

# (De)legitimizing social, professional and cognitive hierarchies. Scientific knowledge and practice in inclusion-exclusion processes

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The subject of this monograph<sup>1</sup> is set within the framework of the conceptual and theoretical developments of recent decades related to processes of social inclusion and exclusion, extending the boundaries and interpretive scope of ideas set out throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century about various forms of social discrimination<sup>2</sup>. Within a new vision of the globalised world, which would be characterized by its tendency to split societies and people into «included» and «excluded», these proposals would help to address the issue of socially disadvantaged groups and the mechanisms which have led them to end up being either totally or partially excluded from participation in the society in which they live<sup>3</sup>. This broadening of interpretive scope was in part achieved by not taking the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion to be linear. Instead, they are seen as being complex and multiple, acting

1. Translated by Phil Grayston. All of the studies in this dossier form part of the HAR2009-13389-C03-01 and HAR2009-13389-C03-03 projects, funded by the Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad.
2. Durkheim, Émile. *The division of labour in society*. New York: Free Press; 1964; Weber, Max. *Economía y sociedad*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica; 1944; Murphy, Raymond. *Social closure: the theory of monopolization and exclusion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; 1988; Parkin, Frank. *The social analysis of class structure*. London: Tavistock; 1974.
3. Rawal, Nabin. *Social Inclusion and exclusion: A review*. *Dhauagiri Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*. 2008; 2: 161-180; Castells, Manuel. *La era de la información. Fin del Milenio*. Vol. 3, México: Siglo XXI; 2001.

multi-dimensionally in all aspects of the societies in which they are put into operation (economic, social, cultural or political). This redefinition enables us to regard, in this area of study, both the symbolic and imaginary as well as the material, as mechanisms which make up a complex web in the logics of inclusion and exclusion (representations, experiences)<sup>4</sup>. In the case of exclusion, these would be either direct or indirect discriminatory practices, as well as hidden exclusion mechanisms (patriarchal culture, the construction of stereotypes, exclusive dualities). The logic of inclusion, meanwhile, would be diverse in nature and based on varying justifications and ways of thinking (individual rights, human rights, social justice or functionalist perspectives).

We, however, partake of the idea that social inclusion and exclusion processes are simultaneous and not necessarily conflicting, and believe that the dualist opposition between these two concepts restricts any analysis of the contradictions emerging in the multidimensionality characteristic of social exclusion and the paradoxes of simultaneous processes of inclusion and exclusion. Thus, if we limit ourselves to this duality, neither inter-group differences nor the control mechanisms developed to maintain them can ever be fully understood. This opposition leads any form of inclusion to be rated positively and, likewise, all forms of exclusion to be deemed negative, and hence to a simplification of a relationship so complex<sup>5</sup> that for many authors it forms the basis of representations of the social system<sup>6</sup>. From our point of view, processes of inclusion and exclusion look rather like a continuum with various extremes emerging indistinctly, an idea which helps us understand how individuals and groups can be included in some ambits but excluded

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4. Bourdieu, Pierre. *La miseria del mundo*. Barcelona: Akal; 1993.

5. Bohn, Cornelia. Inclusion and exclusion: Theories and findings. From exclusion from the community to including exclusion. In: Gestrich, A.; Raphael, L.; Uerlings, H., eds. *Strangers and poor people. Changing patterns of inclusion and exclusion in Europe and the Mediterranean world from Classical antiquity to the present day*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang; 2009, p. 35-53. Pradhan, Rajendra. *Understanding social exclusion and social inclusion in the Nepalese context: some preliminary remarks*. Workshop Understanding social inclusion and exclusion: theories, methodologies and data. Kathmandu; 2006 [cited 20 Jun 2012]. Available at: [http://www.socialinclusion.org.np/index/files/Understandng\\_Social\\_Inclusion\\_and\\_Exclusion\\_BY\\_Rajendra\\_Pradhan.pdf](http://www.socialinclusion.org.np/index/files/Understandng_Social_Inclusion_and_Exclusion_BY_Rajendra_Pradhan.pdf)

6. Luhmann, Niklas. *Inclusión-exclusión*. In: *Complejidad y modernidad: de la unidad a la diferencia*. Madrid: Trotta; 1998, p. 167-195.

from others<sup>7</sup> or how the social inclusion of some often rests upon the social exclusion of others<sup>8</sup>. These processes would thus be in continuous negotiation, with opposition movements to «social lock-out» taking on a prominent role, challenging the restriction of access to material and symbolic resources, and generating subversive discourses and practices and the transformation of structures and subjectivities. This action would enable different interpretations of the participation of diverse social groups in the dynamics of inclusion-exclusion, who, in making different demands, would play a major part in the development of such dynamics<sup>9</sup>.

Another issue is the currently undisputed importance of the role played by scientific-health postulates in the dynamics of inclusion-exclusion in Western bourgeois society. In this way, biopower has been considered a sophisticated instrument of repression and social control equivalent to those used in pre-modern societies, such as religious discourse or corporal punishment<sup>10</sup>. Forms of exclusion in modern societies are simultaneously inclusive in nature, and are configured through the establishment of distances controlled by the supervision rather than the physical separation of the individual, as deviation theories argue<sup>11</sup>. And hence the modern concept of health has brought with it enormous political potential for hegemonic thinking, as, from the standpoint of positive medicine, it could be defined scientifically at the same time that the concept of disease was stripped of its social etiology and, therefore, of its revolutionary threat. This new concept-tool was devised to consolidate medicine as the discipline of social reform, which, through its agents, would act as mediator in the dynamics of inclusion-exclusion by placing science and technology as instruments of normative intervention in

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7. Jackson, Cecile. Social exclusion and gender: Does one size fit all? *The European Journal of Development Research*. 1999; 11 (1): 125-146.

8. Rawal, n. 3.

9. Garcés, Laura; Lucero, Marcelo; Estévez, Fernanda et al. Visiones teóricas acerca de la ciudadanía social. *Kairos*. 2006; 10 (18): 1-11, Jelin, Elizabeth. Igualdad y diferencia: dilemas de la ciudadanía de las mujeres en América latina. *Ágora*. 1997; 3 (7): 189-214.

10. Foucault, Michel. *Vigilar y castigar*. Madrid: Siglo XXI; 1982. Huertas García-Alejo, Rafael. *Los laboratorios de la norma. Medicina y regulación social en el estado liberal*. Barcelona: Ed. Octaedro-CSIC; 2008.

11. Foucault, n. 10.

social problems at the disposal of established power. In effect, once eugenic doctrines had been incorporated, socio-medical postulates would bestow upon biopower the authority to legitimise human inequality scientifically, making it compatible with the concepts of «equality» and «liberty» in liberal ideology<sup>12</sup>.

This being said, we cannot forget the participation of the aforementioned movements of opposition, which lend complexity and multidimensionality through different social agents to the logics of inclusion-exclusion. Under these premises, this dossier presents four articles which aim to show the legitimizing and delegitimizing dynamics of social, professional and cognitive hierarchies that are set in motion in inclusion-exclusion processes. To this end, the forum for the enunciation of scientific knowledge has been shifted by resorting to the study of discourses and practices relating to phenomena of health and disease within three complementary ambits of contemporary Spanish society.

Firstly, two articles examine the world of anarchist workers and the role played by discourses and medical practices in social inclusion-exclusion processes, from the standpoint of both hegemonic thinking and subaltern libertarian thinking. The first (Jorge Molero and Isabel Jiménez) analyses the complex relations established over the first third of the 20th century in Spain among anarcho-syndicalist militants and medical professionals of libertarian leanings, and against the backdrop of the developing controversy in the heart of the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Labour) about the actual and the desired roles of the expert and the intellectual in the liberal system in order in to achieve an anarchist society. In this case, participation/non-participation emerges as a central element in inclusive-exclusive processes related to scientific knowledge. The second article (Carlos Tabernero, Isabel Jiménez and Jorge Molero) considers the relationship that medical professionals built with the anarchist world by means of the dissemination of their technical knowledge in the journal *Estudios*, with the focus on the «Questions and answers» section

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12. Molero Mesa, Jorge; Jiménez Lucena, Isabel. «Otra manera de ver las cosas». *Microbios, eugenesia y ambientalismo radical en el anarquismo español del siglo XX*. In: Miranda, Marisa; Vallejo, Gustavo, eds. *Darwinismo social y eugenesia. Derivas de Darwin: cultura y política en clave biológica*. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, Ed. Iberoamericana; 2010, p. 143-164.

run by Roberto Remartínez (1895-1977). What is revealed is the existence of an anarcho-sindicalist cultural fringe converted in an inclusive space for dialogue in which an attempt is made to break through the boundaries established between experts and non-experts as a means of social domination.

The second ambit explored is that of the health worker. The article by José Manuel Gutiérrez analyses the use of science as an instrument of legitimization of the professional hierarchy and offers us a completely new vision of albéitares, not so long ago reviled in veterinary hagiographic historiography. The dispute which raged in mid-19<sup>th</sup> century Spain between albéitares and veterinarians, and which would end in the disappearance of the former and the definitive consecration of the veterinary profession, shows us how the dynamics of inclusion-exclusion acted, in this instance, under the decisive legitimizing auspices of scientific knowledge. A strategy of occupational demarcation based on common law, expert knowledge and the integration and acceptance of the farrier in Spanish farmland failed to halt the decline of albéitar or ultimately save it from oblivion.

Finally, Sara Lugo looks at the medical-pharmaceutical sphere, analysing the inclusion-exclusion mechanisms underpinning the legitimization of anti-tuberculosis products produced by the Ravetllat-Pla institute, developed on the basis of a heterodox scientific theory. The detail with which the events triggered by the presentation in society of this peculiar bacteriological theory of tuberculosis are studied allows the author to uncover the multiplicity of inclusion-exclusion dynamics, revealing not only their scientific and economic, but also their political and ideological aspects.

It is our hope that the articles which we present in this dossier will help identify, in the sphere of scientific and medical thought, the elements that go to make up the diverse logics of inclusion and exclusion as part of a deep-rooted domination structure, and understand the different ways in which, from this perspective, the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion are constituted in power relations. ■

