

Ethnicity Based Social Exclusion of Nomads in Khyber District Malakand, Pakhtunkhwa-Pakistan

Muhammad Suliman, Mussawar Shah¹, Asad Ullah and Humera Jamal
The University of Agriculture, Peshawar, Pakistan

This study aims at finding the links of ethnicity factors in social exclusion of nomads. The study nature was descriptive with main focus on to measure the association of ethnicity with social exclusion. The study notes the ethnic inequality within institutional rules, social attitudes and general practices and its contribution to social exclusion of nomadic communities. Social exclusion occurs because of numerous factors beyond individual or groups control, such as, religion, ethnicity, color, clan etc. It is multi-dimensional in nature, thus one factor, like ethnicity followed by unemployment, illiteracy, housing problems and lack of access to health care leads to social exclusion. This paper explores the contribution of ethnic affiliations' contribution in shaping exclusionary processes of nomads', with special focus on their relationship with the groups representing a dominant ethnic characteristic. The study was conducted during the year 2015 in Tehsil Dargai, District Malakand. A sample size of 97 respondents out of population of 130 was selected through random sampling procedure. Using a five level Likert scale collected the data. Chi square test was used to ascertain the association between ethnicity based deprivations and social exclusion among nomads. At bivariate level, social exclusion of nomads was found significantly associated with the stereotype perceptions of the people about nomadic way of life ($P = 0.001$) and the way policies are devised in our country ($P = 0.004$). Devising such policies that ensure special facilities to nomads and ensure their access to basic life facilities and public awareness to overcome the prejudices regarding nomadic way of life were major study recommendations.

Keywords: Nomads, Social Exclusion, Ethnicity, Marginalization and Inequality

Introduction

Nomad is a member of some specific community that does not have a permanent residence, is on move and lives in different locations. The nomadic lifestyle varies greatly based on interaction with the environment. The nomads generally are classified as hunter-gatherers, pastoral and peripatetic nomads. It is estimated that total population of nomads lie in the range of 30-40 million. Seasonal bounty of plants and animals is the major cause of migratory life style of nomads. Usually large herds are raised by these nomads and driven in search of finding and utilizing grazing lands. Most nomads travel in groups of families called bands or tribes. These groups are based on kinship and marriage ties or on formal agreements of cooperation. A council of adult males makes most of the decisions, though some tribes have chiefs. In their seasonal search of forage the nomads generally live a short period of sedentary life with settled sedentary communities. The short pause in life on move is a sort of commensalism between nomads and sedentary communities benefitting both sides. Legally nomads do not have place for housing or accommodation, which reflect their exclusion in this regard. "Poor quality or inappropriate accommodation, including as a result of forced movement, inevitably exacerbates existing health conditions as well as leading to new problems" (Van Cleemput, 2008, p.9). Higher infection rates have been reported, linked to poor sanitation and poor access to clean water among nomadic communities, particularly on roadsides (Zeidan, 1995; Niner, 2004; Neligan, 1993).

History shows that nomads have been present since twelfth century and remained minority. The distinct lifestyle of nomads is a source of their integration; however, they are recognized as distinct out group by the communities where they take a pause in their mobile life. There are several myths and stereotypes developed regarding nomads and their way of life that most often are prejudice and push them towards marginality. The mobile way of life of nomads is believed to restrict their abilities to learn antiquates required for sedentary life. Moreover, they face discriminations in access to socio-economic facilities provided by government due to their lifestyle and their subsequent social exclusion. Numerous initiatives have been taken for the inclusion of various ethnic groups and settled population, but traditional inequalities and hostile relations between these groups restrain its goals. The application of race towards ethnically marginalized groups is now abstract, less frequently spoken and widely seen

¹ Correspondence author's email: dr.mussawarshah@aup.edu.pk

as unacceptable. However, within nomads is still common, as well as seen justified. They are ignored in services provisions; employment, education, political, potable water, suitable accommodation etc. However, nomadic groups have experienced such antagonism for centuries, and are still continues in the present day are very much shameful for those who claimed emerging economic boom, modernity and the philosophy of equity and equality. Numerous inequalities nomads facing now a days are relative to their ethnic background on nomadic lifestyle. For instance, the issues in relation to gender, disability, age, religion and sexual orientations are mingled with other wider inequalities they face in their daily life (Cemlyn, Greenfields, Burnett, Matthews, & Whitwell, 2009).

All abstract minorities, such as ethnic groups have been found subjects of exclusion through low level of involvement in labor market, obstructive policies of accommodation and employment, obstacles in political involvement, harsh ownership rules and regulations, as well as lack of access in availing public services and amenities of life. Different modes of subsistence were found among ethnic minority groups and worked as a contributing factor for social exclusion. These three broad categories of subsistence are: agricultural, nomadic pastoralism and nomadic hunting and gathering. Each category negatively perceives the others, for instance the stigma and stereotype attitudes attached to hunting and gathering by others in their society place them at the bottom of social hierarchy, even if they have changed their modes of earning. In Vietnam, for instance ethnic minorities make up around 10% of the population and are usually living in remote, unplanned tough mountainous areas with huge obstacles in accessing the services and infrastructure of society. These groups are nomadic or seminomadic in their ways of life. For instance, in India, ethnic groups are homogeneous, and are or were isolated from the rest of society, not only based on their ways of life, but their accommodation on remote areas, and nomadism were highly contributed. Ethno-territorial forms of belonging have provided the basis for inclusion and exclusion in the contemporary African state, in many ways that have shaped access to critical resources such as land. This has been called for civil conflict, and processes of chronic impoverishment (Gradstein & Schiff, 2006; Kabeer, 1994; Mamdani, 1996).

Nomads are found in trouble by neighbors, following poor quality housing. Their children experience negative self-image and fear of revealing their ethnicity due to the regularity of racist abuse. The Ormiston Trust's Children Voices research found that those who are living in houses feeling lack of safety to racism from their neighbors. Numerous studies revealed that nomads fear of prejudice or hostility from healthcare officials have huge impact on accessing or utilizing services. However, experiencing discrimination and racism contribute to their sense of devalued identity as well as feeling of shame and humiliation, thus leads to their social exclusion. In fact the greater amount of health services are available to whole society, but nomads exhibit less access to these facilities than other members of the population (Henriques, 2001; Honer&Hoppie, 2004; Thomason, 2006; Van et al, 2007; Greenfields, 2008).

Social exclusion in Pakistan has various grounds, which are found in many groups. These are occupational (including bonded labor), class, caste, ethnicity, gender, religious minorities and disable of the society. Nomads' encampments usually take place in underprivileged areas where provision of services and other supplies are very hard (Hooper & Hamid, 2003). Nomads are marginalized citizens, because they don't possess any kind of material assets, like land for permanent residence, haven't access to information, having outdated skills, being uneducated and having lack of dignity (Berland, 2003; Dutt& Rajesh, 2004). According to Hickey and Bracking (2005) the political facets of social exclusion include the denial of political rights, restricted political membership, not having personal security and freedom of expression in the society they live. Netto (2006) elaborated that members of all ethnic groups are at increased risk of homelessness. Dyer and Choksi (2006) observed that globally nomadic groups are found alienated, marginalized as well as considered now a day as threat to the current orders and pattern. They are lacking legal documents, thus are easily entrapped by modern rules of the states.

Ethno-religious bifurcations of society create different strata's or groups. This division benefit the majority and policies are devised only for their interest protection, directly or indirectly push the marginalized and vulnerable people toward inequality and social exclusion. This shows that how dominant groups create structural barriers for other minorities having different ethnic background. For example, in Sumalia ethnic minorities are at a particular disadvantage comparing to the majority clans. This is because member of majority clans enjoying huge network of support provided to them, while other minorities as a result are subject to political, economic, social and judicial discriminations. Indigenous and pastoralists peoples are facing discrimination on the basis of their minority states. Women particularly of these communities fail to access health services either due to lack of availability or harsh attitudes of health workers. They often lack a voice and this is manifested in a different ways. They do not have elected representatives in states decision making and governing bodies, who fight and claim their privileges. No voice, and consciousness will leads to no changes made for addressing

the issue of women dying during pregnancy or immediately after child birth (Longhiet *al* (2009); Dodgeon, 2013).

Ethnic minorities had shown lowest level of civil registration, which is a precondition for other constitutional rights. The African and South Asian, countries have not yet developed an effective system for the registration of minorities groups, which resist their access to avail property rights, social services and access to jobs. Nomads, as an ethnic groups have low access to identity cards, still the subject of much debate all over the world. The existence of social and cultural norms that create persistent relations of power and subjugate on the basis of ethnicity, disability, class and gender is a challenge for planners and state officials to prepare policies based on equality and equity (Bequele, 2005; Ramakumar, 2010; Green, 2013). The study of Judge, P. S. (2014) shows the contribution of class, caste, ethnicity, religion, language, geographical location and disability as a foundational stones for structuring society either exclusive or inclusive for individual and groups. ***

Methodology

Research Design

The study was cross sectional in nature. A cross-sectional study is a descriptive study in which exposure statuses are measured simultaneously in a given population. This study type can be thought of as providing a "snapshot" of the frequency and characteristics of a phenomenon in a population at a particular point in time (Sekaran, 2003).

Sampling

The universe of the study was Tehsil Dargai (District Malakand). Tehsil dargai consists of eleven (11) union councils. The researchers randomly choose four union councils among the total (Table 1). The study was about social exclusion of nomads, with relation to their ethnic marginality, therefore, the researcher opted Chungarr or Churigar nomads as respondents for the study concerned because of feasibility and accessibility. Degraft Johnson (1979) mentioned numerous approaches, addressing the issues of sampling nomadic populations. Camp approach for sampling was used in this study. In this approach a sample of nomads were selected randomly from the list of camps through proportionate allocation method. A pilot study was conducted with the aim to know that how many households are currently abided in the targeted union councils. During the pilot survey 65 household (tents) were found in the targeted union councils. So, the researchers' have selected two respondents from each tent residing within the study area. The researchers affirmed to take two members from each tent among the total (65). By this technique, the total population of the respondents reached up to 130. A sample of 97 was sufficient for a population of 130 as per criteria devised by Sekaran (2003). The respondents were proportionally allocated to four union councils and selected through lottery method of simple random sampling. Proportional allocation formula is mentioned below.

$$n_1 = n \cdot N_1 / N$$

n_1 = sample size required from strata

n = total sample size

N = total population

N_1 = population of each strata

Table 1:
Population and Sample Size

S.No.	UCs Name	Total Population	Sample Size
1	Meherdi UC	10	97×10÷130= 8
2	Sakhakot UC	32	97×32÷130= 24
3	Dargai UC	34	97×34÷130=25
4	Herosha UC	54	97×54÷130= 40
Total		130	97

Tools of Data Collection

The interview schedule was used as a tool of data collection in this study. The researcher choose interview schedule suitable because the respondents were illiterate. The interview schedule was pretested and addition and deletion were made accordingly.

Data Analysis

The Collected data was analyzed through SPSS, and results were interpreted into frequency and percentages. Moreover, the effects of independent variable on the dependent variable was find out with Chi-Square test.

The following formula visualized in the research was adopted:

$$\chi^2 = \sum_{i=1}^r \sum_{j=1}^c \frac{(O_{ij} - e_{ij})^2}{e_{ij}}$$

Where

χ^2 =Chi-square for two categorical variable

$\sum_{i=1}^r \square =$ Total of ith row

$\sum_{j=1}^c \square =$ Total of ith Colum

O_{ij} and e_{ij} = represent the observation and expected value shown

Conceptual Frame Work

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable
Ethnic Marginality	Social Exclusion

Results and Discussions

The univariate analysis of the independent variable i.e. ethnicity based discrimination has been explained. While bivariate analysis of the dependent and independent variable with its cross tabulation has been elucidated through the application of a chi-square test (X^2) with the aim to find out the association of both categorical variables respectively.

Ethnicity based discrimination

There is complex relationship between ethnicity and social exclusion. In this regard, few statement were carefully developed for assessment of that relationship. Respondent’s attitudes are mentioned in the table 2.

It can be seen that majority of the respondents i.e. (78.4) percent agreed that ethnic differentiation is a leading factor for marginalization of minority groups within society while 18.6% of them opposed the statement of the researchers. A study by Van de Walle and Gunewardena (2001) found that differences in per capita expenditure levels between ethnic groups was somewhat a reflection of differences in location, the minorities more likely to be found in less productive areas with difficult physical terrain, poor infrastructure and lower accessibility to market opportunities and off-farm work. Only 3 % of the respondents remained uncertain. Likewise, 87.6% of the respondent among

the total 97 reported that the settled population consider us outsiders or aliens and do not trust for anything until we left for other place. While 11.3% of them were not agree with the statement of the researcher. Stereotype or labeling perception mean calling with the word chungar, churigar etc. also deepens their marginality and this statement was favored by majority of the respondents i.e. 74.2%. Horvath (2012) explain the role of negative perception in formation of group identity. In Hungary, for example, Roma are referred to as 'Gypsy' and this categorization has reinforced their differences in relation to the majority Hungarian population, even though these Gypsies are Hungarian too. Through this elaborate categorization and stereotypes boundaries, an understanding of the settled pattern has been created between Gypsies and 'Hungarians'. This form of living, conspicuously assigned an inferior position to Gypsies. Similarly, 80.4% of the respondent the attitudes full of prejudice and partiality from the side of settled community and state officials not allow us to avail the services prevalent in the area. They claim that when we approach the villagers for drinking water, charity, and food they are taunting and mocking us. State officials also warned us for encampment on government sites, even we assured them with temporary stay or accommodation. While the other 18.6% respondents were disagreed with and claimed that we did not face such kind of resistance anywhere. Besides, 82.5% of the respondents claimed that other people residing near hate us and our ways of life. Women among participants said that the village women do not like us to sit near them at their homes and hate us for our odd smell. They share with the researcher that we have a problem with our ways of life on daily basis, we do not have access to water for bath, if so then the appropriate space for bath is not available in our tent. We want to change this type of life and settle down like other people in dignity. Whereas, 12.4% and 5.2% of them remained disagreed and uncertain respectively. Besides, 89.7% of the respondents agreed with the researcher that due to vast discrimination prevalent in our society resist us to develop our potentialities. We are extremely eager to educate our children, while the teachers do not allow us to admit them in government schools, because they say you will leave this place soon and we are not able to manage this with issuing certificates for two or three even for a month admitted child. So the government should demarcate specific areas to us and also construct schools for our children within that area for the sake of our development and uplifting in society. While the other 8.2% of the respondents disagreed with statement. In addition, 95.9% of the respondents agreed with the researcher that the policies designed on large level are exclusive in nature for nomads, because they do not include specific quotas for them in any sector of society. The provision of jobs needed high level of qualification, while nomads, almost all are uneducated and unskilled. The results are buttressed by the findings of Ngan, L. L.S., & Chan, K.-W. (2013), says that vast discrimination produced by policies and biased practices resist ethnic minority groups to avail labor rights, social participation and civic amenities. Table 1 has focused on the composition of data pertaining to respondents information are shown below;

Table 2:
Perception of the Sampled Respondents about Ethnicity Based Discrimination

S.No.	Statements	Agree	Disagree	Don't Know
1	Ethnic differentiation is a risky factor for marginalization of minority groups within society	76 (78.4%)	18 (18.6%)	3 (3.1%)
2	The settled population considering nomadic communities either alien or strangers	85 (87.6%)	11 (11.3%)	1 (%1.0)
3	stereotype perception of the settled population further deepens their marginality	72 (74.2%)	19 (19.6%)	6 (6.2%)
4	prejudice against nomads from the settled population and state officials resist them to avail the resources and amenities of life	78 (80.4%)	18 (18.6%)	1 (1.0%)
5	structurally devised hatred attitudes and perceptions on large level halt their capabilities development	80 (82.5%)	12 (12.4%)	5 (5.2%)
6	vast discrimination against minority groups resist the development of potentialities and capabilities which are necessary for uplift in society	87 (89.7%)	8 (8.2%)	2 (2.1%)
7	state officials, due to discriminative attitudes devise certain policies which are exclusive in nature for nomadic communities	93 (95.9%)	2 (2.1%)	2 (2.1%)

Values in table present frequency while values in parenthesis represent percentage proportion of respondents.

Association between Ethnicity Based Discrimination and Social Exclusion

Social exclusion is prevalent in Pakistani society in a multidimensional form. Nomads, the vulnerable group in this regard was considered to be socially excluded in this study on the basis of numerous structural and social factors. Therefore, social exclusion was tested via chi square statistics to find out the relationship with other categorical variable ethnicity. So, it can be seen from the table 3 that ethnicity factor was found highly associative with social exclusion i.e. ($P = .000$). On the other hand, the nomads are considered strangers everywhere when they approach the settled population and was also found highly significant ($P = .000$) in relationship with social exclusion. The results of Mamdani (1996) are in line with the results claimed that in South African state ethnicity provide the basis for inclusion and exclusion. Furthermore, a significant ($P = .001$) relationship was found with the stereotype perceptions of the people about nomads and their ways of life. Conversely, a non-significant ($P = .927$) relationship was found between prejudice against nomads from settled population and state officials resist them to avail the necessary resources and amenities of life and social exclusion. So, it is obvious from the fact that the social exclusion of nomads are relational not structural in Pakistani society. Similarly, the idea that large scale structurally devised hatred attitudes resist them to develop productive capabilities also remained non-significant ($P = .677$) with social exclusion. Discrimination was found significant ($P = .002$) with social exclusion and this idea was buttressed by the results of Mohmand (2007) in which he quoted some factors of deprivation like; income, employment, health and disability, education, training and skills, housing, and geographic access to services. Moreover, a significant ($P = .004$) relationship was found between social exclusion and the way policies are devised in our country. The results of (Krätli, 2001) are supported here, because he found that in Iran and Mangolia developmental projects are designed without the proper planning and assessment of nomadic people needs.

Table 3:
Ethnicity based discrimination and social exclusion

S.NO	Attributes	Responses	Social Exclusion		Total	Chi-square
			Agree	Disagree		
1	Ethnic differentiation is a risky factor for marginalization of some groups within society	Agree	74(76.3%)	2(2.1%)	76(78.4%)	$X^2=23.717^a$
		Disagree	16(16.5%)	2(2.1%)	18(18.6%)	
		Don't know	3(3.1%)	0(0.0%)	3(3.1%)	P= .000
2	The settled population considering nomads alien or strangers	Agree	82(84.5%)	3(3.1%)	85(87.6%)	$X^2=23.799^a$
		Disagree	11(11.3%)	0(0.0%)	11(11.3%)	
		Don't know	0(0.0%)	1(1.0%)	1(1.0%)	P=.000
3	Stereotype perception of the community further deepens their marginality	Agree	70(72.2%)	2(2.1%)	72(74.2%)	$X^2=14.095^a$
		Disagree	19(19.6%)	0(0.0%)	19(19.6%)	
		Don't know	4(4.1%)	2(2.1%)	6(6.2%)	P=.001
4	Prejudice against nomads from settled population and state officials resist them to avail the necessary resources and amenities of life	Agree	75(77.3%)	3(3.1%)	78(80.4%)	
		Disagree	17(17.5%)	1(1.0%)	18(18.6%)	$X^2=.152^a$
		Don't know	1(1.0%)	0(0.0%)	1(1.0%)	P=.927
5	Structurally devised hatred attitudes and perceptions on large level halt their capabilities development	Agree	77(79.4%)	3(3.1%)	80(82.5%)	$X^2=.781^a$
		Disagree	11(11.3%)	1(1.0%)	12(12.4%)	
		Don't know	5(5.2%)	0(0.0%)	5(5.2%)	P= .677
6	Vast discrimination against minority groups resist the development of potentialities and capabilities which are necessary for uplift in society	Agree	85(87.6%)	2(2.1%)	87(89.7%)	
		Disagree	7(7.2%)	1(1.0%)	8(8.2%)	$X^2=12.799^a$
		Don't know	1(1.0%)	1(1.0%)	2(2.1%)	P=.002
7	State officials due to their discriminative attitudes devise certain policies which are mostly exclusive in nature for nomads.	Agree	90(92.8%)	3(3.1%)	93(95.9%)	$X^2=10.922^a$
		Disagree	2(2.1%)	0(0.0%)	2(2.1%)	
		Don't know	1(1.0%)	1(1.0%)	2(2.1%)	P=.004

Conclusion and Recommendations

The study found nomadic groups more prone to exclusion within the study area. Their social exclusion was found relative in nature with ethnicity. Ethnicity was measured on the basis of ethnic groups' living standards, occupation and income level. They also experienced lack of employment opportunities, low political participation and high level of illiteracy. They were predominantly found within geographically remote or semi-arid areas. The results revealed they face huge discrimination on the basis of their ethnic marginality. In literature, numerous grounds were mentioned for social exclusion of nomadic communities. For example, McGarry (2008), conducted a study on "political

participation and interest articulation of Roma in Romania” with the aim to find out the factors of these people exclusion from political sphere. His study explore, that ethnic minorities, particularly Roma, mobilization is not enough to overcome the issue of their political exclusion. Rather, he suggests legitimate representation through elite’s interest, ethnic political party and positive role of civil society organizations. Similarly, Langer,, &Ukiwo (2007) results revealed, that how ethnicity and religion create structures and patterns in which people of different ethnic background perceive their identities and state institutions dominancy.

The recent work done by McGarry(2014) on Roma representation in Europe thematically presented here, with the aim to show that nomads are facing numerous problems in their daily life, either in public and legal sphere. His results revealed that, these communities’ representations usually sustained by national governments, majority dwellers of the state, and international organizations. They do not have their own representatives in states machinery, thus needs to raise their voices for challenging negative stereotypes externally, and internally, to raise their consciousness for political participation. Further, the result of Loury (2000) elaborates ethnicity based social exclusion in the United States, showing how ethnicity constrains full participation in economic life. Being ethnically dominant groups were found in high ranked jobs in the United States and vice versa.

Devising such policies that ensure equal participation for each and every member of the society, irrespective of his/her affiliation with ethnic group, religion, organization, tribe, clan, cast etc. were major concerns of this study. Special focus is required to provide equal facilities to nomads and ensure their access to basic life amenities like health, employment, housing and education. Public awareness is crucial to overcome the prejudices regarding nomadic way of life were major study recommendations.

References

- Bequele, A. (2005, September). Universal Birth Registration: The Challenge in Africa, A paper prepared for the Second *Eastern and Southern Africa Conference on Universal Birth Registration*. Mombasa, Kenya.
- Berland. (2003). “Servicing the Ordinary Folk: Peripatetic Peoples and their Niche in southwest Asia” In Rao, A. and Casimir. M. (eds.). *Nomadism in South Asia*, New Delhi, India: Oxford University Press
- DeGraft-Johnson, K.T. (1979). Question/Answer, Survey Statistician, NR. i, International Association of Survey Statisticians, 22-23.
- Dodgeon, S. (2013). *Every Mother Counts: Reporting health data by ethnicity*. United Kingdom: Bondway, Ground Floor. Retrieved from <http://www.healthpovertyaction.org>
- Dutt, B. (2004). “Livelihood Strategies of a Nomadic Hunting Community of Eastern Rajasthan,” *Nomadic Peoples* 8(2)
- Dyer, C. (Ed.). (2006). *The Education of Nomadic Peoples Current Issues Future Perspectives*, Oxford, UK: Berghahn Books.
- Gardner, P. (2003). “Bicultural Oscillation as a Long-term Adaptation to Cultural Frontiers: Cases and Questions,” Rao, A. and Casimir. M. (eds.). *Nomadism in South Asia*, New Delhi, India: Oxford University Press.
- Gradstein, M., & Schiff, M. (2006). The political economy of social exclusion, with implications for immigration policy. *Journal of Population Economics*, 19, 327–344.
<http://doi.org/10.1007/s00148-005-0016-0>
- Green, D. (2013). The Role of the State in Empowering Poor and Excluded Groups and
- Greenfields, M. (2008b). *'A Good Job for a Traveller?' Exploring Gypsies and Travellers' Perceptions of Health and Social Care Careers*. High Wycombe: Buckinghamshire New University / Aim Higher South East.
- Henriques, J. (2001). Hard travelling. *Community Practitioner*, 74 (9), pp. 330-2
- Hickey, S. and Bracking, S. (2005). Exploring the Politics of Chronic Poverty: From representation to a politics of justice? *World Development*, 33(6): 851-865.
- Honer, D. & Hoppie, P. (2004). The enigma of the Gypsy patient. *RN*, 67 (8) pp. 33-6. Available at: <http://rn.modernmedicine.com/rnweb/article/articleDetail.jsp?id=114152>
- Hooper, E. and Hamid, I. (2003). Scoping Study on Social Exclusion in Pakistan: A Summary of Findings, Department for International Development (DFID), London.
- Horvath K. (2012). Silencing and naming the difference. In: Stewart M (ed.) *The Gypsy Menace: Populism and the New Anti-Gypsy Politics*. London, UK: Hurst, 117–135.
- Judge, P. S. (Ed.). (2014). *Mapping Social Exclusion in India*. India: Cambridge University Press.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107296947>
- Kabeer, N. (1994). Social exclusion : concepts , findings and implications for the MDGs, 1–33

- Langer, A., & Ukiwo, U. (2007). Ethnicity, Religion and the State in Ghana and Nigeria: Perceptions from the Street (CRISE Working Paper No. 34). Oxford: Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity.
http://www.geh.ox.ac.uk/publications/wps/wpdetail?jor_id=385
- Longhi, S., Nicoletti, C. and Platt, L. (2009). *Decomposing Wage Gaps across the Pay Distribution: Investigating inequalities of ethno-religious groups and disabled people*. Report commissioned by the National Equality Panel. ISER Working Paper 2009-32. Colchester: Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Essex.
- Loury, G. C. (2000). *Social Exclusion and Ethnic Groups: The Challenge to Economics*. The international bank for reconstruction/ The World Bank.
- Mamdani, M. (1996). *Citizen and Subject*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- McGarry, A. (2008). Political Participation and Interest Articulation of Roma in Romania. *JEMIE by European Centre for Minority Issues*.
- McGarry, A. (2014). Roma as a political identity: Exploring representations of Roma in Europe. *Ethnicities*, 14(6) 756–774. DOI: 10.1177/1468796814542182
- Neligan, D. (1993). *Report of Specialist Health Visitor for Travelling Families May 1990 – November 1992*. Bristol: United Bristol Healthcare NHS Trust.
- Netto, G. (2006). Vulnerability to Homelessness, Use of Services and Homelessness Prevention in Black and Minority Ethnic Communities. *Housing Studies*, 21(4), 581-601. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02673030600709090>
- Ngan, L. L.-S., & Chan, K.-W. (2013). An Outsider is Always an Outsider: Migration, Social Policy and Social Exclusion in East Asia. *Journal of Comparative Asian Development*, 12(2), 316–350. <http://doi.org/10.1080/15339114.2013.801144>
- Niner, P. (2004a). Accommodating Nomadism? An Examination of Accommodation Options for Gypsies and Travellers in England. *Housing Studies*, 19 (2), 141-59. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0267303032000168568>
- Rajesh, T. (2004). *A Participatory Research on Meaning and Expression of Rights and citizenship among nomadic communities in Rajasthan*. New Delhi, India: PRIA.
- Ramakumar, R. (ed.) (2010). *The Unique ID Project in India: A Skeptical Note*.
- Thomason, C. (2006). *Here to Stay: An exploratory study into the needs and preferences of Gypsy/Traveller communities in Cheshire, Halton and Warrington*. Chester: Cheshire, Halton and Warrington Race Equality Council.
- Van Cleemput, P. et al. (2007). Health-related beliefs and experiences of Gypsies and Travellers: a qualitative study. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 61, 205-10. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1136/jech.2006.046078>
- Van Cleemput, P. (2008a) Health Impact of Gypsy Sites Policy in the UK. *Social Policy & Society*, 7 (1), 103-17.
- Zeidan, D. (1995). *Nomads of the Middle East*. OM-IRC