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Process/drivers of social exclusion in context of gender. A study
on indigenous women of Bangladesh

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Preface

This thesis is the concluding step of my Masters Program at Nord University. The whole process of doing this Masters Thesis is a learning process of conducting a scientific research. During the course of completing this thesis, I have gained different aspects of social sciences' issues.

I have been in Norway for few years for study purpose. At the time of doing my other courses associated in the whole course of study of masters program, I have developed an inquisition that how the tribes of Norway are so developed and have been participating in mainstream societal events with conviction and righteous ways, which is quite a dream for indigenous people of my home country. So I have developed an urgency to conduct a study on the process of social exclusion for indigenous people of Bangladesh. As women in Bangladesh are the most exploited and distressed class of the every society, whether it is mainstream or indigenous, so I have decided that the focus group for my study will be indigenous women.

In the completion of this thesis, I am grateful to few people for their immense and unconditional help. First of all, I would like to convey my heartfelt gratitude to my supervisor, Associate Professor Astri Dankertsen, for her excellent guidance throughout the thesis development. I wouldn't be able to complete this thesis without her immense help. After every meeting with her, I developed a core strength and confidence to shape up my thoughts and develop this thesis. I would like to take the opportunity to say thank you to my beloved husband for this help, sacrifice and support.

Bodø, 15th November, 2021

Somarpita Poddar

Abstract

Among different other problems, one of the most prominent problems for the country, Bangladesh is the complexity in the relationship among indigenous people, mainstream people and government of the country. Different scholars and social scientists have conducted different studies to find out the reasons behind this dispute of relationship. Though in recent era, the development mainstream women of Bangladesh are very significant and evident in different research from all over the world, but indigenous women are still living in cave ages, being socially excluded. On this background, the researcher has conducted this research to find out the drivers of social exclusion process of indigenous women. For this research, the researcher has chosen Chakma indigenous community as they are the biggest tribal community of Bangladesh.

In this research, multidimensional features of social exclusion will be researched in context of indigenous people of Chakma Community. Emphasising on indigenous women's personal and socio-cultural life will be helpful for analysing the reasons of political and economic deprivation of these indigenous communities. From this research, it is evident that education, poor health, early marriage, several pregnancies, lack of job opportunity, discriminating attitude from state and society and lack of scope in decision making process and, last but not the least, poverty are the main reasons of social exclusion of indigenous women of Bangladesh.

For this research, the researcher has followed qualitative research method. To collect primary data, interviews have been taken on seven Chakma women. Thematic analysis has been followed to analyze and present data.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This research is carried out on gender and the processes or drivers of social exclusion in context of Bangladesh indigenous communities. The key purpose of this research is to find out the process of social exclusion and how this process has been affecting the socio-cultural life of indigenous women of Bangladesh. To conduct this study, one indigenous community has been chosen, such as Chakma. The rationale behind this section will be discussed later phase and at the time of selecting focus group for this research, the researcher emphasis on the fact that which indigenous groups' documents are available in the web world. After conducting an extensive search, the researcher haq2s found that Chakma community is the biggest tribal group in Bangladesh on which there are few documents available. Due to this reason, the main study area of for this research in south-eastern districts of Bangladesh, which is widely known as Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT). Another reason for choosing this geographical area for this study is that here in this area there are ancient villages exist, where these tribes are living for hundreds of years. Though the topic of social exclusion and inclusion has major importance in context of development of social policy research and theories, mostly in developed countries, but here the researcher will discuss this topic in context of gender and a developing nation, Bangladesh.

Indigenous population of Bangladesh represent 5% of the total population of Bangladesh (Statistics, 2018). Most of this indigenous people live in Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) area, the south-eastern part of Bangladesh, especially in three administrative areas, such as Bandarban, Khagrachari and Rangamati (Khalequzzaman, 1998). These indigenous people are different from the mainstream Bengali-speaking people in context of appearance, language, belief and cultural tradition (Bordia Das, 2013). These indigenous people mostly known as 'Jhumma' people as the main occupation of these people is 'Jhum' cultivation, which is done on the slope of hills and mountains (Badiuzzaman et al., 2013). They are also known as 'hillman', 'tribal', or 'adhibasi'.

Bangladesh was independent in 1971 from Pakistan but there was no place for indigenous community in the new Constitution of Bangladesh. This negligence compelled indigenous people to take the path of violence with Bangladeshi state and in this process, to regain the control over this place by the government; the then government instil Bengali-speaking

people in that region. From the research, it is known that, due to this strategy of then governments of Bangladesh, many indigenous families were uprooted, who later joined in armed struggle with state since early 1990s (Badiuzzaman et al., 2013). The settlers of CHT region started to grab lands of indigenous people through which they were not only threatening to destroy the livelihood of this people but also to destroy distinct local way of life (Mohsin, 2003). Due to different disputed policies of governments of Bangladesh for this region forged different types of violence, such as arson, abduction, extortion, women’s harassment, and restricted mobility (Barkat et al., 2009). According to Power (2013), due to these violence hundreds of thousands of indigenous people became landless and trapped in vicious cycle of poverty.

Description of this context is important to have clear idea about different dimensions of social exclusion and poverty that the indigenous people have been experiencing over the years. CHT is situated in Chittagong Division where the poverty rate is less than any other part of Bangladesh, but the lives of CHT have been living in extreme poverty where majority of the indigenous people live (UNICEF).

Table 1 Poverty condition in CHT region

Indicator	National	Tribal
Poverty rate	31.5	62
Population in extreme poverty 2010	17.6	26.2

In this research, multidimensional features of social exclusion will be researched in context of indigenous people of Chakma Community. Emphasising on indigenous women’s personal and socio-cultural life will be handful for analysing the reasons of political and economic deprivation of these indigenous communities.

1.2 Women in Bangladesh

Women comprise 49% of total population of Bangladesh, which is 71.6 million out of 146.6 million (Statistics, 2009). As women is half of the total population of the country, their importance in political, economic, and socio-culture development is undeniable. But the actual scenario is opposite. According to Goetz (1992), the women of Bangladesh are silent

and passive victims of patriarchy society and their position in the society is the least negotiable in the world and least contributor in the decision-making process in domestic sphere. Islam and Sultana (2006) argue that discriminatory attitudes of society and states put them in the position that the women also believe that they have to remain as subordinated both in family and society and this mind set paves the path to be deprived to access all the available opportunities and benefits of both family and societal life.

Given the overall realities about women in Bangladesh, it isn't amazing that destitution and social rejection are especially transcendent in rustic territories. Connected with destitution and social prohibition is women's weak situation at the home-grown level and the arrangement holes, which influence them at, state level. Against this foundation, this exploration features the issues of ethnic gatherings, particularly the Chakma native networks, according to sex and social rejection and incorporation contentions in contemporary social approach discuss.

1.3 Defining Indigenous people of Bangladesh

According to Jacob et al. (2015) , indigenous people are the original, native, or local population of a specific geographical area who are having different cultural identity. In broader sense, indigenous people can be defined as the original inhabitants of a land who exist into that land much before the dominant societies entered that land, face resistance from dominant societies to integrate into that societies and experiencing struggle with total absorption and isolation from the modern societies (“Indigenous People”, 2018).

In Bangladesh, indigenous people are known as ‘ethnic minority group’, ‘adhibasi’, ‘upajat’ or ‘jhumma’. There is an argument that, according to the law and policy of the Bangladesh government, ethnic minority cannot be called as indigenous rather they should be termed as *tribe* (Roy et al., 2007). According to recent census, there are 632,216 indigenous people are living in Bangladesh among whom most of the indigenous people are followers of Buddhism (Bleie, 2005). But there has an argument on this census, as some believe that the number of indigenous people is shown deliberately low to prove the marginality of indigenous people (Uddin, 2006). The majority of the indigenous people of Bangladesh live in Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT). The main occupation of them is cultivation on the slope of hills, animal farming and traditional clothes waiving.

1.4 Defining Indigenous Women of Bangladesh

Indigenous women of Bangladesh find themselves among poorest of poor and they are the common subject of deprivation in context of education, employment, health and having civil rights (Guhathakurta & Begum, 1995). The indigenous women of Bangladesh face discrimination in form three unequal treatments, such as, as members of patriarchal families, as members of a patriarchal society and as members of patriarchal state and nation (Halim, 2008).

1.5 Rationale of the Research

Relation between gender has tremendous effect on every sphere of poverty, income, opportunity, security and empowerment (Asante, 2002) and this relationship is being considered as cause and characteristic of poverty (Narayan et al., 2000). Contentions about the feminization of poverty have assisted with drawing out the nexus among sex and destitution as far as its degree, rate and patterns (Budowski & Bixby, 2003), with female-headed families having a higher occurrence of destitution contrasted with male headed ones, and a frequency of destitution that might be expanding over the long haul (Jackson, 1999). Recently feminist critiques have started to pour light on one issue that if extensive research can be done that the research's result will surely reveal that suffering of women from poverty is different that of men suffering from poverty and this will surely be linked with gender role.

The researcher has short span of experience in conducting research on minority communities but none of that research has the core point of research on the subject of gender in relation to poverty and social exclusion and inclusion in Bangladesh. This thinking has inspired the researcher to conduct this research on gender dynamics of poverty relating social exclusion and inclusion with poverty in context of indigenous women communities, especially women from Chakma and Garo Communities. Both these communities have patriarchal and matrilineal society.

Based on above stated background of this research, it can be said that indigenous women from Chakma community is the subject to be discriminated both inside and outside of their home and societies. It is also fact that, extent and nature of the deprivation is diverse and is the outcome of different types of structural constraints. Standing on this platform, this research will find out the process and drivers of social exclusion and inclusion of indigenous women in Bangladesh.

Above all, this research will address the policy gap of policies of Bangladesh not including all minority groups of people in the development strategies of the country. So, the findings from this research will be helpful for government policy makers to develop policies to provide lives to the indigenous people of the country, especially indigenous women of the country.

1.6 Research Aim and objectives

The core purpose of this research is to find out drivers and process of social exclusion of indigenous women from their own societies, especially the women of Chakma community and wider society of Bangladesh. To conduct this research in right course, the researcher has developed following objectives.

1. To find out the process of social exclusion in indigenous community, especially indigenous women of Bangladesh.
2. To find out the challenges indigenous women have been facing in their own societies in context of decision-making on domestic issues (Marriage, education, etc.).

1.7 Research Question

The main research questions for this research are—

1. What are the processes of social exclusion in indigenous community, especially indigenous women of Bangladesh?
2. What types of challenges indigenous women have been facing in their own societies in context of decision-making on domestic issues (marriage, education)?

1.8 Structure of the research

For the convenience of conducting this research in right and resourceful way and for the convenient of the readers of this research, the total contents of this research has been divided into six different chapters. Every chapter is being named on the basis of its contents.

This research is started with Introductory chapter where a brief introduction is given on the foundation of the research.

The second chapter is the Research Background chapter, where background of related issues to the research topic have been discussed.

The third chapter is the Literature Review chapter, which can be termed as storehouse of knowledge for this research. In this chapter, in detail discussion has been made on key research points of the research topic, such social exclusion and inclusion, poverty, intersectionality and gender perspective.

The fourth chapter is the Research Methodology chapter where discussion has been made on the selection of research philosophies and research design with the rationality of selecting these methods.

The fifth chapter is Analysis and Discussion chapter where discussion has been made on research findings from primary data analysis.

The sixth and final chapter is the Conclusion and Implication chapter where discussion has been made whether objectives of the research have attained or not on the basis of research findings.

Chapter Two: Background of the Research

2.1 Introduction

In present context, the occupied area of the world by indigenous people is one fourth of the total inhabitable earth surface and they are providing 80% of total remaining biodiversity of the world (Unit et al., 2013). The total number of indigenous people in the world is 370 million and they exist in 70 countries of the world. Social cultures and norms are very different from the mainstream societies of the world having unique languages, knowledge systems and beliefs. They have been retaining their own social, cultural, economic and political characteristics over thousands of years, which are very much different from the dominant societies in which they live (Nation, 2019).

There are large gaps exist in context of social and economic development for indigenous people in comparison with mainstream societies of different countries. Politically they remain on margins and have been struggling to retain their land and heritage of language and worldviews (Banerjee, 2016). Imperial governments of the world consider indigenous people as primordial and prefer to use them at the time of need (Dasgupta, 2016). Due to the exploitation of moderate societies' government and negligence in context of implementing development strategies for them, indigenous people account for about 15% of extreme poor of the world though they only comprise 5% of the total population of the world (Unit et al., 2013). In this context, the citation of Radcliffe (2018) can be presented and according to him *“indignity is historically and geographically located in the cross-hairs of imperial debris, the colonial present and the uneven powers of social differentiation”*.

According to Jacob et al. (2015), indigenous people are the original, native, or local population of a specific geographical area who are having different cultural identity. In broader sense, indigenous people can be defined as the original inhabitants of a land who exist into that land much before the dominant societies entered into that land, face resistance from dominant societies to integrate into that societies and experiencing struggle with total absorption and isolation from the modern societies (“Indigenous People”, 2018). Acknowledging immense diversity in context of languages, traditions, values and cultures among different indigenous societies, some of them have been able to retain their land and sustain their existence by means of developing different skills and geo-politics knowledge (Shah, 2010).

In this new millennium, development of women has become a global concern, especially in developing countries and indigenous communities. To do this, in many developed and developing countries, gender mainstreaming has become a key approach along with gender equality policies (Unit et al., 2013). The necessity of full-fledged participation of women in social, political and economic activities of the countries was presented in first ever World Conference on Women in Mexico (1975) and since then this strategy or policy of women development has become indispensable part of countries' development discourse. But there is an argument on the inception of actual development strategy or policy as in modern era, social scientists believe that comprehensive global policy of women has been created by United Nations, in 1995 through the Beijing Platform for actions. This kind of debate acknowledge the fact that the development of women is must for a country if that country wants to attain and sustain their development process and this is only possible only by ensuring empowerment and equality to women (Declaration, 1995). The issue of women empowerment implies that all kinds of obstacles have to be removed from the participation of women in every sphere of life, such as political, economic and culture, and they have to provide with every possible opportunity to take part in decision making process.

The women in Bangladesh comprises half of the total population and so it can be said that the overall development process of Bangladesh has to be implicitly affected by the hindrance free participation of women in the development process. But from the literature analysis, it is evident that most of the cases, women are mostly discriminated by the patriarchal norms and values of the country (Islam & Sultana, 2006). At the same time, it is also true that there is shortage of studies on how developing countries like Bangladesh conceptualize the idea and design of mainstreaming women in the development process of countries, especially in political and economic aspects (Schech & Mustafa, 2010).

Keeping this in mind, in this chapter, the researcher will discuss existing debate and literature on gender equality and patriarchy in context of Bangladesh. The rationale behind this discussion in context of Bangladesh is that the research has been carrying out in context Bangladesh. In order to examine the status of indigenous women both in domestic and wider societal level of Bangladesh, the researcher will discuss the concepts of gender and patriarchy in Bangladesh. In this discussion, emphasise will be given on the issue, how patriarchy controls live of women in Bangladesh and how the analysis of gender perspective will be integrated in the process of social exclusion in Bangladesh.

2.2 Current Status of Women in Bangladesh

Class and gender, these are two division on which the traditional patriarchy society of Bangladesh is founded. Mobility of class allows movement between rich and poor, but the division of gender is rigidly maintained by social space and differential behaviour norms. In the constitution of social control, family is the basic unit and this family different norms and behavioural aptitude for male and female. In this patriarchy system of Bangladesh, father is the head of the family and in his absence, next male to his kin, will be head of the house. In this process, women just have to follow what they are being asked to and there is no or little access to economic assets or decision-making process (Bank, 2001).

One of the key elements of gender relationship is marriage where decision making process interact with 'power and control' in the relationship in domestic sphere. In the culture of South Asian countries, like Bangladesh, marriage is regarded as social and economic bond between families and most of the cases, women have to compromise with their liking and disliking abiding by the norms and rules of the bond (Guru, 2009). According to Sabates-Wheeler and Kabeer (2005), the age of marriage is an important personal factor, especially for women, in context of South Asian context as this issue assert the control of women over exclusion in the domestic circle both in patriarchal and matrilineal societies. In rural areas of Bangladesh, the trend of early marriage or child marriage is so common, and it happens mostly in poorest of families. Parveen (2007) shows in her study that most of the cases, with an exception of urbanised upper class, women of Bangladesh, irrespective caste and creed, become stigmatized in their marriage and economic activities. From this report, it is known that when girls or women have to get married in their early or adolescent stages, they are being deprived of having schooling or skill development training. As a result, they have to live with lower social status in their in laws' houses. In addition to these, the worst consequences that these girls or women have to experience due to early marriage are that they fell victim of higher rate of maternal mortality and domestic violence (Jensen & Thornton, 2003). From Pathfinder International/Bangladesh Report (2006) it is known that most of the girls in Bangladesh, especially in rural and indigenous communities, have to get married even they become adult due to the poor economic condition of the families and social norms. As these girls don't attain their maturity both in context of physical and psychological, they feel out of water when they have to deal with husband and in-laws in a new family environment. In addition to this, as they don't get the proper education, so they hardly know the uses of

contraceptives and cope up with pregnancy. All these adversities of life make them demoralised and loose courage and motivation to develop themselves and stay lag behind in the inclusion process of social and economic activities, apart from domestic activities.

Early marriage has been a curse for women to become capable to take part in social, political and economic decision-making process of the society or country (Khatun, 2002). The rationale behind this statement is that due to the early marriage or child marriage, girls or women cannot complete or attain education at all. In spite of getting education, they make themselves busy in rearing child and household chores. As a result, they don't get the opportunity to make them capable to take part social and political activities. They become vulnerable to exploitation both in their own and wider societal communities. This is widely evident in indigenous society where women face discrimination due to early marriage and remain socially excluded from wider society integration process (Halim, 2005).

Amin and Huq (2008) mentioned in their research journal that, in rural areas of Bangladesh, girls are not given any sort of freedom to choose their groom or make any kind of opinion in their marriage. Only legal guardians or parents have this right to make decision of marriage for girls. The parents or legal guardians of girls in rural areas or indigenous communities of Bangladesh believe that sustaining youthfulness in parents' house for girls has no advantage as sooner of later they will have to shift to in laws' house. In addition to this, parents are in fear that if the girls mature and become more aged than the teenage then it will be tough for them to arrange groom and maybe they will have to give more dowries. Girls become victims of these primitive thoughts of parent and face the worst consequence of early marriage in rest of their lives. As they are deprived of education, they don't get chance to explore what kind of abilities they have. As a result, they prefer to engage themselves only into household chores and don't get any chance to take part in social, political or economic activities of the country and remain socially excluded. In this context, one exception can be mentioned and that is only Garo women or girls get little freedom to make decisions in their marriage as their society setting is matrilineal (Amin & Huq, 2008). But the parents of Garo society also fear that if they give full freedom to their girls then there has chances to make wrong match for them or they will get married outside of their clan. Amin and Huq (2008) mentioned that most of the cases, the sexuality and age of marriage is controlled by code of conducts and market demands of marriage of communities and wider society of country.

2.3 Women and Education

One of the key objectives for this research is to find out drivers or barriers to social exclusion of indigenous women. From the literature analysis in third chapter, it is found that education is one of the drivers for indigenous women in the process of social exclusion. Due to lack of education, these people cannot do better job, by thus cannot earn good income and cannot take part any kind of social or community networks and activities. As they don't have education or opportunities to take training, so they cannot access the power or get access to decision-making bodies. At the end, they have to live a below standard life till their death. Levitas et al. (2007) stated that social exclusion is multidimensional and complicated process. In this process denial of resources, rights services are involved, and this process creates inability to take part in huge arena of social, political or economic activities of societies, which are available to majority portion of people. It destroys cohesion and equity of society by affecting quality of individual life in society. Watson et al. (2016) defined social exclusion process reflects lack of cohesion and integration both in societal and individual aspects. This indicates the inability of people to participate in customarily expected social activities with the purpose of developing meaningful social relationship among people.

In the study of the Department for International Development (DFID), Sayed et al. (2007) mention that one of the facet of social exclusion is educational exclusion and reveal that it is one of the elements of social and psychological inequities. Due to extreme educational exclusion, individual or groups of a community find themselves socially excluded and don't get access to rights and entitlement for which they are entitled to get as a member of the society and every context of life, they face the denial of resources. From this finding of Sayed et al. (2007) research, it is evident that if research is done on to find out the process or barriers or drivers to the social exclusion of indigenous people then it will be found that education is one of the key drivers. This finding is the result of the expression and perception of individual. In this context, it can also be highlighted that the impact of education in social inclusion process will provide challenge to ensure 'equal educational opportunities. This is a challenge for both individual or the society and for state as well, due to the burden of household responsibilities and economic constraints of people, especially indigenous women as they are much behind in this league of getting all kind of citizen facilities like mainstream people (Watson et al., 2016). The impact of low level of education in the social exclusion process also be supported by Sparkes (1999) as this researcher mentioned that attainment of

low level of education is impactful to sustain and generate social exclusion. Clisby et al. (2007) show in their research result that in Bangladesh, education system still practices socio-cultural and structural gender practice and due to these discriminatory practices, women or girls find themselves in most disadvantageous position in the attainment of education.

In the dynamics of social exclusion and inclusion, the importance of girl's education has increased for this research. So, the context of this research demands, it is required to pour some lights on how education system and perception of individual of enjoying benefits from receiving education to deal with marginalized position of indigenous women of Bangladesh. Halim (2002) argues that in indigenous areas, children are deprived of getting education in their mother tongue, which forge of sense of discouragement among children to join in the education system. From the research of (Zohir et al., 2008) -Nazneen it is known that most of the indigenous women don't have any knowledge of importance of education in day to day life and due to this reason, they don't any urgency to impart education to their child and overall scenario is that, the literacy rate is alarmingly among all indigenous communities in CHT.

Population census of Bangladesh (2001) reveal that in spite of taking different types of initiatives to bring indigenous child into school, at least for primary education, the literacy rate significantly very low among indigenous girl child, which is only 23% in Chakma Community and 43% in Garo community. From the report of CARITUS Bangladesh (2008-2009), it is revealed that the dropout rate of girl child in primary level is higher for Chakma community than other indigenous community. In this context, one more information can be added and that is Rahman (2006) mention that in indigenous area there are some missionaries schools found and they are giving education to the indigenous child and aged women in their own language. But due to the colonial approach from this missionary initiative, most of the women loose interest to take part in this initiative.

In this context, one research finding of Rahman (2006) can be mentioned, which is indirectly related to the low attainment of education among indigenous community and in the process of educational exclusion. The research findings show that, in indigenous societies, women take part in farming activities along with men and in this process, women pass their household responsibilities to the girl child of the families and by thus, they don't have the opportunity to get basic education. This is perhaps the most important reason for dropping out from school for girl child. From the research finding, it is evident that education provides

more opportunities for work but here work is providing barriers to attain education. From the report of UNESCO (2007), it is known that around 77million of children are out of formal education process among which 43 million are girl children. These findings put the urgency on the issue that policy makers of Bangladesh in context of ensuring education for all, have to make some effective policies for girls' education, so that parents also feel inspired to send their girl child to school, especially the girls of those societies where women and girls are in marginalized position, like indigenous girls or women.

National Child Development Study of United Kingdom, conducted by Hobcraft (1998) and Sparkes (1999) reveal that people who drop off from school at their early age with little attainment of education put themselves in risky zone of socially excluded when they become adults. This is quite rationale as the people who drop off from school at their early age are lack of basic literacy and numeric skill and they don't attain skills or smartness to make themselves comfortable or acceptable in higher society. As a result, they remain socially excluded. In this context, Riddell (2009) suggested that to encourage every child to complete their basic education, some sort of compensation should be given to inherited disadvantageous children. This initiative will encourage them to take education and equal opportunity for education will also be possible and by thus, structural barriers can be removed from the society to ensure higher rate of social inclusion process.

In context of Bangladesh, this scenario can be explained from the findings and suggestions of Rahman (2006) as this researcher mentions that there has been a request or demand from Chakma community to government that they should take initiative to preserve their language, dress codes, culture, heritage and identity. But according to the constitution of Bangladesh, there are no place for dual or plurality of ethnicity and language. The government of Bangladesh put Bengali culture and language at the center of their constitution. This sort of inequality for the indigenous communities, especially girl children as they are the first victim of oppression and exploitation, minimize the opportunities to develop themselves in context of enhancement of self-esteem and capacity to integrate into mainstream of society. So, the government of Bangladesh will have to develop and implement strategies so that every citizen of country can get equal opportunity to get education. This will stop the process of 'self-exclusion' among indigenous people to preserve their language and heritage from the invasion of mainstream community. In a nutshell, it can be said that lack of education is the main driver for social exclusion of indigenous women and vice versa.

Though, Bangladesh has signed the World Declaration for All in 1990, but this country is yet to attain desirable level of education for all. In context of literacy rate of indigenous people, the overall percentage is only 32.2%, where male literacy is 39.3% and female literacy is 24%, which is very poor. The reason behind this alarming literacy rate among indigenous women is that in indigenous areas no initiative has been taken by the government to provide education in their mother tongue, which discourages indigenous children, especially girls from gaining education from schools (Halim, 2005). From the research result of Halim (2005), it is known that indigenous families think that their girl children will be engaged in household chores and rearing up Childs, so there is no need of having education in different language rather than their own language as the process of education is nothing but wastage of time for them, especially for the girl child. From the study of (Zohir et al., 2008) which was conducted on Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) about the enrolment percentage between Bengali child and indigenous child and this study reveals that there is a huge gap between the school enrolment between Bengali community and indigenous community, which is 66% for Bengali and 34% for indigenous communities for the age group of 6-10 years old.

2.4 Women and Early Marriage

Early marriage has been a curse for women to become capable to take part in social, political and economic decision-making process of the society or country (Khatun, 2002). The rational behind this statement is that due to the early marriage or child marriage, girls or women cannot complete or attain education at all. In spite of getting education, they make themselves busy in rearing child and household chores. As a result, they don't get the opportunity to make them capable to take part social and political activities. They become vulnerable to exploitation both in their own and wider societal communities. This is widely evident in indigenous society where women face discrimination due to early marriage and remain socially excluded from wider society integration process (Halim, 2005).

2.5 Women and Legal Rights

According to the Constitution of Bangladesh, every citizen should get equal rights, but in context of family matter, the actual scenario is fully opposite as in context of marriage, divorce, customer, maintenance and inheritance, women have always been the subject of discrimination (Bank, 2001). In context of inheritance of property, women face sheer

discrimination. For example, daughter gets only half of the son inherits property whereas wife gets one eighth portion of husband's property, but husband gets quarter of wife's property. The women of Hindu religion don't inherit any property from father. Only Christians provide equal rights to inherited property to both son and daughter (Bank, 2001).

From the above analysis, due to difference in culture and misinterpretation of religion, women are always being subject of discrimination of law. Though there are different types of laws are in exist in Bangladesh to protect rights and privilege of women, such as the Muslim Marriage and Divorce Registration Act of 1974, the Dowry Prohibition Act of 1980, the Family Court Ordinance of 1985, and the Child Marriage Registration Act of 1992, however, poor women are often not aware of their rights (Bank, 2001). Apart from these laws, Bangladesh has a number of special laws specifically prohibiting certain forms of violence against women, including the Penal Code of 1860, the Anti-Dowry Prohibition Act (1980), the Cruelty to Women Ordinance (1983), the Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act (1993), and the Prevention of Repression of Women and Children Act (2000) (Bank, 2001).

Though different laws are in practice to protect rights of women and to provide equal opportunities to women, but still the Constitution of Bangladesh failed to provide equal opportunity and treatment to all its citizens. There is no specific law to protect indigenous women's right to inherit property. Here everything is decided by the Chief of the community, which paves the way for indigenous women to be discriminated in context of inherited property (Halim, 2005). Further discrimination exists in indigenous marriage system. Here social custom rather than state laws guides marriage and there is no formal way to register child's birth (Halim, 2005).

More or less every married women in Bangladesh, irrespective of where they are living face domestic violence, though forms of violence differ from case to cases (Jahan, 1994). From recent published report of Bangladesh National Women Lawyers' Association (2009) it is known that most of the cases, the women of Bangladesh are reluctant to seek justice for gender based violence from law enforce agency of the country for several reasons, such as most of the women, especially rural and indigenous women don't have education so they are not aware of laws and service, there is less or no access to legal service, hostile attitude of law enforce agencies to distressed women, fear of being labelled as bad or unchaste by both

families or society, lack of support from family, friends and peers and most importantly, lack of employment and very rare example of justice and compensation ((BNWLA), 2009).

From the existing literature (Adnan, 1989; Bleie, 2005; Chakraborty & Ayub Ali, 2009; Rahman, 2006) it is evident that ethnic conflict and violation of human rights are common aspects in the lives of Bangladeshi people. In fact, these ethnic conflicts impose vulnerable position in indigenous societies; especially women and children become worst victims of these conflicts. From the discussion of third chapter, it is known that the poverty rate is much higher in indigenous society, especially in Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) than any other part of the country and it is due to brutal oppression both from the state and security forces of Bangladesh (Adnan, 1989). Among minorities of Bangladesh, indigenous is the most vulnerable population of Bangladesh (Chakraborty & Ayub Ali, 2009). Bengali domination, who are the settler in CHT, are the main reason of this oppression on indigenous communities. In this context, the researcher argues that to find out the position of women in community the factor of violence outside of the community is relevant in context of wider society of Bangladesh.

From this finding, it is also evident that for indigenous people the legal support facilities from different development organization is really very inadequate and indigenous people are also unable to seek justice from the state as they are insolvent in financial ability wise and don't have knowledge about legal rights. Most of the cases, indigenous women are the victims of outside violence and they don't get justice for their sufferings (Chakraborty & Ayub Ali, 2009) and these researchers points out that this process of silencing indigenous women is one main barriers for social inclusion in Bangladesh.

2.6 Women and Health

The general health of women is seriously being ignored in rural and indigenous community of Bangladesh and women have to face different types of health hazards, such as anemia, lack of nutrition, multiple pregnancies, abortion and so on (Momsen, 2019). From the research result, it is evident that in indigenous areas, women even have to do general household chores, such as brining water from spring, which might miles away from home, collection of firewood and cooking foods for whole family. Due to having extra stress from these works, sometime these indigenous women experience aclamsia, miscarriage and many other gynecological and organ failure problems (Islam & Sultana, 2006). This research shows that

women of the family have to take care of everybody in the family even she/they are sick and there is hardly anyone in the family who wish to take care of her/them. According to the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, the average life expectancy of women is greater than men but it is not due to having better treatment or better facilities provided to them rather it is because of hormonal reasons.

Through the introduction of social exclusion, a multidimensional relationship between economic deprivation and social discrimination can be captured. On the basis of this particular point, Beall (2002) noted that remoteness and isolation of a particular land have huge impact behind spatial disadvantage and it is quite evident that due to the remoteness of a location and unavailability of proper transportation, the inhabitants of that particular location cannot take part in wider socio-economic processes. This author also mentioned that sometimes this spatial disadvantage operate through segregation of urban environments and subculture of violence, criminality and drug abusing and these characteristics of urbanizations territorially exclude neighborhood, which is nothing but inhabitants of remote area (Kabeer, 2005).

From the report of CARITUS Bangladesh (2008-2009), it is evident that general health of indigenous people, especially indigenous women is very poor. The mortality and morbidity rate is higher in comparison with Bengali women. Safe maternity is a daydream for them. Due to the ignorance, women have to face different types of health hazards, such as anemia, lack of nutrition, multiple pregnancies, abortion and so on (Momsen, 2019). From the research result, it is evident that in indigenous areas, women even have to do general household chores, such as brining water from spring, which might miles away from home, collection of firewood and cooking foods for whole family. Due to having extra stress from these works, sometime these indigenous women experience aclamsia, miscarriage and many other gynecological and organ failure problems (Islam & Sultana, 2006). This research shows that women of the family have to take care of everybody in the family even she/they are sick and there is hardly anyone in the family who wish to take care of her/them.

In this section of this research, emphasize has been given on the process of 'self-exclusion' as to the disparagement of indigenous women and the restrictions which influence their weak situation inside their family units. Specifically, native ladies are cut off and controlled by their customary practices as well as by the primary hindrances, for example, distance,

unavailability of transportation and inaccessibility of expert specialists, monetary failures and so on where they are probably going to get an opportunity to get accessible medical care administrations from the state. In this manner, chronic weakness, maternal mortality, and women's unnatural passing have all made ladies more helpless than men in Bangladesh (Islam & Sultana, 2006).

2.7 Women and Economy

It is a fact that, in last two decades the role of women in Bangladesh has changed significantly as women are engaging in both formal and informal sectors of employments, such as teacher, lawyer, banker and readymade garments' workers (Chowdhury, 2010). In fact, the rate of female economy activity is higher than any other country of South Asia (Statistics, 2018).

But discrimination exist here in this sector as well as women get half of the men's wages for same number of workloads. Though indigenous women play the key role in the economic activities in indigenous communities and in some communities, they enjoy equal rights as men but due to the loss of traditional forest and cultivable lands in hilly areas, many indigenous women have to work in agricultural firms. As they have lack of education and language inefficiency, they are being discriminated by the employers (Mohsin, 2003). In addition to these, increase of sexual harassment from the Bengali settlers, indigenous women are losing their freedom of movement and they are occupying in only household chores (ICIP-CHT, 2013). This is also causing economic disasters for indigenous communities.

2.8 Summary

Summing up above discussion, it can be concluded that there is a large gap exists in social and economic development between indigenous societies and mainstream societies. Due to different types of oppression and discrimination in laws of state, indigenous people are struggling to retain their lands, language, heritage and communal unity. Though mainstream women have been enjoying development both in formal and informal sectors of employment, but indigenous women are still the subject of exploitation and discrimination. Indigenous women are deprived of basic education and still they are the victims of early or child marriage. As they don't have any kind education qualification, they don't get chances to develop themselves and take part in social and decision-making activities. They are deprived

of getting basic health facilities even in their pregnancy period, which deteriorate their health and live their life with different kinds of disabilities. In addition to these, uneducated mothers cannot provide basic education to their children and as a result, they remain lag behind in context of participating in mainstream economic and political activities for generations and remain excluded from mainstream societies.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Perspective

3.1 Introduction

This study is carried out to find out to develop depth knowledge about social exclusion process and the drivers and impact of social exclusion process on indigenous women of Bangladesh. On the basis of the topic, this research will emphasis on the literature about social exclusion, intersectionality and gender perspective. At the beginning of this literature review section, discussion will be made on the theoretical framework of social exclusion and the contribution of social exclusion to the understanding of dynamics of poverty along with intersectionality theory. As this research is carried out on gender perspective, so it is necessary to pour some light on the literature on gender and gender perspective.

3.2 Social Exclusion

3.2.1 Social Exclusion and Poverty

Contemporary social policy theory and practice in all over the world believes that there has a direct link between poverty and social exclusion. In this research has been carried on the impact of social and inclusion and exclusion on tribes' women, so the researcher will pour light on the extent of poverty among ethnic minority women as well as discussion will be made on how this condition has been tackled over the years. Watson et al. (2016) argues that when specific groups are being selected on the basis of experiencing poverty that means the policies, which have been followed to combat with poverty, should focus on those particular groups (Watson et al., 2016). Considering this, the researcher will outline different types of definition of poverty and social exclusion in context of poverty and social exclusion of Bangladesh.

There are so many barriers exist to make some individuals or group to remain abstain from accessing health and social services of a county and make them reluctant to take part in different sorts of economic activities and policy spaces of a country. These different sorts of barriers are gender, caste and race differences, indigenous origin, ethnicity, religions, different types of diseases, such as HIV/AIDS, disability, migration, etc. In broader sense, it can be said that deprivation of capabilities creates contribution to exclusion. The approach of capability put focus on the issue what is the ability of people to do or to be, as opposed what are they are be or what they are having (Phipps et al., 2019). This approach demands some analysis which will focus on the means of living, such as income, to the actual scopes that a

person has, such as, to be healthy, and capabilities of these persons to take part in society (Hickey, 2012).

Basically, social exclusion is nothing but a process, which key purpose is to axe the capabilities and opportunities of individuals or groups of a specific community and make them abstained from taking part in any sort of social, economic, and political activities. Inability of these deprived individuals or communities to protest against negative situation or impact of the society is known as social vulnerability. So it can be said that, social exclusion ends up social vulnerability for certain individuals (Bangura, 2010).

3.2.2 Defining Social Exclusion and Poverty

The notion of social exclusion is a long-debated topic and this debate has been going on for ages among different Sociologists and political economists, such as Durkheim, Marx and Weber. According to these scholars, the concept of social exclusion actually arises from transformation of rural communities of Europe and America to the urbanised and modern industrial societies (Nixon et al., 2017). In context of policy disclosure, traditional right and left wings of political spectrum have contribution to emerge social exclusion, where left-wing considers social exclusion is the result of poverty and material result of deprivation and right-wing politics consider social exclusion is associated with immorality and work-shyness (Wilson et al., 2007).

According to Azim et al. (2019), there are three paradigm of social exclusion and these are solidarity paradigm, the specialization paradigm and monopoly paradigm. The term of these paradigm explains the nature of these different types of paradigm. Solidarity paradigm explains that social exclusion is done due to lack of bonding or co-ordination between society and individuals, which was developed in the context of French Republic. In the specialization paradigm focus is given on various forms of distortions, such as discrimination, failure or markets and unenforced rights and this paradigm was developed by school of liberal thoughts in the USA. And monopoly paradigm explains that some insiders or powerful group of people control everything and use all available resources of their advantage to deprive large number of people and this is very much evident in Western Europe (Silver, 2007). This monopoly paradigm has resemblance with the theory of ‘social closure’ by Weber Parkin (2018) *“Exclusion may reflect voluntary individual choices, patterns of interests or a contractual relationship between actors, or “distortions” to the system, such as*

discrimination, market failures and/or unenforced rights”, stated by Bhalla and Lapeyre (1997). In different sense, exclusion can be defined as a rule, which is associated with social stigmatization, to isolate particular individual or group of people from society and through this process instill sense of low self-esteem and sense of not belonging to mainstream of society or not given chance to take part in social activities (Avramov, 2006). In this research, the researcher has chosen solidarity and specialization paradigm of social exclusion as here in this research the researcher will show how patriarchal (Chakma Community) of indigenous have constrained indigenous women to take part in wider mainstream society in the process of social exclusion.

According to (Employment & EMPL/E., 2004), Social exclusion is nothing but a process which is basically determined by comparatively more powerful group of a society and core intention of this this process to push lag behind group of the society to edge and to create hindrance to take part in different social event by indicating their poverty, lack of basic competence and learning opportunities and by means of discrimination, the powerful group makes sure that that lag behind group of society cannot take part any kind of society’s mainstream activities. Due to this discrimination, these people cannot do better job, by thus cannot earn good income and education and cannot take part any kind of social or community networks and activities. As they don’t have education or opportunities to take training, so they cannot access the power or get access to decision-making bodies. At the end, they have to live a below standard life till their death. Levitas et al. (2007) stated that social exclusion is multidimensional and complicated process. In this process denial of resources, rights services are involved, and this process creates inability to take part in huge arena of social, political or economic activities of societies, which are available to majority portion of people. It destroys cohesion and equity of society by affecting quality of individual life in society. Watson et al. (2016) defined social exclusion process reflects lack of cohesion and integration both in societal and individual aspects. This indicates the inability of people to participate in customarily expected social activities with the purpose of developing meaningful social relationship among people.

This process has two types of disadvantageous experience, such as resources lacking (what is you possessing) and identical discrimination (who you are). In this process, individual experiences poverty or discrimination due to their undermining identity and by thus, they are

having lack of ability to take part in different functioning of social, political and economic to ensure their equal right like other on these.

On the basis of above stated definitions on social exclusion, it can be said that the process of social exclusion is very complex and multidimensional. The factors, which contribute to the process of social exclusion, can be divided into two categories, such as material causes (income, housing, goods and services) and discursive (relationship and discrimination) (Hick, 2012). Considering all pros and cons of social exclusion, the operational definition of social exclusion for this study is:

Deprivation of basic needs and lack of access to social, political and economic activities are the basic themes of social exclusion, which affects both individuals and society. Due to social exclusion, people (for this study, indigenous women) experience objective deprivation and subjective dissatisfaction with the chances of their life and this happens due to inability of social participation, integration or political power as well as lack of access to collective resources, such as consumer goods and services, different recreational activities and most importantly, educational facilities.

3.2.3 Comparing and Contrasting Poverty and Social Exclusion

A lot of literature exists in identification of relationship between poverty and social exclusion. As there are so many indicators and factors associated with poverty and social exclusion definition, so the relationship between poverty and social exclusion has always been a debatable issue. On the basis of this point of view, the researcher can argue that both the concepts of poverty and social exclusion are multidimensional and multifaceted. Some social scientists believe that poverty is the cause of social exclusion, while other scholars have proved that poverty is not the sole cause of social exclusion, rather one of the main elements of social exclusion (Jackson, 1999). In the article of Jackson (1999) stated that poverty is one of the main elements of marginalization process of creating social exclusion, which create vulnerable groups who experience different types of discrimination in every aspects of social, cultural and political ways.

From earlier literatures, it is known that there is no, or very little comprehensive study taken place on social exclusion, but in context of Bangladesh, an extensive literature study published on reasons behind poverty. According to that study, both poverty and social

exclusion process in Bangladesh are closely related to each other and overlapping (Governance and Social Development Resource Center, 2008). Though it is evident from literature that, the concept of social exclusion originated from Western Europe, but with the passage of time, the latest literatures have shown that, the concept of social exclusion has to be redefined in context of developing countries (Kabeer, 1988; Saith, 2001; Sen, 2000). Zohir et al. (2008) argued in their journal that there were so many instances of social exclusion where poverty was absent and on the other hand, there were some instance of poverty where social exclusion is rooted. From this literature, the proven fact is that poverty may be one of the causes of social exclusion and but there are many other reasons, which also indulge social exclusion in developing countries like Bangladesh.

The best analytical strength of social exclusion framework is that this framework always emphasizes on both the results of social exclusion as well as drivers or processes of social exclusion (Hann, 1999). From the research evidences, it is an established fact that poverty is not sole reasons for the exclusion of population from the society though at the same time, it is also a fact that there has a link between poverty and social exclusion (Köhler et al., 2009). These research results denote that sometimes people are being excluded from employment, productive resource or access to different opportunities of economy, but they can still enjoy limited access to education, health care, minimum housing facilities, voice and political, social and cultural participation (Bordia Das, 2013; de Leeuw & Greenwood, 2011; Ruggeri et al., 2003).

In this particular aspect of relation between social exclusion and poverty, Saunders (2012) suggested that incorporation should be done between the concept of exclusion and measurement of poverty and policy making. On the basis of this research, Shafie and Kilby (2003) did an extensive research to find out the reasons behind of exclusion of indigenous communities in Northwest Bangladesh. From the result of the study, it is known that in Northwest Bangladesh the reasons those led to exclusion and marginalization of indigenous people are discrimination and exploitation. Hierarchical ranks among ethnic identities have been creating barriers for indigenous people to include in wider social network. Through the research, Shafie and Kilby (2003) tried to develop relationship between social exclusion and the concept of poverty as 'capability deprivation'. Through the research of their research, they have shown that there are so many interdependent factors associated with the poverty of

indigenous people of Bangladesh, such as ethnic inequality, enduring discrimination, little or lack of education, easy and unconditional access to cultivable lands, lack of knowledge of market integration and lack of employment opportunities to take part in other sectors of rural areas (Shafie & Kilby, 2003). As these indigenous people, especially indigenous women don't have access or knowledge of mainstream economic and political aspects; they have to remain socially isolated in their own areas (ibid, 2003). Due to lack of education and lack of access to financial resources, the indigenous women can't raise their voice against the social norms and imposed decisions on them, for example, in context of marriage decision, most of the girls or women don't have their own choice, rather they have to follow what their family and community chief wants (Bangura, 2010). Due to this reason, early marriage or child marriage have been a great problem for indigenous women as they get married at their early age, they don't get opportunity to get education and don't attain the capabilities to take part in social, political or economic activities and remain socially excluded generations after generations (Bordia Das, 2013). From another study, another concept has developed and that is in recent era, Garo (indigenous community) people are coming into close contact with mainstream community (Bengali) people, and they are learning food habits, language and dress style of Bengali community and as a result, lots of changes have been taking place in Garo people's traditional customs and way of living (Chamon Ara, 2004). So, all these discussion and findings from the literature analysis, the researcher feels urge to do this research to find out the impact of social exclusion and inclusion on indigenous women's individual, socio-culture, economic and political life within their indigenous community and mainstream society in Bangladesh.

Kabeer (1988) identified that there are three forms of economic exclusion, such as exploitation of economy, marginalization and deprivation. In this context Khan (2001) argues that in order to attain sustainable economic growth and to alleviate rural poverty, emphasis should be given on broader economic stability, market competitiveness and increase the public investment in physical and social infrastructure of rural areas. As the poor status of rural people affect the overall development of economy of country, necessary policy should be developed to ensure easy access of rural people to land and credit, education and health and participation of well-designed work programs.

But every debate or argument has an end and this argument on social exclusion and inclusion is not different to this trend. This debate on social inclusion and exclusion came to an end in 1995 at the UN World Summit on Social Development. There were 117 countries including the UK took part in that summit and all of them agreed on two definitions of poverty: absolute poverty and overall poverty. At that summit, all participated countries came into agreement that necessary steps will be taken to wipe out absolute poverty from the world by the year 2015 and measurement will be implemented to reduce at least half of overall poverty by the same year (Nation, 2019) .

Based on above discussion, now the researcher can rise of one question and that is how poverty and social exclusion can be defined in context of Bangladesh. In earlier phase, it is identified that social exclusion and poverty are ‘contested’ concept (Levitas et al., 2007) which have multidimensional meaning, so to come to a clear conclusion about the definition of poverty and social exclusion, this research will present some definitions, which are presented below—

Poverty can be defined in both ways, directly and indirectly. Directly poverty can be defined in context of consumption and indirectly it can be done in context of income (Mill et al., 2012). In direct definition of poverty, focus is given on deprivation of required level of consumption of resources whereas in indirect definition focus is given on minimum level of consumption of resources; this is also called subsistence definition. In this research, the researcher will put focus on indirect definition of poverty as in its analytical process, discussion will be made on different types of poverty exist among indigenous women in Bangladesh.

At the same time, through the introduction of social exclusion a multidimensional relationship between economic deprivation and social discrimination can be captured. On the basis of this particular point, Beall (2002) noted that remoteness and isolation of a particular land have huge impact behind spatial disadvantage and it is quite evident that due to the remoteness of a location and unavailability of proper transportation, the inhabitants of that particular location cannot take part in wider socio-economic processes. This author also mentioned that sometimes this spatial disadvantage operate through segregation of urban environments and subculture of violence, criminality and drug abusing and these characteristics of urbanizations territorially exclude neighborhood, which is nothing but

inhabitants of remote area (Kabeer, 2005).

By summing above discussion, the researcher argues that controlled opportunities of work, nepotism or gender biasness in job allocation, unequal property inheritance rights and deprivation of lands and forest are the main reasons to put indigenous women in marginalized position, which forge the social exclusion process for them.

Considering all the outcomes from above discussion on social exclusion and poverty, the researcher is quite convinced with the statement of Levitas et al. (2007) and that is different discourses are embedded in social exclusion and both poverty and social exclusion are intertwined with both material and discursive perspective. In this research, the researcher will emphasize on analyzing material discursive perspective to find out the precise process of social exclusion and inclusion of indigenous women of Bangladesh. In this research, the research will find out other reasons than poverty for exclusion of indigenous women of Bangladesh.

3.3 Intersectionality Theory

Though there is no hard and fast rule on how intersectionality has to be used in research, but many researcher believe that as intersectionality is a concept, which is being used for social justice, so the researchers who are using intersectional analysis in their research have to make sure that there is justice in the process of analysis and knowledge production (Morton et al., 2020). Kimberle Crenshaw, an Afro-American feminist scholar, first introduced this concept in here work in late 1980s (Moradi & Grzanka, 2017). After well-recognized inception of this concept (intersectionality), this concept has become indispensable part of social science and health research. This concept emphasizes on the issue how race, class, gender and ability, the different forms of identity, interrelated to each other over time and again to result in inequity (Hatala et al., 2018; Shahram et al., 2017). In intersectionality theory discussion is made on structurally produced oppression on individuals and how individuals experience and response to the oppression (Clark et al., 2013). This concept also addresses social inequities among social different categories of identities on the basis of using privilege and power (Hankivsky et al., 2014). This intersectionality concept is being considered as power relation theory where an intersectional approach is being made to find out interlocking unjust power dynamics (Bauer, 2014). This theory also considers how unjust power dynamics simultaneously affect lives of people and how these categories are being shaped by sameness

or differences (Moradi & Grzanka, 2017).

As this research paper aims to find out how social inclusion and exclusion affect the lives of indigenous people and reasons behind social exclusion for indigenous women of Bangladesh, so the researcher of this research believes that this intersectionality theory will be best theory to implement and reach the goals of this thesis.

Among different indigenous communities and people, intersectionality is very known concept (Clark et al., 2013). There are different types of complexity and multiplicities involved in being indigenous, category of indigeneity and health and well-being of indigenous people and this intersectionality theory always compliments this growing discussion, which is being widely recognized by social scientists (de Leeuw & Greenwood, 2011). In context of researching health and safety of indigenous people, this intersectionality theory has got the priority as this theory helps to address different axes of inequity, such as race, poverty, gender, disability and sexuality as well as power and privilege, which are responsible for producing socio-culture and historical inequalities (Hatala et al., 2018). An intersectional focal point subsequently can possibly encourage an acknowledgment of the variety of Indigenous youth settings of misfortune; feature covering parts of character development; uncover designs and frameworks of influence, advantage, and persecution; and offer basic reflections on static or dichotomous ideas of metropolitan/provincial, male/female, or present day/customary that can assail systems for hypothesis, exploration, and practice (de Leeuw & Greenwood, 2011). Though this intersectional concept is being widely by the researcher for its effectiveness of emphasizing the relationship between power, privilege and oppression and to find out critical insights about overlapping social categories of identities, but till date an effective framework has not been explored by the scholars to find out positive aspects of power or identity interactions (Hankivsky et al., 2014). In this theory, always emphasize has been given on malpractice or harmful context of oppression and marginalization on vulnerable population and this theory hardly give attention on overlapping strength based resilience process and other resources, which can produce wellness and resistance among vulnerable populations (Clark et al., 2013). Through the information of resilience research by using intersectional lens, opportunities are being created not only to know the different layers of inequity and different types of disadvantages that are being caused from oppressions, but also helpful to understand the process of inclusion of discriminated population into

mainstream activities. The theory of intersectionality can help implicit researchers and practitioners to avoid biasness and pre-assumption in isolating one single identities from one to another and also provide greater flexibility in power differentials and dynamics in research (Hatala et al., 2018).

There is an inexorably enormous assortment of writing connecting with intersectionality and interconnectivity to analyze and address issues of personality and social equity across the orders of law, psychology, social work, and wellbeing and health (e.g., Collins, 1998; Davis, 2008; Hancock, 2007; Shields, 2008). In this research, the researcher has used both the terms, intersectionality, and interconnectivity, interchanging with each other to depict relationship and fluidity of different subjectivity and social constructs.

3.3.1 Indigenous and Decolonizing Perspective

On the basis of knowledge system of indigenous, self and land uncover a typified structure where instructional method is unpredictably associated with place, which incorporates a geographic area as well as the occupants of that domain, including human and other-than-human selves (Tuck et al., 2014). A decolonizing indigenous lens has been used to research self-expression in land-based cultures, observing different benchmarks of cultures, such as language, names and dress codes are being specified on the basis of geographical locations. On the other hand, Henry (2014) and Scully (2012) researched emphasizing on place-based education on indigenous and they found out how this place-based education on indigenous can help the researcher reflecting the histories of relation with neighborhoods of indigenous communities and the lands of them.

Some indigenous communities in pre-colonial era were found matriarchal where women were providers and keepers of indigenous knowledge (Quigley et al., 2017). For example, in Kenya, during colonization period, all these matriarchal societies were dismantled by the structure of colonization and the role of gender was shifted where women had to be confined into household works and men had to go for outside of home to look for employment (Quigley et al., 2017). In spite having pervasive and destructive effects of colonization on matriarchal societies, many women showed the guts to remain tuned with nature and able to form some of the most effective environmental grassroots movements in the world (Li, 2007).

In further thinking about colonial impacts on communities, ecological equity researchers have censured the disproportionate area of poisons and other natural perils in low-pay neighborhoods of shading in North America (Agyeman et al., 2002). In its incipient stage, ecological equity alluded to preparation in light of the siting of dangerous waste offices in low-pay, racialized community (Brulle & Pellow, 2006); subsequently, lopsided weights influenced a few gatherings more than others while natural advantages (e.g., parks, green spaces) were likewise excessively gathered (Gosnine & Teelucksingh, 2008; Koushik, 2016). Work in ecological equity has extended to think about more extensive, intersectional ideas, for example, who is invited and has a sense of security on the land dependent on sex, sexuality, race, capacity, or other social classes (Tuck et al., 2014). A few researchers have recommended that, to address these natural shameful acts, ethnic minorities (counting ladies of shading) should be remembered for dynamic cycles (Foster, 1998).

3.4 Definition of Gender and Patriarchy

The term gender can be defined as socially constructed roles, responsibilities and opportunities, which are associated with male and female, in addition to this there are some kind of hidden power structure, which dictates the relationship between man and woman (Programme, 2010). Sex inequality is not determined by only biological factors, but also determined by lessons, unequal and inequitable treatment, which are associated with women (Programme, 2010).

Sabates-Wheeler and Kabeer (2005) have constructed the following operational definition of gender—

By the term gender means difference of social construction between men and women for different societies and these differences shows into inequality in context of resources, responsibilities, chances and obstacles. Analysis of gender prevails that there is no hard and fast rule to show differences and inequalities in gender will be same in all over the world, rather it is defined by local social and cultural attributes.

Patriarchy: Patriarchy refers to domination of male or prejudice of male against women or power of male over female in society. In modern English, there has three meaning of ‘patriarchy’, which is being found by Bennett (2002). The first meaning is given on the background of Greek Orthodox tradition where patriarchy means ecclesiastical power of man and this power is rested on Christian Leader.

Chapter Four: Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

It could be argued that research in the social sciences focuses particularly on describing, understanding, and interpreting social phenomena and processes. It is normally quite difficult to predict and explain social phenomena very precisely; therefore, social researchers depend on different methodological approaches as compared with natural scientists. The choice of methods should reflect both one's research topic and the overall research strategy, as one's methodology shapes which methods are selected and how each of these is used (Saunders, 2012). Indeed, different types of methodology are required for different investigations, but the logic of adopting certain methodological approaches depends on the nature and purpose of the study.

With this understanding, this chapter explains the data collection techniques and analytical framework selected for this research, and it argues why and how these methods were chosen for this thesis. This paper will present philosophical approach of this research; discussion will be made on both advantage and disadvantage of document analysis along with ethical consideration for this research.

4.2 Research Design

At the beginning of this research, the researcher has set a precise objective for this research, which will be attained through this research findings and the core objective has been to find out the process of social exclusion of indigenous women of Bangladesh. On the basis of the main research objective, the researcher has set main research question for this research and that is *what are the process (drivers) of social exclusion of indigenous women from the indigenous community and mainstream society of Bangladesh?* To reach to the credible findings for this research question, the researcher has decided to follow qualitative research method. The rationale behind this selection is that, to get credible findings from this research, the researcher has to conduct with the focus group directly and questions have to be asked directly so that their in-depth and rational answers can be derived through direct communication. In addition to this, to find out desired finding from this research through this research question, the researcher might need to ask some more relevant questions which is only possible through qualitative research design and not possible in quantitative research design, in which numeric data is being collected and handled. There are different other

methodologies can be found in research design, such as case study and grounded theory, ethnography and narrative methods, co-operative inquiry and actions search (Easterby-Smith et al., 2012).

To define qualitative research Rossman and Rallis (2011) emphasized on role of qualitative researchers and the purpose of conducting qualitative research. They mentioned that the researcher who conduct qualitative research seek answers to the questions of the research in the real world. In this research method, the researchers collect data from people, places, events and activities as what they see, hear or read. In a word, qualitative researchers prefer to work in natural setting rather than in laboratories or with written surveys. The key purpose of qualitative research is to gain knowledge about research topic from social world and to generate new ideas, which can be used for better social setting of the world.

The characteristics of qualitative research are reflective, interpretive and descriptive and through this research method, researcher put reflexive efforts to narrate and gain precise knowledge about real beneath purpose of human actions and experience through the experience and narration of participants of the research who have gone through the particular situation (MacFarlane et al., 2017).

From the above definitions, it is clear that the key focuses of qualitative research are to research the meaning that people ascribe to experiences of life and how these people understand these events or experience of their life from their own point of view. And the core purpose of the qualitative researchers is to understand these events as emphatically as possible and to present the outcomes of the research in a way that will exactly or nearly present the social phenomenon what the researchers extract from interviewing the participants.

For this research, intersectional approach has been followed. This approach is the best approach to conduct research on discrimination and inequality (TEDWomen, 2016). Crenshaw (1989) was the first feminist who introduced this term 'intersectionality' to fight against discrimination, racism and inequality against under privileged women. This intersectional approach has a fundamental benefit in quality research and that is through this approach an clear and precise understanding can be developed on equality research topic from lived experience of the equality groups of the researches' interest and helps the researcher to develop effective strategies to do betterment of the focus groups. In this

research approach, the best and in-depth information can be derived when the researchers make themselves familiar and trustworthy person to the focus group and this is only possible in qualitative research method as in this method open-ended questions are being asked and from extracted data actual scenario or strategies can be developed. Reflexivity is the main consideration of qualitative research when following intersectional approach in research. The researchers have to consider participant's own social positions, values, assumptions and experience to shape up research process and to put research into context. As in this research, the researcher will follow qualitative research method and ensure reflexivity to earn trust of the discriminated focus group people and necessary adjustments have been done to ask questions and collect data to find out the drivers of social exclusion of indigenous women of Bangladesh, so this intersectional approach will be the best approach for this research.

4.3 Study Area

The focus group for this research is indigenous people, especially indigenous women. For this research, the research has decided to collect both primary and secondary data. The sources of primary data is the semi-structured interview process and for secondary data are different journals, books and information on different websites. After conducting an extensive search, the researcher has found that Chakma community is largest tribal group in Bangladesh on which there are few documents available. Due to this reason, the main study area of for this research in South-Eastern districts of Bangladesh, which is widely known as Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT). Another reason for choosing this geographical area for this study is that here in this area there are ancient villages exists, where these tribes are living for hundreds of years. This study area is shown on the map below—

Figure 1 Study area on map of Bangladesh



4.4 Data Collection

On the basis of characteristics of data, there are two types of data that are being used by the researchers; these are primary data and secondary data (Saunders, 2012). When the researchers are collecting data by their own and by being part of a group of researcher and collected data will be used by the research analysis for their own research, then it is called primary data. When research use data from other resources, such as publication, documents analysis or web world, then it is called secondary data (Boslaugh, 2007).

For this research, the research will collect both primary and secondary data. To collect primary data, the researcher has followed semi-structured interview strategy. In this strategy, the researcher has developed a open-ended questionnaire where questions were asked on the

basis of extracted knowledge from theoretical chapters of this research. Due to Covid-19 situation, the researcher could not travel to study area but there are few indigenous women of Chakma Community, which is the focus group of this research, acquainted to the researchers. The research has approached few of them whom were available to communicate and only two of them only agreed to give interview and these two women suggested few others and among them the researcher have been able to contact another five Chakma women. In this context, it can be said that the researcher has followed snowball strategy to conduct interview. As the researcher could not travel to study area, so the researcher has to depend on online communication. Zoom has been used to communicate with respondents and conduct interview with them. For the secondary data, the researcher has relied on different publications, books and websites.

4.5 Data Analysis

To make the data analysis and findings credible and valid, the researcher has analyzed interview data for few times. At first, the researcher has listened interview recording to make the transcript. Thematic analysis has been followed to develop theme from extract data analysis.

4.6 Sampling

At the beginning of this research, the researcher planned to visit the study area to spend some time with local people and to collect primary data by interviewing as many Chakma indigenous women as possible. But due to Covid pandemic, the researcher could not visit the study area. In that case, the researcher has targeted that group of people, who are knowledgeable about the research subject and who have significant contribution or association with the focus group. The researcher has been able to manage 7 Chakma women to conduct the interviews. Among these respondents, one has been working for distressed indigenous women for years who also belong to this Chakma community. Two of them are working in RMG(Readymade Garments) industry, one is teacher and rest of 3 respondents are housewives. Social worker and Teacher, these are the two persons who have helped the researcher to contact with other respondents and to collect primary data. For this research, the researcher has followed snowball-sampling strategy. Schutt claims that, „Snowball sampling is useful for hard-to-reach or hard-to-identify populations for which there is no sampling frame, but the members of which are somewhat interconnected (at least some members of the population know each other)“ (Schutt, 2018). The problem with snowball sampling is that it

cannot represent the total population in which the researcher is interested, so generalization must be tentative (Schutt, 2018). However, qualitative sampling can never represent a group in a statistical way. Another, similar problem with snowball sampling is that it may only produce interviews with a very small clique of people who are very similar to each other. However, Bryman (2016) argues that in a qualitative research framework it is more likely to be a reasonable guide and 'fit' than other statistical sampling. As the researcher could not reach to the focus group directly, so snowball-sampling method has been the best method for this research.

4.7 Ethical Consideration

Ethical issues have been maintained very strictly for this research. All the personal information has been kept confidential and consent was taken from each and every respondent before interview. Names of the respondents are pseudomonas.

Chapter Five: Data Analysis and Presentation

5.1 Introduction

This research has been carrying out on the issue of gender and the processes of social exclusion in Bangladesh. The main focus of this research is to find out the reasons behind the social exclusion for indigenous women and the impact of social exclusion on lives of indigenous women in their own communities and mainstream societies. To conduct this research, the researcher has chosen qualitative research method. Semi-structured interview has been followed to collect primary data. All the respondents of interview process are belonged to Chakma community. Zoom technology has been used to conduct interviews with the interviewees. Before starting the interviews, open-ended questionnaire was sent to each and every respondents and consent was taken about the interview process from all of them. Every sort of ethical transparency have been followed to analysis collected data. Thematic analysis has followed for the presentation of extracted data.

To conduct this research in right course, the researcher has developed following objectives...

1. To find out the process of social exclusion in indigenous community, especially indigenous women of Bangladesh.
2. To find out the challenges indigenous women have been facing in their own societies in context of decision-making on domestic issues (Marriage, education, etc.).

5.2 Background information of the Participants

To know some of the background information of the respondents, the researcher has kept few demographic questions at the beginning section of the questionnaire. Summary of these information are discussed below.

5.2.1 Interviewee 1:

The first respondent of the data collection process for this research was a social worker. She is a university graduate and has been working with an NGO (Non-government Organisation) for years. She has been working for distress indigenous women. She mentioned her name as Arpita and she is 39 years old. She is married and living in a nuclear family. She hails from Rangamati, which is the biggest district of study area of this research. She belongs to Chakma Community, and she is Buddhist by religion. She has proficiency in four different languages, such as Chakma, Bengali, English and French.

5.2.2 Interviewee 2

Joly is the second respondents of the interviewee process. She is 40 years old and she is a teacher by profession. She is providing teaching to indigenous community in Rangamati for last 18 years. She was graduated from Government Degree College in Rangamati. She is married and living in a extended family. Originally, she is from Rangamati. She belongs to Chakma community and Buddhist by religion. She knows two languages only, Chakma and Bengali.

5.2.3 Interviewee 3

The name of the third respondents is Chaaya and she is from Bandorbon District. She is 19 years of old and working in a garments factory. She completed her primary school education and living with her friends in a shared apartments outside of her hometown. She belongs to Chakma community and Buddhist by religion. She is unmarred. She speaks in two languages, such as Chakma and Bengali.

5.2.4 Interviewee 4

Dipa is the fourth interviewee of my interview process, and she is from Rangamati. She is a garment worker and lives with her friends in a shared apartment outside of her home district. She is 21 years old Chakma girl and Buddhist by religion. She could not get any formal education as she hails from rural areas of Rangamati District. She speaks in two languages, Bengali and Chakma.

5.2.5 Interviewee 5

The name of fifth interviewee is Kakon and she is a housewife. She is originally from Rangamati and now living in Dhaka with her husband. She is 26 years old and married 3 years ago. She is living in a nuclear family and now she is only a housewife. She lost her job due to gender and racial discrimination. She is a university graduate. She belongs to Chakma community and Buddhist by religion. She speaks in three languages, such as Bengali, Chakma and English.

5.2.6 Interviewee 6

Bani is the name of sixth interviewee of my data collection process. She is 22 years old and she is a university graduate. She is married and living in her home district Rangamati. She was graduated from Rangamati Degree College. She is living in her own house with husband

and in-laws. She is a housewife. She belongs to Chakma community and Buddhist by religion. She speaks in two languages, Bengali and Chakma.

5.2.7 Interviewee 7

Dristi is the name of seventh respondent of the interviewee process. She is 37 years old living in Chittagong town. Originally, she is from Rangamati and she is married. She is living in rented house with her extended family as their family was discarded from their own community and own land. She is housewife and completed her high school education. She belongs to Chakma community and Buddhist by religion. She speaks in Bengali and Chakma languages.

Table 2 Personal Information of the Respondents

Name	Age	Marital status	Occupation	Education
Arpita	39	Married	Social worker	Graduate
Joly	40	Married	Teacher	Graduate
Chaaya	19	Unmarried	Garment worker	Primary education
Dipa	21	Unmarried	Garment Worker	Without formal education
Kakon	26	Married	Housewife	Graduate
Bani	22	Married	Housewife	Graduate
Dristi	37	Married	Housewife	High School Education

5.3 Experience of Social Exclusion

5.3.1 The Impact of Marriage on Social Exclusion of Indigenous women and Decision-Making Process

The key objective of this research is to find out the process or drivers of social exclusion of

indigenous women and challenges they face in the decision making process in their own community and mainstream society. From the literature review it is known that due to early marriage indigenous girl don't get enough chance to make themselves developed and capable in decision making process (Khatun, 2002; Halim, 2005). When a girl gets married at early age, it is quite obvious that they don't have maturity both physically and psychologically. As they don't get enough education, they don't get the opportunity develop their inner quality or wisdom. Without going to school or university or mingling with wider society people, it is hardly possible to enhance the mental horizon. In addition to this, when girls get married at early age, they become puppet of their husband and in-laws and gets busy in giving birth and rearing up child. As a result of whole, they don't get any opportunity to develop themselves to take part in decision making process in society, family or community (Lopita, 2008). All these adversities of life make them demoralised and loose courage and motivation to develop themselves and stay lag behind in the inclusion process of social and economic activities, apart from domestic activities.

All the above findings from the theoretical chapter have the support from the findings from the primary data analysis of this research. Among seven respondents of the interview process for this research, five respondents are married. From the discussion with them on the issue of marriage, it is evident that in patriarchal society of Chakma Community, girls don't have any kind of scope to express their opinion or feelings about marriage. When few related questions were asked on marriage issue in the questionnaire, every respondent mentioned that early age is the tradition of Chakma community and most of the cases, Chkama girls get married at the age of 15 or 16. In this context, the key discussion with interviewees can be mentioned here

Arpita, who is a social worker, mentioned *“Usually in Chakma Community, girls get married at the age of 15 or 16. Though the tradition of Chakma is the arranged marriage, but now a days love marriage is getting popular. But the worst part of love marriage is that, most of the cases, the community people or family don't accept this marriage and they discard the married couple from the society and family. In the arranged marriage process, the father or the head of the family and the Head Man of the community take all the decisions in the arranged marriage process and grooms' family bear all the expenses of the marriage. Even when the bride is highly educated and the arragned marriage is fixed for her, then also no opinion being asked about marriage. At the time of my marriage, I was not asked any opinion.”*

Joly said, *“In Chakma community early marriage is the tradition and only father and Head Man can take all the decisions regarding marriage. Even this tradition is so worse that, once one of my ‘seheli’ (Friend) was raped by a Chakma man when she went to forest to collect woods. When she was rescued from there, the Head Man of the community arranged ‘shalish’ (Judgement Board) and there He decided that that man had to marry that girl. No opinion was asked whether that girl wanted to marry that man or not. My friend was not well treated at her in-laws house, and she committed suicide.”*

Kakon Said, *“Considering the tradition of my community, I feel myself lucky that I get the chance to get married the person I do like. My parents were so supportive in the whole process, though my parents had to suffer a lot for this from the society. In this context I would like to mention one real story. When I was 16, one of my friends’ family fixed her marriage through she wanted to continue her education. The grooms’ family chooses her due to her long hair. So, to cancel the marriage, she cut her hair but she wasn’t able to cancel the wedding. Here I am mentioning this story, because my friend was better student than me, but now she is busy rearing up her child and has no chance to say anything in the decision-making process of her family. On the other hand, I am graduated from a university and my husband and my in-law’s family respect and encourage me take part in the decision-making process.”*

Dristi said, *“Due to early marriage tradition of my society I have seen so many girls with sheer promising in education could not fulfil their dreams. Due to the early marriage, at the age of 14, one of the cousins got married and got pregnant at the age of 16 and she succumbed to maternity death as her body was capable enough to carry that pregnancy. So, I think this tradition should be changed. Though in urban areas, our community girls are getting married at the age of 21-22 but in rural areas the tradition remains the same as before. So I think only education can change this scenario.”*

After summing up all the discussion with the respondents on the marriage issue, it is evident that early marriage has been a curse for women to become capable to take part in social, political and economic decision-making process of the society or country. Early marriage tradition is killing so many promising girls from the society, which is not only loss for only one single community rather for the whole nation. So, it can be concluded by saying that indigenous women should be encouraged to take part in the decision making process of their marriage so that they can choose their life partner and can form happy and peaceful society as

well as educated next generation. Early marriage should be stopped at any cost as this is crippling their own society to integrate into mainstream society. From the discussion, one more information came into light and that is in Chakma Community there is no system for marriage registration and divorce is very rare in this community. From the extracted data, one good approach of Chakma society evident and that is no girls has to suffer for the dowry system, which is one of the worst systems of mainstream society in Bangladesh.

From the theoretical and empirical data analysis findings, it is evident that when girls get married at their early age, they become socially excluded for life and the rationale behind the statement is that when girls get married at tender age, they don't develop maturity to cast their opinion regarding marriage and enter into married life without knowing the consequence of it. In this process, they are just made to follow the order what are being imposed on them. Due to the child or teenage marriage, girls face 'a life of exclusion' and these marriages bring negative and slavery behavioural changes into them for which never been able to make themselves capable to include socially both in own community and wider society as well. The result is the fulfilment of the prophecy of exclusion.

5.3.2 Impact of Education on social exclusion process of Indigenous Women

It is highly debatable fact that which are key drivers of social exclusion, which have huge impact on indigenous people, especially the women of Chakma community. In the theoretical chapter, it was mentioned that the process of social-exclusion is multidimensional and sense of deprivation and social exclusion are closely related to each other (Narayan et al., 2000). Here I will discuss the impact of education on social exclusion of indigenous women of Bangladesh, in context of Chakma Community.

In this new millennium, development of women has become a global concern, especially in developing countries and indigenous communities. To do this, in many developed and developing countries, gender mainstreaming has become a key approach along with gender equality policies (Unit et al., 2013). The necessity of full-fledged participation of women in social, political and economic activities of the countries was presented in first ever World Conference on Women in Mexico (1975) and since then this strategy or policy of women development has become indispensable part of countries' development discourse. The issue of women empowerment implies that all kinds of obstacles have to be removed from the participation of women in every sphere of life, such as political, economic and culture, and

they have to provide with every possible opportunities to take part in decision making process. Amin and Huq (2008) mentioned in their research journal that, in rural areas of Bangladesh, girls are not given any sort of freedom to choose their groom or make any kind of opinion in their marriage. Only legal guardians or parents have this right to make decision of marriage for girls. The parents or legal guardians of girls in rural areas or indigenous communities of Bangladesh believe that sustaining youthfulness in parents' house for girls has no advantage as sooner or later they will have to shift to in laws' house. In addition to this, parents are in fear that if the girls mature and become more aged than the teenage then it will be tough for them to arrange groom and maybe they will have to give more dowries. Girls become victims of these primitive thoughts of parent and face the worst consequence of early marriage in rest of their lives. As they are deprived of education, they don't get chance to explore what kind of abilities they have. As a result, they prefer to engage themselves only into household chores and don't get any chance to take part in social, political or economic activities of the country and remain socially excluded. From the research result of Halim (2005), it is known that indigenous families think that their girl children will be engaged in household chores and rearing up Childs, so there is no need of having education in different language rather than their own language as the process of education is nothing but wastage of time for them, especially for the girl Child. From the study of (Zohir et al., 2008) which was conducted on Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) about the enrolment percentage between Bengali child and indigenous child and this study reveals that there is a huge gap between the school enrolment between Bengali community and indigenous community, which is 66% for Bengali and 34% for indigenous communities for the age group of 6-10 years old.

All the above findings from the literature section have huge resemblance with the findings from the primary data analysis. All the respondents have mentioned that deprivation of education has been playing key role of social exclusion of indigenous women of Chakma Community. In this context, the key statement on education and social exclusion from the respondents can be mentioned here to ascertain the support of data analysis findings to the theoretical findings of this research.

"I have completed my graduation from a reputed university and this education and knowledge gained from education has been helping me to integrate into mainstream society of the country. But the actual scenario of education in our indigenous areas is not that much encouraging, especially for Chakma girls. In rural areas, most of the Chakma families

depend on 'Jhum' hill cultivation and their economic condition is not good enough to send their children to school. To be honest, from my work experience, I have seen in rural indigenous areas, there is only one primary school in 50-60-kilometre area. So, most of the parents don't find any reason to send to their child to school so far by walking as there is no available transportation. In addition to this, in the primary school or high school all the education is given in Bengali medium, which most of the Chakma families don't take it easy as they prefer that basis primary education should be given in their mother tongue. In this context, I would like to mention that there are so many obstacles for indigenous girls to receive education. For example, when I was a pre-teenage stage, I faced sheer difficulties to go to school as there was war like situation between indigenous people and Bangladesh Army. So, my parents sent me to India for education. Apart from this, most of the Chakma families think that giving girls education is nothing but wastage of money and time as if they get education then they will become adult like 24-25 years and at that age, no good family will accept the girls as bride. So, they don't send them school and get them married at early age. Due to this tradition, girls don't get education, can't make them develop or capable to take part socially, economically, or politically. As a result, they just don't become burden for their families but also for the families. As I have education, I have capability and knowledge to integrate into mainstream and no one can deprive me from my rights. So, I think lack of education among indigenous girls are the main reason that they socially excluded" (Arpita, Social Worker, First Respondent).

Joly said, "The school where I am teaching, we have most of the settlers' Bengali students. And among indigenous students, there are very few students who are girls and most of these girls come to school as they will get stipend from government if they come to school. But in rural areas, parents of girls think that education should be given only to their sons, not for girls. I met few Chakma girls while I was appointed in a rural primary school, and they shared their feelings about education as they want to receive education, but it is really tiresome to come so far to school as that school was 8 KM away from their home. I really found those girls promising."

Dipa said, "I am from a remote village and my family is very poor. In my area there was no primary school, so I dint get chance to take any kind of formal education. When I was 14 I migrated to district town to one of our relatives and started to get training in tailoring clothes. After two years, I came to main town and get a job in a garment factory, where I am

working now. As I have no education, I cannot climb the ladder of promotion or salary increment. I am working in low wages and saving money for marriages. From my experience, I can say that when girls have no education they cannot fight for their rights and deprived from all their rights and lead a low-profile life. They cannot take part in decision making process and have to remain dependent on others and remain socially excluded.”

Bani, Dristi, Kakon and Chayaa everybody said almost the same opinion that education is the main drivers for indigenous girls to become or remain socially excluded from their own community and mainstream society. From the data analysis and theoretical findings, it is evident that indigenous girls are deprived of education due to outlook of community people and lack of education facilities for them. Though there are arrangement of free primary education for all, but in rural areas of indigenous areas there is hardly any arrangement of schools or other educational facilities. Indigenous people have to go hardship to come schools and receive education due to lack of transportation. Chakma families in rural areas think that education is only for boys, and they prefer to get their girls married at early age. Due to this discrimination from families, they don't get any opportunity to train themselves to take part in mainstream societies activities either politically or economically and remain socially excluded. So, saying that can conclude it, lack of education is the main drivers for indigenous girls to remain socially excluded.

5.3.3 Impact of Employment and Income on Social Exclusion of Indigenous Women

There are large gaps exist in context of social and economic development for indigenous people in comparison with mainstream societies of different countries. Politically they remain on margins and have been struggling to retain their land and heritage of language and worldviews (Banerjee, 2016). In developing countries like Bangladesh, economic or financial factors are important factors for social exclusion for indigenous women. The rationale behind this statement is that when the indigenous women find that employment and economic opportunities are available for them, then they will try to achieve what they will need to achieve (Hann, 1999).

In this particular aspect of relation between social exclusion and poverty, Saunders (2012) suggested that incorporation should be done between the concept of exclusion and measurement of poverty and policy making. On the basis of this research, Shafie and Kilby (2003) did an extensive research to find out the reasons behind of exclusion of indigenous

communities in Northwest Bangladesh. From the result of the study, it is known that in Northwest Bangladesh the reasons those led to exclusion and marginalization of indigenous people are discrimination and exploitation. Through the research, Shafie and Kilby (2003) tried to develop relationship between social exclusion and the concept of poverty as 'capability deprivation'. Through the research of their research, they have shown that there are so many interdependent factors associated with the poverty of indigenous people of Bangladesh, such as ethnic inequality, enduring discrimination, little or lack of education, easy and unconditional access to cultivable lands, lack of knowledge of market integration and lack of employment opportunities to take part in other sectors of rural areas (Shafie & Kilby, 2003). Discrimination exists here in this sector as well as women get half of the men's wages for same number of workloads. Though indigenous women play the key role in the economic activities in indigenous communities and in some communities, they enjoy equal rights as men but due to the loss of traditional forest and cultivable lands in hilly areas, many indigenous women have to work in agricultural firms. As they have lack of education and language inefficiency, they are being discriminated by the employers (Mohsin, 2003). In addition to these, increase of sexual harassment from the Bengali settlers, indigenous women are losing their freedom of movement and they are occupying in only household chores (ICIP-CHT, 2013). This is also causing economic disasters for indigenous communities.

All the above findings from the theoretical chapters have support from the findings from the primary data analysis of this research. All respondents have mentioned that indigenous women are the main subject of the ethnic inequality, capability deprivation, lack of education and lack or access to cultivable land or loans from the financial institution. As they are deprived of having ample opportunities to earn economic solvency as well as equal rights in employment, they prefer to make themselves busy only in household chores and remain socially excluded, even in some context they have enough education or capability to enjoy same sort of rights in the job markets or work fields. All these findings can be proved through statements from the respondents in the interview process.

Dipa said, *"Before move into district town from my rural village, I used to work in a cultivable land of others. Though I used to work with same strength or dedication in the work fields, I was given less-wages than the male counterparts or even less than Bengali female workers. In addition to this, being indigenous women Bengali employer thought that all indigenous women or girls are guardian less and they are easily available. To be honest, this*

sort of attitude compelled me to leave my place and migrated to district town. My family and me kept me out of work for a while as we thought that it is better to remain safe at home without going outside for work rather than being raped or sexually harassed. I think this sort of discriminating and exploiting attitude towards indigenous women is compelling them to remain socially excluded. Even at my present workplace, Bengali female co-workers are getting better respect and incentives than indigenous women. All these approaches from the mainstream society are really very frustrating.”

Arpita said, “Being educated, I have been able to manage a good and respectful job for myself. But at the beginning of my career, I had to face racial discrimination or sexual harassment from colleagues and employers. They always taunted me on issue of our tradition food habits and in certain context, the employer gave me notice that if I keep bringing my tradition foods at workplace I would be fired from job, which is nothing but violation of my basic human rights. Being a social worker, from my work experience I could see that most of the Chakma families don’t want to let their girls or wives into work even they are well-educated and skilled enough to become economically solvent. But, in most of the cases, as the girls don’t have education so they can’t bring themselves into wider society and seek jobs for them, which is really one of the main reasons to remain lag behind in the society and socially excluded. And if you (the researcher of this research) want me, talk about the equal opportunity in getting loan from the financial institutions, I would like to say that there are few instances when the indigenous people, especially indigenous women get loan from banks or NGOs. The reason behind this approach is that for indigenous people there are no system of property documents and indigenous women are not entitled to get land from parents or husbands. As they cannot provide any property documents, so they don’t get loans from banks. Only those indigenous who are working as bankers, lawyers, teachers or other high fly job, then only they get loans from job, which number is really low. Here is another importance of education, depriving of which indigenous women don’t get financial assistance form financial institution to change their lucks.”

Kakon said, “I am a graduate and my family helped me a lot to complete my education and to get a job. Even I continued that job after my marriage as my husband is so much supportive. But last year, during Corona pandemic I was fired from the job and the reason behind is that our face looks like Mongolian and there was a common perception that Chinese are responsible for Corona Virus spread out. This sort of racial discrimination broke me from

inside and since then I feel myself secured from this sort of racial discrimination and remain socially excluded though I have every skill and capability integrate into mainstream society. Now we have migrated from Dhaka to Rangamati, among our own community.”

Joly said, “*Though from government, it is mentioned that to encourage indigenous people to include in mainstream society and to provide equal rights in every sphere of life, there has Quota system for indigenous people in the government service system. But the reality is different. In most of the cases, we the indigenous people don’t get job in decision-making sectors even we have required skills and knowledge. In case, if indigenous people get job, they don’t get equal salary like Bengali people.”*

Dristi and Chayaa mentioned almost the same experience as Joly said in her interview.

So, from the above discussion both from literature and primary data analysis, ethnic discrimination, lack of education, poverty and language inefficiency have been compelling the indigenous women to keep themselves aloof from the integration with the mainstream society. Indigenous women prefer to remain socially excluded rather than being sexually harassed or discriminated in wider society.

5.3.4 Gender Relationship in Decision Making process of Indigenous Women

The second objective of this research is to find out the challenges indigenous women have been facing in their own societies in context of decision-making on domestic issues (Marriage, education, etc.). To get information in this issue, the researcher kept a section in the questionnaire. All the informants have provided almost the same information. The extracted findings from the data analysis are that in Chakma community, parents and husband are the key people to make decision in every family matter, from childcare to education of the children. All the informants have said that most of the families of Chakma communities, fathers and husband make all the decisions, such as where the child will be educated, whether girl child will be sent to schools or not, at which age child should be get married, who should they marriage and how family will be run. They also mentioned that the girls or women cannot take part in the decision-making process as they are not encouraged to do so. But most of the cases, they don’t have ability to take part in the decision-making process, as most of the girls or women are not provided with ample opportunity to receive education and they get married at their early ages. So, they don’t develop maturity both physically or psychologically, to assess situation to make decisions in family matters. As they don’t make

any logical statements on critical situation, so they are being ignored by the men of family in the decision-making process. Informants also mentioned that this kind of mentality has changed in recent time in urban areas as families of urban area are providing scopes to girls to receive education and work outside of home. As a result of this change in approach from the community and families, Chakma girls have been gaining importance in the decision-making process of families. This sort of approach and gender relationship is providing confidence to the Chakma women. At the same time, it is also true that still gender inequality exist in the Chakma community as girls are given simple foods or no education where parents even sell all their properties for the education of male child. So, the key finding from this section is that education is the main issue to ensure equal rights of women in the families and community as well. If women are being educated, then they will be more confident to make themselves important and essential for the development of families and societies in wider context.

5.3.5 Impact of Health, Rights of laws, Justice on Social Exclusion of Indigenous

Women

From the report of CARITUS Bangladesh (2008-2009), it is evident that general health of indigenous people, especially indigenous women is very poor. The mortality and morbidity rate is higher in comparison with Bengali women. Safe maternity is a day dream for them. Due to the ignorance, women have to face different types of health hazards, such as anemia, lack of nutrition, multiple pregnancies, abortion and so on (Momsen, 2019). From the research result, it is evident that in indigenous areas, women even have to do general household chores, such as brining water from spring, which might miles away from home, collection of firewood and cooking foods for whole family. Due to having extra stress from these works, sometime these indigenous women experience aclamsia, miscarriage and many other gynecological and organ failure problems (Islam & Sultana, 2006).

From the existing literature (Adnan, 1989; Chakraborty & Ayub Ali, 2009) it is evident that ethnic confliction and violation of human rights are common aspects in the lives of Bangladeshi people. In fact, these ethnic conflicts impose vulnerable position in indigenous societies; especially women and children become worst victims of these conflicts. From the discussion of third chapter, it is known that the poverty rate is much higher in indigenous society, especially in Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) than any other part of the country and it is due to brutal oppression both from the state and security forces of Bangladesh (Adnan, 1989).

The above literature findings have similarity and clarity with the findings from the primary data analysis of this research. Though there were seven respondents for the interview process of this research, but only the first respondents, Arpita, the social worker has answered the questions of this segment in details from her first hand experience of service. The answers of the rest of six respondents can be found in the answers of Arpita's answers and sharing of experience on different issues of social exclusion. So here the researcher want to mention the narration of her on these issues of health of indigenous women, treatment facilities for indigenous women, law and justice system for indigenous women, actual scenario between settlers and indigenous people, and further steps should be taken by government for the development of indigenous women so that socially excluded indigenous women can be included in the mainstream society of Bangladesh.

Indigenous women, especially in Chakma community, don't have any right in fathers' property. Though men and women work alongside in the field, only sons have full rights to the property of father. If father don't have any son, then the son of father's brother son will get property. Even wife has to right to property of husband. Only daughters get the property if mother has the property. This is really a discriminating law which is also make the indigenous women socially excluded as they don't have any property, they don't get loan from banks or other financial institutions and they don't get the opportunity to start something of their own. Being deprived and discriminated from the wider society, they don't feel urge to keep themselves engaged in any sort of activities and remain socially excluded. In context of sense of security for moving around in hill tracts or any other parts of Bangladesh, I would say now a days, we feel insecure in our own land. In old days, we the indigenous women used to go to forest to collect vegetables, woods and fruits, but in recent times we the women don't like to go there as Bengali settlers and law enforcement service people target us for raping or sexual harassment. Rather we feel better secured to move the other parts of Bangladesh. Every now and then, settlers and Army people target the indigenous girls, kidnap them and enjoy doing sexual harassment with them. I would like to one incident which took place last year in Rangamati. Army people kidnapped four Chakma girls from hill tracts and raped them for two days. When these girls were rescued, they were taken to the hospital and then to police for seeking justice. But justices were not prevailed as there was not medical evidence of rape with those girls. Bengali doctors manipulated the medical examination report and Army threatened the victim's family to withdraw the case.

This is not the only case. In 2017, one of Chakma girl of age my relatives who was 20 years raped by a settler in Rangamati and that man was caught by the police on the basis of eyewitness, who was a girl. After few days, that culprit was released from the jail as there was no medical evidence and freeing from jail than man raped and killed the eyewitness girl. That mainstream people still at large and having no regrets in his face. And it is quite obvious that when the culprits don't get punishment for their sin or misdeeds then other people also gets courage to commit same type of sins again and again. In fact, this is the actual scenario of justice and law and order system for indigenous people in Hill Tracts. Now a days, indigenous people, especially don't like to go to police station to complain against any kind of exploitation or oppression from Army or settlers' people as there is no justice for indigenous women in Hill Tracts.

In context of health service, in urban areas the indigenous women almost like the same treatment facilities as Bengali people. But most of the cases, the indigenous women feel uncomfortable to get treatment from male doctors as there is lack of female doctors in hill tracts area. Sometimes language barriers also play its role to get smooth treatment from the hospitals. But due to lack of medical facilities in rural indigenous areas, people, especially women suffer a lot. In this context one incident can be mentioned here. Few months back, one pregnant woman, living in remotest area of Rangamati where main communication is river ways. When that lady experienced labor pain she was bringing to district town hospital as there is no medical facilities in that areas. But Bengali people didn't let that boat to anchor near the dock areas as dock area was busy for commercial purposes. As a result, that lady was died. This kind of maternity death is quite among indigenous women due to lack of medical facilities. Birth registration is very common in whole indigenous society. Everybody is aware of this.

Social mobility is strictly restricted in Chakma community. Chakma girls are not allowed to marry men of other casts, religion or outside of indigenous communities. In that case, girls are discarded from the family and society. In some cases, family of those girls also discarded from the society. This is also another way of social exclusion from the community.”(Arpita, 39).

All the respondents provided some suggestions to improve the conditions of social exclusion of indigenous women and will help them to include in the mainstream society. For example, handicraft workers and beauty salon workers should be given bank loans without any

condition so that they can run their business and contribute to the national economy. During corona pandemic, so many garments' workers and beauty parlors workers lost their jobs and started to work a day laborers. Proper initiatives should be taken under the National Development Program of Indigenous women to rehabilitate these indigenous women.

5. 4 Intersexuality Theory and Social Exclusion

The intersectionality theory addresses social inequities among social different categories of identities on the basis of using privilege and power (Hankivsky et al., 2014). This intersectionality concept is being considered as power relation theory where an intersectional approach is being made to find out interlocking unjust power dynamics (Bauer, 2014). This theory also considers how unjust power dynamics simultaneously affect lives of people and how these categories are being shaped by sameness or differences (Moradi & Grzanka, 2017).

This theory has very relevance with this thesis as this thesis has been working on to find out the drivers of social exclusion of indigenous people, especially indigenous women. The focus group of this this research is the southeastern part of Bangladesh, where most of the indigenous people live. The lives of Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) is the subject of oppression and exploitation since the time of British Colony (Adnan, 1989). From 1948 under the rule of Pakistan colonization till the independence of Bangladesh, 1971 difference political initiatives affected the indigenous people of this region in adverse ways. To develop hydroelectric project in 1964, the indigenous people lost 40% of their cultivable lands and this policy led to import more poverty in this region. But when Bangladesh was independent in 1971, then also this indigenous people were excluded from the constitution (Badiuzzaman et al., 2013). In addition to this, to gain political advantage, then governments instill Bengali-speaking people into the land of CHT, which spread violence between indigenous people and settlers. With the time passes, the number of settlers keep on increasing and many indigenous families were uprooted from developed areas of CHT and had to move to more rural areas, which also triggered the population excluded from the society.

Expanding land debates, the non-restitution of land to native people groups, helpless restoration of evacuees and inside uprooted people and the non-withdrawal of the Bangladeshi armed force, alongside resistance to the international agreement by the ethnic dissidents, have made the post-clash circumstance of CHT amazingly delicate and prompted different kinds of low-power savagery like pyro-crime, kidnapping, blackmail, provocation of

ladies and kids, and confined versatility (Barkat et al., 2009) A new Amnesty International report (2013) archived the continuous strains in the locale, announcing that many a huge number of native individuals are landless and caught in a pattern of rough conflicts with Bengali pilgrims over land use.

This context is important to understand the concept of intersectionality and drivers of social exclusion of indigenous people, especially indigenous, as they are the worst sufferers of exploitation and operation of social exclusion process.

Chapter Six: Conclusion and Implications

6.1 Conclusion

This key purpose of this research has been to find out the drivers or process of social exclusion in context of gender perspective. To attain reliable and validate result from this research, the researcher has developed a set of objectives for this research along with research questions. Now in this conclusive chapter, the researcher will discuss the finding from this research in context of objectives of this research so that it can be ascertain that whether objectives of the research have been attained or not. If the objectives of the research can be attained through the result of the data analysis, then the validity and reliability of research and research data can be established.

According to Jacob et al. (2015), indigenous people are the original, native, or local population of a specific geographical area who are having different cultural identity. In broader sense, indigenous people can be defined as the original inhabitants of a land who exist into that land much before the dominant societies entered into that land, face resistance from dominant societies to integrate into that societies and experiencing struggle with total absorption and isolation from the modern societies.

The first objective for this research has been to find out the process of social exclusion in indigenous community, especially indigenous women of Bangladesh. Now a discussion will be made on research findings. The findings reveal that there has a huge impact of socio-cultural factor on lives of women of indigenous communities and shows that women are always put in a marginalisation position due to the dominance of men over women in context of marriage and its related issues and cultural norms of these communities. From analysis of qualitative data, it is evident that by means of structural barriers women are being excluded from participating in wider society and put in marginalized position in the communities where they do live. In context of marriage, the findings are that customarily women are not given any choice to choose their marital partners and if anyone shows any exceptionality to these social norms, they are being excluded from the society. Due to this social norm, the percentage of love marriage is lower and arranges marriage is higher. In context of marriage, the worst part is the consequence of early marriage on both physical and psychological on the women of indigenous communities. Most of the indigenous girls or women have to get married in their early marriage and due to this social and cultural practice, women are hardly given any kind of education, which will be helpful for them develop their physical,

psychological or maternal development. As they are deprived of education, they don't get chance to explore what kind of abilities they have. As a result, they prefer to engage themselves only into household chores and don't get any chance to take part in social, political or economic activities of the country and remain socially excluded.

The analytical findings also suggest that indigenous people, indigenous women are the favourite subject of discrimination by the law enforces agencies. Most of the cases, indigenous women become the target of Bengali settlers or law enforcing agencies. Indigenous women abducted every now and then by Bengali or Army people and when these women seek justice for that all the medical and other evidence are being manipulated by Bengali doctors and law-enforcement agencies. Due to lack of evidence, almost every case, indigenous women don't get any justice from state. As a result, they don't feel urge to seek justice from state and remain socially excluded even from own communities.

The overall well-being of the indigenous women of Bangladesh is affected by encountering difficulties in attaining education. Indigenous are deprived of getting minimum or higher level or education or training to develop themselves for future better employment and active participation in social, political and economic activities (Lewis & Lockheed, 2007). In fact, due to lack of education in ethnic minority, the children of these communities are at risk. Due to discriminatory approach from both state and medical personnel toward indigenous community as well as ignorance among indigenous people, the total health condition of indigenous people is very poor. Due to having poor health condition, they suffer from inferior complexity, cannot resist to the oppression from the mainstream or powerful people and make themselves excluded from their own community and wider society of Bangladesh. At the same time, through the introduction of social exclusion a multidimensional relationship between economic deprivation and social discrimination can be captured. On the basis of this particular point, Beall (2002) noted that remoteness and isolation of a particular land have huge impact behind spatial disadvantage and it is quite evident that due to the remoteness of a location and unavailability of proper transportation, the inhabitants of that particular location cannot take part in wider socio-economic processes. This author also mentioned that sometimes this spatial disadvantage operate through segregation of urban environments and subculture of violence, criminality and drug abusing and these characteristics of urbanizations territorially exclude neighborhood, which is nothing but inhabitants of remote area (Kabeer, 2005) .

By summing above discussion, the researcher argues that controlled opportunities of work, nepotism or gender biasness in job allocation, unequal property inheritance rights and deprivation of lands and forest are the main reasons to put indigenous women in marginalized position, which forge the social exclusion process for them.

From the above finding, it can be said that first objective of this research is attained as the education, poor health, early marriage, several pregnancies, lack of job opportunity, discriminating attitude from state and society and lack of scope in decision making process and, last but not the least, poverty are the main reasons of social exclusion of indigenous women of Bangladesh.

In the context of this research, the inclusion of decision-making role for women has the relevance as through the process rights of freedom of expression and association to monetary issues can be ensured, which also encourage the indigenous women in social inclusion process by participating in social activities. Inclusion in decision-making process ensures the social equity and incorporates the ability of gender interaction both in family and social level (Agarwal, 1997). In addition to this, inclusion in decision-making process also helpful in understanding 'power and control' relationship both in patriarchal and matrilineal society. This inclusion process also ensures the bargaining power of women. The overall research findings are showing that when indigenous are women will be given chance to take part in decision making process, they will be encouraged to bring development in their life styles and skills, which will definitely boost for the development of the overall economy of the country.

6.2 Further scope for Study

The main limitation of this study is that, to collect primary data for this study the researcher cannot go for field work due to Covid19 pandemic. Here is the scope for the researcher to conduct this study in greater scale through field work. In addition to this, there has ample scope to conduct further study by comparing the present research scenario in perspective Norway's indigenous community.

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Appendix

Section A: Participants Background Information

- Age of participants:
- Religion of Participants
- Identity:
- House types (owned, rented, leased):
- Family types (nuclear/extended):
- Number of family members:
- Place of origin:
- Number of years living in this place:
- How and why have you moved to Bangladesh from your original place (if applicable):
- In which language(s) you speak:

Section B: Experience of social exclusion

A) Marriage System

1. Usually at what age a girl gets married in your community? Are you married? If yes, at what age you were married?
2. Who is the key decider in your marriage system? Who played the vital role in your marriage and why?
3. What is your preference in context of marriage types? Have you been asked in context of selecting your partner? Please narrate in details the system in your community or in your family.
4. If you have been/had been asked to select your partner, what sort of characteristics you will look into your partner?
5. Are you aware about the marriage registration? Where your marriage took place?
6. What about the dowry system in your community? Have your parents given dowry in your marriage? How this dowry system had introduced in your community, please narrate if you have any in-depth knowledge about it?

B) Education

1. Have you got the opportunity to take education? If yes, up to which level you have taken education?
2. What is your opinion about the necessity of education? Do/did you send your children to school? If no, why?
3. How are the education facilities in your community?
4. What is your knowledge about the free primary education till 8th standard for all by the government for all or Non-Formal Primary Education Program for adults?
5. Are you aware of this information that government is providing free education for girls and stipend for poor and indigenous students? If yes, have you applied for it? If yes, what is your opinion about these government initiatives?
6. Have you faced any difficulties from your communities to receive education? If yes, what sort of difficulties you faced? Please narrate in details.
7. What is your opinion about the relationship between education and social exclusion from the perspective of your community?

C) Employment and Income

1. Are you in any kind of occupation? If yes, what type of occupation you are in? Are you and your husband in same kind of occupation?
2. Have you faced any kind of difficulties from your family or community to walk into a job? If yes, what kind of difficulties?
3. What is your experience about indiscriminate opportunity to take part in mainstream jobs in mainstream society?
4. Do you have similar opportunity like mainstream people of Bangladesh to get loan from banks or non-government organizations(NGO) under micro credit program? If yes, have you applied for any kind of loan? What is your experience about it?

D) Gender Relationship

1. Who is the key decider in your family? And why?
2. What is the role of your husband in your family? What is your feeling about it?

3. Have you been given opportunity or encourage to take part in the decision making process of your family, in context of domestic labor, child care, education and paid work?
4. What is the position of yours in your family in context of family decision-making process? What is actual scenario of women in context of family decision making process?
5. In terms of education, fooding and intra-household work, do you experience/ experienced any kind of gender inequality? If yes, how do you experience it?

E) Social Exclusion's Causes

1. Do you experience any discrimination in context of property rights in your community? If yes, what sort of differences between men and women in context of property rights? What is your experience of property rights from your family?
2. Do your community have some special ceremony or social activities? If yes, what are those? Do you welcome mainstream people into these occasions? How do they think about the celebration of your occasions? Can you explain in details?
3. Do you ever join in any kind of mainstream festival? If yes, have you been welcome there by mainstream people? If no, why? What type of festivals are these?
4. Is there any problem for indigenous women to move another place in Bangladesh? If yes, what sort of problems? Have your experienced such types of problems in your life?
5. What the indigenous people get treatment in case of fall in sick? Do you have equal access to government medical facilities in your regions? Have you faced or your community people experienced any kind of discrimination in context of getting treatment from government hospitals?
6. Do you have knowledge about birth registration system of country? If yes, have you followed this regulation for your children or has it been followed in your family?
7. In context of social mobility, do you have any restriction within your community? If no, why? Have you experienced any kind of violence? If yes, when and what types of violence?
8. In case internal/external difficulties or violence, what is your experience of getting legal or judiciary service to solve the problems? What is the perception of your community to

get aid from government law enforcing service in this context? If no, how the problems have been being solved in your community? How is the result? Are justice prevails in this system?

9. What are the influences to integrate into the mainstream society of Bangladesh? Do you believe that some kinds of changes are taken place in the indigenous communities due to the influence of mainstream societies of Bangladesh? If yes, what types of changes?
10. Do you want to address or mention any particular issue with the women in your community, which should be addressed? If yes, what are the issues?

F) Policy

1. What is your suggestion on support and service, which will be helpful to improve the lifestyle of indigenous women of your community?

Your kind participation in this interview process is highly appreciated. Thank you so much.