said that they do not possess or enjoy political power for negotiation as a full citizen of this country. For example, they have voting rights, but they are not allowed to get a passport. The study also shows that about 65 percent respondents are living in jobless home, which is considered as labor market exclusion. Thus, they reported that they are discriminated in all sphere of society

wherever they involved and they are spatially alienated from main stream people in the country.

Finally, from this study it can be said that the features of exclusion in *Bihari* Camp is much more known to people as well as to the government, though some issues that I have explored is not familiar in particular sense. The contribution of this work is embedded into the process of exploring the underlying causes of exclusion and to find out the incidence of exclusion. I believe this study will help for conducting any empirical study further on this community.

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APPENDICES ONE: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Research Title:

**Social Exclusion of *Bihari* Community: A Sociological Study on Geneva Camp,
Dhaka**

Brief Description of the Study: This piece of research on “Social Exclusion of *Bihari* Community” is a partial requirement of my MSS degree in the Department of Sociology at the University of Dhaka. Accordingly, I have designed this empirical study in order to explore the social exclusion among the *Bihari* Community people in terms of non-participation to broader social arena. For conducting this research I have deployed both quantitative and qualitative methodology. In so doing, I have taken interview schedule and case study as my tools for data collection. Firstly, the Interview Schedule is consisted of some set of questions which have been divided into five major sections. The sections are as follows: (a) personal and demographic information, (b) social exclusion, (c) political exclusion, (d) economic exclusion and (e) ethnic and neighborhood exclusion. Secondly, for collecting qualitative data through case study in order to fulfill the gap of the survey method I have made a check list having with open-ended questions. Respondents will be mutually exclusive for both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods and respondents will vary in the quest of age, gender and other specific purposes.

[Note: The collected information will only be used for the purpose of academic research and secrecy will be maintained strictly.]

Interview Schedule

[Section-A]

Personal and Demographic Information

1. Respondent's Name and Identity

no:.....

2. Address:.....

3. Sex: Male 1 Female 2

4. Age: (exact):

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5. Marital Status: Married Widow Deserted
 Unmarried Divorced Separated

6. Household Size: Two Five Eight
 Three Six Nine
 Four Seven

7. Occupation (please specify):

8. Level of Education:

Illiterate HSC
 Primary Bachelor's
 SSC Master's

9. Income of the Household (monthly):

5000-9999 10000-14999 15000-19999
 20000-24999 25000-29999 30000/+

10. Expenditure of the Household (monthly):

5000-9999 10000-14999 15000-19999
 20000-24999 25000-29999 30000/+

[Section-B]			
Political Exclusion			
11. Receiving any facilities from state?	Yes = 1	No = 2	Don't Know = 3
12. Types of facilities?	Water		= 1
	Electricity		= 2
	Housing		= 3
	Health		= 4
	Allowance for children		= 5
	Widow allowance		= 6
	Cash support in terms of loan		= 7
13. Having voting right?	Yes = 1	No = 2	Don't Know = 3
14. Having a passport?	Yes = 1	No = 2	
15. Why no passport?	No need		= 1
	Being a <i>Bihari</i>		= 2
	Connection to crime		= 3
	Connection to terrorism		= 4
	None		= 5
16. Access to bank account?	Yes = 1	No = 2	
17. Why no bank account?	No need		= 1
	Being a <i>Bihari</i>		= 2
	Connection to crime		= 3
	Connection to terrorism		= 4
	None		= 5
18. Access to bank loan?	Yes = 1	No = 2	
19. Insurance facilities?	Yes = 1	No = 2	
20. Why no insurance facilities?	No need		= 1
	Being a <i>Bihari</i>		= 2

21. Participation in the national election?	Yes = 1	No = 2	
22. Why no participation in national election?	Not a voter		= 1
	Being a <i>Bihari</i>		= 2
	Not a citizen at all		= 3
23. Possess political power for negotiation?	Yes = 1	No = 2	Don't Know=3
24. Facilities provided by the GOs?	Yes = 1	No = 2	
25. Facilities provided by the NGOs?	Health service		= 1
	Right-based service		= 2
	Legal service		= 3
	Well-being service		= 4
26. Facilities provided by the INGOs?	Health service		= 1
	Right-based service		= 2
	Legal service		= 3
	Well-being service		= 4
	None		= 5
27. Access to file a case?	Yes = 1	No = 2	Don't Know=3
28. Ability to make protest against grievances?	Yes = 1	No = 2	Don't Know=3
[Section-C]			
Economic Exclusion			
29. Living in a jobless home?	Yes = 1	No = 2	
30. Job confinement?	Yes = 1	No = 2	
31. Self employed job?	Yes = 1	No = 2	
32. Number of low pay?	One		= 1
	Two		= 2
	Three		= 3
	Four		= 4
	Five		= 5
	Six		= 6
33. Number of unemployed worker?	One		= 1
	Two		= 2
	Three		= 3

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	Four	= 4
	Five	= 5
	Six	= 6
34. Access to NGO job?	Yes	= 1
	No	= 2
	No need	= 3
35. Job security?	Yes	= 1
	No	= 2
	None	= 3
36. Discrimination in working place?	Yes = 1	No = 2
		Don't Know=3
37. Satisfaction with recent job?	Yes = 1	No = 2
38. Causes of dissatisfaction with recent job?	Low pay	= 1
	Long-hour work	= 2
	Physical torture	= 3
	Sexual abuse	= 4
	Constant threat	= 5
	hiring	= 6
	None	
39. Running your own business?	Yes = 1	No = 2
40. Do you have savings?	Yes = 1	No = 2
		Don't Know=3
41. Types of savings?	Money in bank	= 1
	Money at home	= 2
	Money lend to others	= 3
	Money in terms of assets	= 4
	None	= 5

[Section-D]			
Ethnic and Neighborhood Exclusion			
42. Renting house outside the Camp?	Yes = 1	No = 2	Don't Know=3
43. Causes of not getting house for rent?	Being a <i>Bihari</i>	= 1	
	Seems connected to Pakistan	= 2	
	Distrust	= 3	
	None	= 4	
44. Benefit for housing?	Yes = 1	No = 2	Don't Know=3
45. Registered membership in NGOs?	Yes = 1	No = 2	Don't Know=3
46. Service available from City Corporation?	Yes = 1	No = 2	Don't Know=3
47. Access to govt. hospital?	Yes = 1	No = 2	Don't Know=3
48. Access to private clinic?	Yes = 1	No = 2	Don't Know=3
49. Access to gas supply?	Yes = 1	No = 2	
50. Access to electricity?	Yes = 1	No = 2	
51. Access to safe water?	Yes = 1	No = 2	
52. Satisfaction with the living place?	Yes = 1	No = 2	
53. Feelings of alienation?	Yes = 1	No = 2	
54. Participate to the cultural festivals?	Yes = 1	No = 2	
55. Tendency to make friendship with Bengali people?	<i>Bihari</i> people are interested	= 1	
	Bengali people are not interested	= 2	
56. Attitude to marry Bengali people?	<i>Bihari</i> people are	= 1	

	conservative Bengali people are conservative Conflicting attitude between each other	= 2 = 3
57. Trend of marriage?	<i>Bihari</i> marry Bengali people Bengali marry <i>Bihari</i> people Both marry each other Both are conservative to marry each other	= 1 = 2 = 3 = 4
[Section-E]		
Social Exclusion		
58. Attitude to poverty?	Poor Very poor Non-poor	= 1 = 2 = 3
59. What makes you poor?	Lack of sufficient food Lack of sufficient clothing Lack of proper housing Poor income Ethnic identity	= 1 = 2 = 3 = 4 = 5
60. Govt. health service available to you?	Yes = 1 No = 2	
61. Causes of unavailable health services?	Being a <i>Bihari</i> Being an outcaste Already have access Don't know	= 1 = 2 = 3 = 4

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62. Health services by NGOs?	Immunization program	= 1
	Reproductive health	= 2
	Health awareness program	= 3
63. Facing discrimination in hospital or clinic?	Yes = 1	No = 2
		Don't Know=3
64. Proper sewerage system in Camp?	Yes = 1	No = 2
65. Enough toilet in Camp?	Yes = 1	No = 2
66. Number of family shares a toilet?	One	= 1
	Two	= 2
	Three	= 3
	Four	= 4
	Five	= 5
	Six	= 6
	Seven	= 7
	Eight	= 8
	None	= 9
	Ten/+	= 10
67. Number of people lives in house?	One	= 1
	Two	= 2
	Three	= 3
	Four	= 4
	Five	= 5
	Six	= 6
	Seven	= 7
	Eight	= 8
	None	= 9
	Ten/+	= 10
68. Number of people sleep in a room?	One	= 1
	Two	= 2
	Three	= 3
	Four	= 4
	Five	= 5

	Six	= 6	
	Seven	= 7	
	Eight	= 8	
	None	= 9	
	Ten/+	= 10	
69. Access to school?	Yes = 1	No = 2	Don't Know=3
70. Discrimination in school?	Yes = 1	No = 2	Don't Know=3
71. Pattern of discrimination in school?	Less attention by the teacher	= 1	
	Disparity in allotting stipend	= 2	
	Disparity in distributing food	= 3	
	Disparity in distributing reading materials	= 4	
	Don't know	= 5	
72. Drop out from the school?	Yes = 1	No = 2	
73. All facilities are available to the Bihar Children in school?	Yes = 1	No = 2	

Thank you very much.

Appendix Two: Questions for Case Studies

1. Name:
2. Age:
3. Sex:
4. Marital Status:
5. Household:
6. Occupation:
7. Level of Education:
8. Income of the Household (monthly):
9. Expenditure of the Household (monthly):
10. Political exclusion:
11. Labor market exclusion:
12. Cultural exclusion:
13. Neighborhood exclusion:
14. Other forms of exclusion: poverty, education, crime, gender, etc.

Appendix Three: Basic Statistics on *Bihari* Community

Location and Distribution of Population in *Bihari* Camps of Bangladesh

Camp Code	Name of the <i>Bihari</i> Camp	Number of Households	Total Population
1	Geneva camp, Mohammedpur	3156	16,592
2	Community Center, Mohammedpur	159	756
3	Market Camp, Mohammedpur	394	2,102
4	Government staff Quarter, Mohammedpur	174	902
5	Shahjahan Road, Mohammedpur	63	289
6	Town Hall Camp, Mohammedpur	325	1,527
7	Tejgaon Camp, Mirpur-10	403	2,120
8	Huts Camp, Mirpur-10	333	1,695
9	Shaheed Millat Camp, Mirpur-10	172	854
10	Madrasa Camp, Mirpur-10	173	890
11	Muslim Camp, Mirpur-10	613	3,135
12	Heed/Society Camp, Mirpur-10	223	1,250
13	Millat Camp, Mirpur-11	244	1,376
14	WAPDA Building/Concerned Camp, Mirpur-11	580	3,130
15	Rahmat Camp, Mirpur-11	211	1,129
16	Millat School Camp, Mirpur-11	614	3,158
17	Irani/Talab Camp, Mirpur-11	263	1,530
18	Mirpur Camp(Block B, C, D)Mirpur- 11	600	3,395
19	Shaheen School Camp, Mirpur-11	365	2,392
20	M, S,G, Camp, Mirpur-11	203	1,140
21	Football Ground Camp, Mirpur-11	559	3,014
22	Post Office Camp, Mirpur-11	229	1,333
23	Hut Relief Camp, Mirpur-11	318	1,758
24	Madrasa Camp, Mirpur-11	290	1,562

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25	Rabita Camp, Mirpur-11	43	178
26	B.L.S School Camp, Mirpur-11	84	453
27	Adamjinagar/Shimulpara Camp, Narayangonj.	1096	5,341
28	Rali Bagan Camp, Narayangonj.	172	825
29	David and K W T Camp, Narayangonj.	186	1,136
30	Mirpur Camp, Mirpur-12	531	3,227
31	Kurmitola Camp, Mirpur-12	774	4,068
32	School Camp, Mirpur-12	115	651
33	Medical Camp, Mirpur-12	158	994
34	Mirpur Block C. D.E, Camp, Mirpur-12	545	3,408
35	Bogra Camp	899	5,381
36	Gaibandha Camp	129	786
37	Faridpur Camp	104	555
38	Rajbari Camp	53	287
39	New Town, Jessore	142	827
40	Burandipara, Jessore	130	739
41	Azimabad Colony, Begpara, Jessore	238	1,372
42	N.S. Town, Jessore	98	567
43	Rail Gate Bus Stand, Jessore	79	381
44	Ram Nagar, Jessore	56	322
45	Bak Char, Jessore	51	269
46	Outside Camp, Jessore	142	737
47	Baijpara, Noldanga, Jessore	56	322
48	Dinajpur Camp	1535	9,827
49	Rangpur Camp	2519	15,112
50	Syedpur Camp	8873	60,155
51	Rail Colony, Rajshahi	570	3,009
52	Sagarpara, Rajshahi	614	3,798
53	Mymensingh Camp	435	2,576

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54	Halisahar Camp, Chittagong	430	2,583
55	Raufabad Camp, Chittagong	342	2,245
56	Firoz Shah Camp, Chittagong	293	1,771
57	Islamia School Camp/Sher Shah Colony, Chittagong	375	2,694
58	S. B. Nagar Camp, Chittagong	1219	7,996
59	Fateh Mohammedpur Camp, Ishurdi	189	1,057
60	Badha Nath Camp, Ishurdi	293	1,579
61	Zone, C and D Camp, Ishurdi	216	1,193
62	Loco Colony Camp, Ishurdi	684	3,729
63	Khulna Camp	1017	5,843
64	Gila Tala Camp, Khulna	129	584
65	Daulatpur Quarter/Khalishpur	272	1,333
66	Old/New Housing Estate Khalishpur, Khulna	1604	8,197
67	Camp No. 1,3 and 7 Khalishpur, Khulna	452	2,313
68	Outside Camp, Dhaka	1214	7,764
69	Dewanganj Camp, Jamalpur	110	583
70	Thakurgaon/ Parbotipur/Nilphamari Camp.	278	1,644
Total		40,208	2,37,440

Population inside camp= 126,248

Population outside camp= 111,182

Source: Joint Survey of Rabital al Alam al Islam, Pakistan Embassy and SPGRC (1993).

Appendix Four: Sampling Sheet

Sampling Sheet for this Study						
(the highlighted numbers below are the sampled household for this study)						
(Based on Community Series Dhaka, 2011, BBS, Population Census 2011)						
1	601	1201	1801	2401	3001	3601
2	602	1202	1802	2402	3002	3602
3	603	1203	1803	2403	3003	3603
4	604	1204	1804	2404	3004	3604
5	605	1205	1805	2405	3005	3605
6	606	1206	1806	2406	3006	3606
7	607	1207	1807	2407	3007	3607
8	608	1208	1808	2408	3008	3608
9	609	1209	1809	2409	3009	3609
10	610	1210	1810	2410	3010	3610
11	611	1211	1811	2411	3011	3611
12	612	1212	1812	2412	3012	3612
13	613	1213	1813	2413	3013	3613
14	614	1214	1814	2414	3014	3614
15	615	1215	1815	2415	3015	3615
16	616	1216	1816	2416	3016	3616
17	617	1217	1817	2417	3017	3617
18	618	1218	1818	2418	3018	3618
19	619	1219	1819	2419	3019	3619
20	620	1220	1820	2420	3020	3620
21	621	1221	1821	2421	3021	3621
22	622	1222	1822	2422	3022	3622
23	623	1223	1823	2423	3023	3623
24	624	1224	1824	2424	3024	3624
25	625	1225	1825	2425	3025	3625
26	626	1226	1826	2426	3026	3626
27	627	1227	1827	2427	3027	3627

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28	628	1228	1828	2428	3028	3628
29	629	1229	1829	2429	3029	3629
30	630	1230	1830	2430	3030	3630
31	631	1231	1831	2431	3031	3631
32	632	1232	1832	2432	3032	3632
33	633	1233	1833	2433	3033	3633
34	634	1234	1834	2434	3034	3634
35	635	1235	1835	2435	3035	3635
36	636	1236	1836	2436	3036	3636
37	637	1237	1837	2437	3037	3637
38	638	1238	1838	2438	3038	3638
39	639	1239	1839	2439	3039	3639
40	640	1240	1840	2440	3040	3640
41	641	1241	1841	2441	3041	3641
42	642	1242	1842	2442	3042	3642
43	643	1243	1843	2443	3043	3643
44	644	1244	1844	2444	3044	3644
45	645	1245	1845	2445	3045	3645
46	646	1246	1846	2446	3046	3646
47	647	1247	1847	2447	3047	3647
48	648	1248	1848	2448	3048	3648
49	649	1249	1849	2449	3049	3649
50	650	1250	1850	2450	3050	3650
51	651	1251	1851	2451	3051	3651
52	652	1252	1852	2452	3052	3652
53	653	1253	1853	2453	3053	3653
54	654	1254	1854	2454	3054	3654
55	655	1255	1855	2455	3055	3655
56	656	1256	1856	2456	3056	3656
57	657	1257	1857	2457	3057	3657
58	658	1258	1858	2458	3058	3658
59	659	1259	1859	2459	3059	3659

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60	660	1260	1860	2460	3060	3660
61	661	1261	1861	2461	3061	3661
62	662	1262	1862	2462	3062	3662
63	663	1263	1863	2463	3063	3663
64	664	1264	1864	2464	3064	3664
65	665	1265	1865	2465	3065	3665
66	666	1266	1866	2466	3066	3666
67	667	1267	1867	2467	3067	3667
68	668	1268	1868	2468	3068	3668
69	669	1269	1869	2469	3069	3669
70	670	1270	1870	2470	3070	3670
71	671	1271	1871	2471	3071	3671
72	672	1272	1872	2472	3072	3672
73	673	1273	1873	2473	3073	3673
74	674	1274	1874	2474	3074	3674
75	675	1275	1875	2475	3075	3675
76	676	1276	1876	2476	3076	3676
77	677	1277	1877	2477	3077	3677
78	678	1278	1878	2478	3078	3678
79	679	1279	1879	2479	3079	3679
80	680	1280	1880	2480	3080	3680
81	681	1281	1881	2481	3081	3681
82	682	1282	1882	2482	3082	3682
83	683	1283	1883	2483	3083	3683
84	684	1284	1884	2484	3084	3684
85	685	1285	1885	2485	3085	3685
86	686	1286	1886	2486	3086	3686
87	687	1287	1887	2487	3087	3687
88	688	1288	1888	2488	3088	3688
89	689	1289	1889	2489	3089	3689
90	690	1290	1890	2490	3090	3690
91	691	1291	1891	2491	3091	3691

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92	692	1292	1892	2492	3092	3692
93	693	1293	1893	2493	3093	3693
94	694	1294	1894	2494	3094	3694
95	695	1295	1895	2495	3095	3695
96	696	1296	1896	2496	3096	3696
97	697	1297	1897	2497	3097	3697
98	698	1298	1898	2498	3098	3698
99	699	1299	1899	2499	3099	3699
100	700	1300	1900	2500	3100	3700
101	701	1301	1901	2501	3101	3701
102	702	1302	1902	2502	3102	3702
103	703	1303	1903	2503	3103	3703
104	704	1304	1904	2504	3104	3704
105	705	1305	1905	2505	3105	3705
106	706	1306	1906	2506	3106	3706
107	707	1307	1907	2507	3107	3707
108	708	1308	1908	2508	3108	3708
109	709	1309	1909	2509	3109	3709
110	710	1310	1910	2510	3110	3710
111	711	1311	1911	2511	3111	3711
112	712	1312	1912	2512	3112	3712
113	713	1313	1913	2513	3113	3713
114	714	1314	1914	2514	3114	3714
115	715	1315	1915	2515	3115	3715
116	716	1316	1916	2516	3116	3716
117	717	1317	1917	2517	3117	3717
118	718	1318	1918	2518	3118	3718
119	719	1319	1919	2519	3119	3719
120	720	1320	1920	2520	3120	3720
121	721	1321	1921	2521	3121	3721
122	722	1322	1922	2522	3122	3722
123	723	1323	1923	2523	3123	3723

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124	724	1324	1924	2524	3124	3724
125	725	1325	1925	2525	3125	3725
126	726	1326	1926	2526	3126	3726
127	727	1327	1927	2527	3127	3727
128	728	1328	1928	2528	3128	3728
129	729	1329	1929	2529	3129	3729
130	730	1330	1930	2530	3130	3730
131	731	1331	1931	2531	3131	3731
132	732	1332	1932	2532	3132	3732
133	733	1333	1933	2533	3133	3733
134	734	1334	1934	2534	3134	3734
135	735	1335	1935	2535	3135	3735
136	736	1336	1936	2536	3136	3736
137	737	1337	1937	2537	3137	3737
138	738	1338	1938	2538	3138	3738
139	739	1339	1939	2539	3139	3739
140	740	1340	1940	2540	3140	3740
141	741	1341	1941	2541	3141	3741
142	742	1342	1942	2542	3142	3742
143	743	1343	1943	2543	3143	3743
144	744	1344	1944	2544	3144	3744
145	745	1345	1945	2545	3145	3745
146	746	1346	1946	2546	3146	3746
147	747	1347	1947	2547	3147	3747
148	748	1348	1948	2548	3148	3748
149	749	1349	1949	2549	3149	3749
150	750	1350	1950	2550	3150	3750
151	751	1351	1951	2551	3151	3751
152	752	1352	1952	2552	3152	3752
153	753	1353	1953	2553	3153	3753
154	754	1354	1954	2554	3154	3754
155	755	1355	1955	2555	3155	3755

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156	756	1356	1956	2556	3156	3756
157	757	1357	1957	2557	3157	3757
158	758	1358	1958	2558	3158	3758
159	759	1359	1959	2559	3159	3759
160	760	1360	1960	2560	3160	3760
161	761	1361	1961	2561	3161	3761
162	762	1362	1962	2562	3162	3762
163	763	1363	1963	2563	3163	3763
164	764	1364	1964	2564	3164	3764
165	765	1365	1965	2565	3165	3765
166	766	1366	1966	2566	3166	3766
167	767	1367	1967	2567	3167	3767
168	768	1368	1968	2568	3168	3768
169	769	1369	1969	2569	3169	3769
170	770	1370	1970	2570	3170	3770
171	771	1371	1971	2571	3171	3771
172	772	1372	1972	2572	3172	3772
173	773	1373	1973	2573	3173	3773
174	774	1374	1974	2574	3174	3774
175	775	1375	1975	2575	3175	3775
176	776	1376	1976	2576	3176	3776
177	777	1377	1977	2577	3177	3777
178	778	1378	1978	2578	3178	3778
179	779	1379	1979	2579	3179	3779
180	780	1380	1980	2580	3180	3780
181	781	1381	1981	2581	3181	3781
182	782	1382	1982	2582	3182	3782
183	783	1383	1983	2583	3183	3783
184	784	1384	1984	2584	3184	3784
185	785	1385	1985	2585	3185	3785
186	786	1386	1986	2586	3186	3786
187	787	1387	1987	2587	3187	3787

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188	788	1388	1988	2588	3188	3788
189	789	1389	1989	2589	3189	3789
190	790	1390	1990	2590	3190	3790
191	791	1391	1991	2591	3191	3791
192	792	1392	1992	2592	3192	3792
193	793	1393	1993	2593	3193	3793
194	794	1394	1994	2594	3194	3794
195	795	1395	1995	2595	3195	3795
196	796	1396	1996	2596	3196	3796
197	797	1397	1997	2597	3197	3797
198	798	1398	1998	2598	3198	3798
199	799	1399	1999	2599	3199	3799
200	800	1400	2000	2600	3200	3800
201	801	1401	2001	2601	3201	3801
202	802	1402	2002	2602	3202	3802
203	803	1403	2003	2603	3203	3803
204	804	1404	2004	2604	3204	3804
205	805	1405	2005	2605	3205	3805
206	806	1406	2006	2606	3206	3806
207	807	1407	2007	2607	3207	3807
208	808	1408	2008	2608	3208	3808
209	809	1409	2009	2609	3209	3809
210	810	1410	2010	2610	3210	3810
211	811	1411	2011	2611	3211	3811
212	812	1412	2012	2612	3212	3812
213	813	1413	2013	2613	3213	3813
214	814	1414	2014	2614	3214	3814
215	815	1415	2015	2615	3215	3815
216	816	1416	2016	2616	3216	3816
217	817	1417	2017	2617	3217	3817
218	818	1418	2018	2618	3218	3818
219	819	1419	2019	2619	3219	3819

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220	820	1420	2020	2620	3220	3820
221	821	1421	2021	2621	3221	3821
222	822	1422	2022	2622	3222	3822
223	823	1423	2023	2623	3223	3823
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225	825	1425	2025	2625	3225	3825
226	826	1426	2026	2626	3226	3826
227	827	1427	2027	2627	3227	3827
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229	829	1429	2029	2629	3229	3829
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231	831	1431	2031	2631	3231	3831
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239	839	1439	2039	2639	3239	3839
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241	841	1441	2041	2641	3241	3841
242	842	1442	2042	2642	3242	3842
243	843	1443	2043	2643	3243	3843
244	844	1444	2044	2644	3244	3844
245	845	1445	2045	2645	3245	3845
246	846	1446	2046	2646	3246	3846
247	847	1447	2047	2647	3247	3847
248	848	1448	2048	2648	3248	3848
249	849	1449	2049	2649	3249	3849
250	850	1450	2050	2650	3250	3850
251	851	1451	2051	2651	3251	3851

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253	853	1453	2053	2653	3253	3853
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255	855	1455	2055	2655	3255	3855
256	856	1456	2056	2656	3256	3856
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259	859	1459	2059	2659	3259	3859
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265	865	1465	2065	2665	3265	3865
266	866	1466	2066	2666	3266	3866
267	867	1467	2067	2667	3267	3867
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269	869	1469	2069	2669	3269	3869
270	870	1470	2070	2670	3270	3870
271	871	1471	2071	2671	3271	3871
272	872	1472	2072	2672	3272	3872
273	873	1473	2073	2673	3273	3873
274	874	1474	2074	2674	3274	3874
275	875	1475	2075	2675	3275	3875
276	876	1476	2076	2676	3276	3876
277	877	1477	2077	2677	3277	3877
278	878	1478	2078	2678	3278	3878
279	879	1479	2079	2679	3279	3879
280	880	1480	2080	2680	3280	3880
281	881	1481	2081	2681	3281	3881
282	882	1482	2082	2682	3282	3882
283	883	1483	2083	2683	3283	3883

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284	884	1484	2084	2684	3284	3884
285	885	1485	2085	2685	3285	3885
286	886	1486	2086	2686	3286	3886
287	887	1487	2087	2687	3287	3887
288	888	1488	2088	2688	3288	3888
289	889	1489	2089	2689	3289	3889
290	890	1490	2090	2690	3290	3890
291	891	1491	2091	2691	3291	3891
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293	893	1493	2093	2693	3293	3893
294	894	1494	2094	2694	3294	3894
295	895	1495	2095	2695	3295	3895
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298	898	1498	2098	2698	3298	3898
299	899	1499	2099	2699	3299	3899
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303	903	1503	2103	2703	3303	3903
304	904	1504	2104	2704	3304	3904
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307	907	1507	2107	2707	3307	3907
308	908	1508	2108	2708	3308	3908
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310	910	1510	2110	2710	3310	3910
311	911	1511	2111	2711	3311	3911
312	912	1512	2112	2712	3312	3912
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314	914	1514	2114	2714	3314	3914
315	915	1515	2115	2715	3315	3915

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316	916	1516	2116	2716	3316	3916
317	917	1517	2117	2717	3317	3917
318	918	1518	2118	2718	3318	3918
319	919	1519	2119	2719	3319	3919
320	920	1520	2120	2720	3320	3920
321	921	1521	2121	2721	3321	3921
322	922	1522	2122	2722	3322	3922
323	923	1523	2123	2723	3323	3923
324	924	1524	2124	2724	3324	3924
325	925	1525	2125	2725	3325	3925
326	926	1526	2126	2726	3326	3926
327	927	1527	2127	2727	3327	3927
328	928	1528	2128	2728	3328	3928
329	929	1529	2129	2729	3329	3929
330	930	1530	2130	2730	3330	3930
331	931	1531	2131	2731	3331	3931
332	932	1532	2132	2732	3332	3932
333	933	1533	2133	2733	3333	3933
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335	935	1535	2135	2735	3335	3935
336	936	1536	2136	2736	3336	3936
337	937	1537	2137	2737	3337	3937
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339	939	1539	2139	2739	3339	3939
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342	942	1542	2142	2742	3342	3942
343	943	1543	2143	2743	3343	3943
344	944	1544	2144	2744	3344	3944
345	945	1545	2145	2745	3345	3945
346	946	1546	2146	2746	3346	3946
347	947	1547	2147	2747	3347	3947

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352	952	1552	2152	2752	3352	3952
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355	955	1555	2155	2755	3355	3955
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358	958	1558	2158	2758	3358	3958
359	959	1559	2159	2759	3359	3959
360	960	1560	2160	2760	3360	3960
361	961	1561	2161	2761	3361	3961
362	962	1562	2162	2762	3362	3962
363	963	1563	2163	2763	3363	3963
364	964	1564	2164	2764	3364	3964
365	965	1565	2165	2765	3365	3965
366	966	1566	2166	2766	3366	3966
367	967	1567	2167	2767	3367	3967
368	968	1568	2168	2768	3368	3968
369	969	1569	2169	2769	3369	3969
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371	971	1571	2171	2771	3371	3971
372	972	1572	2172	2772	3372	3972
373	973	1573	2173	2773	3373	3973
374	974	1574	2174	2774	3374	3974
375	975	1575	2175	2775	3375	3975
376	976	1576	2176	2776	3376	3976
377	977	1577	2177	2777	3377	3977
378	978	1578	2178	2778	3378	3978
379	979	1579	2179	2779	3379	3979

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380	980	1580	2180	2780	3380	3980
381	981	1581	2181	2781	3381	3981
382	982	1582	2182	2782	3382	3982
383	983	1583	2183	2783	3383	3983
384	984	1584	2184	2784	3384	3984
385	985	1585	2185	2785	3385	3985
386	986	1586	2186	2786	3386	3986
387	987	1587	2187	2787	3387	3987
388	988	1588	2188	2788	3388	3988
389	989	1589	2189	2789	3389	3989
390	990	1590	2190	2790	3390	3990
391	991	1591	2191	2791	3391	3991
392	992	1592	2192	2792	3392	3992
393	993	1593	2193	2793	3393	3993
394	994	1594	2194	2794	3394	3994
395	995	1595	2195	2795	3395	3995
396	996	1596	2196	2796	3396	3996
397	997	1597	2197	2797	3397	3997
398	998	1598	2198	2798	3398	3998
399	999	1599	2199	2799	3399	3999
400	1000	1600	2200	2800	3400	4000
401	1001	1601	2201	2801	3401	4001
402	1002	1602	2202	2802	3402	4002
403	1003	1603	2203	2803	3403	4003
404	1004	1604	2204	2804	3404	4004
405	1005	1605	2205	2805	3405	4005
406	1006	1606	2206	2806	3406	4006
407	1007	1607	2207	2807	3407	4007
408	1008	1608	2208	2808	3408	4008
409	1009	1609	2209	2809	3409	4009
410	1010	1610	2210	2810	3410	4010
411	1011	1611	2211	2811	3411	4011

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412	1012	1612	2212	2812	3412	4012
413	1013	1613	2213	2813	3413	4013
414	1014	1614	2214	2814	3414	4014
415	1015	1615	2215	2815	3415	4015
416	1016	1616	2216	2816	3416	4016
417	1017	1617	2217	2817	3417	4017
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419	1019	1619	2219	2819	3419	4019
420	1020	1620	2220	2820	3420	4020
421	1021	1621	2221	2821	3421	4021
422	1022	1622	2222	2822	3422	4022
423	1023	1623	2223	2823	3423	4023
424	1024	1624	2224	2824	3424	4024
425	1025	1625	2225	2825	3425	4025
426	1026	1626	2226	2826	3426	4026
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437	1037	1637	2237	2837	3437	4037
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439	1039	1639	2239	2839	3439	4039
440	1040	1640	2240	2840	3440	4040
441	1041	1641	2241	2841	3441	4041
442	1042	1642	2242	2842	3442	4042
443	1043	1643	2243	2843	3443	4043

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444	1044	1644	2244	2844	3444	4044
445	1045	1645	2245	2845	3445	4045
446	1046	1646	2246	2846	3446	4046
447	1047	1647	2247	2847	3447	4047
448	1048	1648	2248	2848	3448	4048
449	1049	1649	2249	2849	3449	4049
450	1050	1650	2250	2850	3450	4050
451	1051	1651	2251	2851	3451	4051
452	1052	1652	2252	2852	3452	4052
453	1053	1653	2253	2853	3453	4053
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455	1055	1655	2255	2855	3455	4055
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459	1059	1659	2259	2859	3459	4059
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471	1071	1671	2271	2871	3471	4071
472	1072	1672	2272	2872	3472	4072
473	1073	1673	2273	2873	3473	4073
474	1074	1674	2274	2874	3474	4074
475	1075	1675	2275	2875	3475	4075

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511	1111	1711	2311	2911	3511
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520	1120	1720	2320	2920	3520
521	1121	1721	2321	2921	3521
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526	1126	1726	2326	2926	3526
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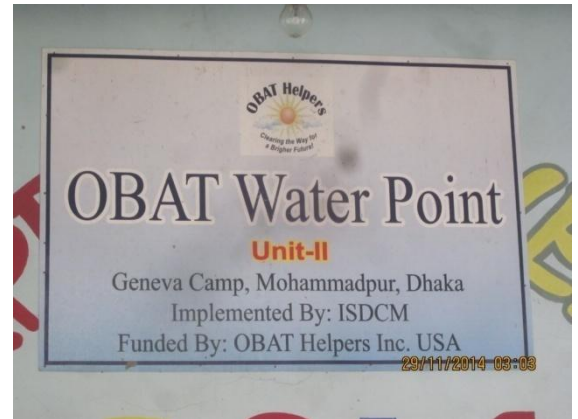
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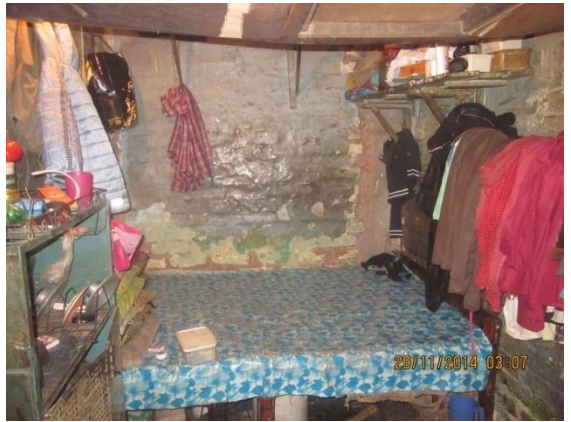
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587	1187	1787	2387	2987	3587
588	1188	1788	2388	2988	3588
589	1189	1789	2389	2989	3589
590	1190	1790	2390	2990	3590
591	1191	1791	2391	2991	3591
592	1192	1792	2392	2992	3592
593	1193	1793	2393	2993	3593
594	1194	1794	2394	2994	3594
595	1195	1795	2395	2995	3595
596	1196	1796	2396	2996	3596
597	1197	1797	2397	2997	3597
598	1198	1798	2398	2998	3598
599	1199	1799	2399	2999	3599
600	1200	1800	2400	3000	3600

Appendix Five: Photographs of the Study Area (in Geneva Camp, Dhaka), 2014









Teachers' Attendance		Students' Attendance			
Date	Class	1st Shift (08:00-10:30)	2nd Shift (11:00-13:30)	Total	Remarks
29/11/2014	PRE A	26	21+23	47	
29/11/2014	PRE B	14	14+15	29	
29/11/2014	PRE C	15	14+15	30	
29/11/2014	PRE D	10	14+15	25	
29/11/2014	PRE E	18	14+15	33	
29/11/2014	PRE F	15	14+15	30	
29/11/2014	PRE G	18	14+15	33	
29/11/2014	PRE H	15	14+15	30	
29/11/2014	PRE I	18	14+15	33	
29/11/2014	PRE J	15	14+15	30	
29/11/2014	PRE K	18	14+15	33	
29/11/2014	PRE L	15	14+15	30	
29/11/2014	PRE M	18	14+15	33	
29/11/2014	PRE N	15	14+15	30	
29/11/2014	PRE O	18	14+15	33	
29/11/2014	PRE P	15	14+15	30	
29/11/2014	PRE Q	18	14+15	33	
29/11/2014	PRE R	15	14+15	30	
29/11/2014	PRE S	18	14+15	33	
29/11/2014	PRE T	15	14+15	30	
29/11/2014	PRE U	18	14+15	33	
29/11/2014	PRE V	15	14+15	30	
29/11/2014	PRE W	18	14+15	33	
29/11/2014	PRE X	15	14+15	30	
29/11/2014	PRE Y	18	14+15	33	
29/11/2014	PRE Z	15	14+15	30	



