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**Title of Session:** Social exclusion and social capital - a Southern perspective

**Name of Session Convener(s):** Tina Uys

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**I) Title of Selected Paper:** Knowledge as a Passport: How Migrants' Cultural Capital Impacts Their Freedom of Movement

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**Abstract:** Why are some people allowed into countries while others are not? This is a question that has plagued migrants ever since they have been turned away from borders. The simple and seemingly obvious answer is that some migrants are viewed as more desirable than others. But how do you separate between the two? What is often not studied is how certain migrants are able to slip through the cracks despite the fortresses states put up against migration, seen in émigré movement during World War II or the “Brain Drain” nowadays. “Desirable,” in this case, becomes a very fluid word, which can be manipulated by both governments and migrants themselves to allow for exceptions to the rule and changes over time and space. In fact, the gap in definition and treatment of intellectual exiles and refugees is a reflection of this desirability. This gap is a product of how the migrant’s cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1973) is received by the host country; intellectual exiles have a higher rate and ease of entrance into a new society because their knowledge is recognized as valuable. While Bourdieu’s theory focused on inclusion and exclusion within a society, it can serve as useful for migration studies to look at inclusion and exclusion among societies. Thus the acceptance of intellectual exiles into countries while refugees are rejected rests not just upon the knowledge itself, but in how this knowledge is translated into valuable cultural capital for the international or national community, either by the migrants themselves or by the community.

**II) Title of Selected Paper:** The health and well-being of children and women in the context of political and economic exclusion in three Central Asian Republics (CARs)

**Name/s of Author/s:** Nolunkwe Bomela

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**Abstract:** An intricate and multi-faceted relationship between economic, political and social factors impacts on the health status of the population in the CARs. Children in particular are vulnerable. The socio-political transition within these societies as a result of the dissolution of the USSR resulted in increasing unemployment, poverty food insecurity, and malnutrition. Data on household access to food and nutrition with reference to women and children are considered. Key factors such as economic exclusion as a result of unemployment, gendered educational exclusion impacting on differential occupational opportunity and health exclusion in the context of markets, resulting in insufficient coverage and health protection for children are considered. The paper concludes by considering the need to accelerate policies and programmes developed to combat nutritional deficiencies of children and women, within the context of human rights.

**III) Title of Selected Paper:** Shopping and belonging: The moral logics of consumption in South Africa

**Name/s of Author/s:** Irma du Plessis

**University/Organization incl. City:** University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa

**Abstract:** South Africa has extreme levels of inequality. In addition to a deep history of race-based discrimination, this postcolony has to face up to very high levels of unemployment, an HIV/AIDS pandemic and the effects of the global financial crisis. Whilst for the moment patterns of white privilege remain largely intact, the black middle class is now understood to be equal in size to that of the white middle class. This paper examines the way in which the idea of 'goodness' is developed and projected by a high-end food and clothes retailer, Woolworths, which draws its clients from the white and black upper middle classes. What is at stake here is a question about the social imaginary and its limits. In a context such as this, any claim to 'pure' goodness is unsettled by multiple contradictions emanating from the place and its history. Against this background, this paper constitutes an attempt to provide answers to the following questions: How do consumers make their decisions and legitimise their way of life? Under what circumstances and through what kind of practices does consumption become a form of belonging? How are personal, national and global affiliations managed and negotiated through shopping?

**IV) Title of Selected Paper:** Speaking truth to power: the whistleblower as organizational citizen

**Name/s of Author/s:** Tina Uys

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**Abstract:** In his book *Citizenship in a global age* Gerard Delanty (2000:2) argues the following: 'The global age has created a highly fragmented world in which the struggle

for democracy and the expansion of capitalism is not always contained within the structures of a civil society based on the institution of citizenship. Having been released from the contours of the nation state, capitalism and democracy have lost their moorings in the spirit of civic community that had made modern society possible...capitalism (the economic pursuit of profit) and democracy (the political rule of the majority) have become untamed forces'. He advocates 'a model of civic cosmopolitanism' which he contrasts with 'the broader political and legal conceptions of cosmopolitanism as transnational governance'. In this context citizenship is understood as 'a politics of autonomy based on civic community and public discourse' which protects civil society against the fragmentations of capitalism and nationalism. Self and other are connected through 'a stronger emphasis on the public sphere as a domain prior to civil society' (Delanty 2000: 6). Civic cosmopolitanism ensures the enhancement of the quality of our social existence through the curtailment of the possible excesses of capitalism and democracy if left unconstrained. This implies that the basic human rights of citizens are protected, that there is a balance of power and that those in positions of power are held accountable for their actions. Their power is therefore held in check. This requirement is equally valid for capitalism as well as democracy and therefore for the workplace. In the context of the workplace civic cosmopolitanism takes the form of organisational citizenship. This paper focuses on the experiences of those individuals who demonstrate their organisational citizenship by blowing the whistle on organisational wrongdoing.

**V) Title of Selected Paper:** From Development to Emergency Assistance. Media, charity and moral imagination

**Name/s of Author/s:** Pierluigi Musarò

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**Abstract:** Taking as our starting point the myth of development as economic and moral emancipation (Sachs 1991, Rist 1997), this paper will explore the influence of that the 'spectacle of suffering' (Boltanski 1999) has on our 'moral imagination'.

Globalization creates an integrated world and a cosmopolitan society (Thompson 1995, Beck 2002) in which we have a growing awareness of living in a world at the same time remarkably comfortable and absolutely poor (Sen 2000, Singer 2002). This essay therefore focuses on the relationship between our commitment as spectators-benefactors and our responsibility as citizen-consumers.

What is the frame of reference for our moral and social values? Why is the idea of human rights so central in the "modern social imaginary" of Western societies (Taylor 2004)? As cosmopolitan citizens what are our rights and responsibilities towards others? We are here interested in the question of whether it is correct to speak about a new global ethic of participation, or do we have to consider humanitarian commitment as a tool to silence our consciences and diffuse our sense of guilt?

To answer these questions we will consider the construction of a system of signs (encompassing both the sacred and the grotesque) which have become mainstream elements of the contemporary moral and social imagination: 'the spectacle of suffering'. What is meant by a spectacle in this context? By this expression we mean the images of human misery dramatized by the media and upon which the humanitarian movements wish to focus attention (Cohen 2001, Mesnard 2002).

Humanitarian campaign events can be divided into two broad categories: those whose purpose is purely to promote awareness (even if they are indirectly linked to commercial

and monetary interests) and those which are fundraising (Kotler 1995, Gadotti 2001). Our analysis will focus on the effects of the latter category.

Through the method of content analysis (Losito 2002) this paper will investigate the content of fundraising campaigns by the main humanitarian organizations, both governmental and non-, such as ACNUR, UNICEF, MSF, Emergency, Save the Children, Action Aid, Amnesty International, and others. The images used by these fundraising campaigns will be used to undertake a series of semi-structured interviews with 'experts' of the humanitarian movement (Marradi 1992, Corbetta 1999).

The content analysis will therefore explore the media 'spectacle of suffering' and the spectator's perception and understanding of its content (using focus-group discussion and in-depth interviews). The aim of this research is to identify the existence of a gap between expected and real effects of the marketing and communication strategies of the humanitarian organizations (Herman, Chomsky 1988; Colombo, Eugeni 2001).

Nowadays, humanitarian assistance has become a substitute for political initiatives and solutions (Vaux 2001, Rieff 2002). In recent years, increasing amounts of bilateral and multilateral aid are being used to respond to macroeconomic shocks, political instability and natural disasters; financial resources for international development cooperation have decreased while most resources go to emergency actions. Moreover, humanitarian and emergency interventions are directly involved in the resolution of political crises and calamities (both natural and man-made); for example the Balkans, Iraq, Darfur, and lately in Bernard Kouchner's invocation of the "responsibility to protect" the victims of a natural disaster in Burma/Myanmar.

As soon as the social imaginary shift from cooperation to humanitarian aid occurred, the paradoxes of globalization came out. As a consequence the boundaries of nations, markets, the common good, private interests, governing institutions and civil society have become confused. At the same time it has increased the distance between viewers and sufferers, the heroes' and the victims, between 'us' and 'them'.

In our «social construction of reality» (Berger, Luckmann 1966), what relationship exists between the old imperialism and the new responsibility to protect victims? When did Business become Solidarity? What is the link between our style of consumption and the misery of others? What difference is there between the 'victim' to be helped, and the 'illegal immigrant' to be rejected?

Examination of the humanitarian communications we have just mentioned makes it possible to identify certain characteristic archetypes: Western donors as heroes, elevated by the ability of their money to solve the problems of the poor, needy and passive, as well as patients awaiting the advent of the *deus ex machina* that resolves all threat to health and safety, and the representation of these victims is almost always detached from the context from which they are derived.

We then outline a scenario of a sort of a "industry of the catastrophes" that supports a competitive market in the world of solidarity. We define this process as one of organizations fighting to get media exposure and a share of the 'market for suffering'. It is from these representations of suffering that the media apparatus generates a matrix of often indistinct stereotypes, prejudices, and theoretical elaborations to form a gallery of performances that have now joined the collective imagination of Western societies. This representation is detached from its historical causes, from international economic mechanisms, and gives us a distorted picture: not of a person in one country, but of a victim in a non-place. Once the people from these same poor countries have internalized this idea, they will end by behaving as victims even when they are lucky enough to reach our countries.

By exploring "humanitarian marketing strategies" it has become clear that, at the micro level, that of everyday life, these strategies have two side-effects: I) it doesn't allow

disclosure of the causes of the disparities between “spectator” and “victim”, and II) it increases the distance between “us” and “them”.

Moreover, the macro level analysis shows that social imagination, informed by the humanitarian industry, supports an ideological building block underpinning the disciplinary mechanisms of society (Foucault 1977, Žižek 1997). The point is that it is precisely the representation of such a ‘passive’ victim that the legitimisation of the “humanitarian” intervention came about, and it was exactly this kind of figure that the humanitarian war has reproduced in the name of human rights.

I don’t want to directly contest the immediate effects and the generally undeferrable need of the role played by different humanitarian agencies. Rather, my point concerns the impression that in such a wide semantic field there is a deception, or better still a trap. At the end, the risk is that the humanitarian industry gives the illusion that solutions to world problems are affordable and not out of reach. On the contrary they are not so available.

On the other hand, assuming that social imaginary is something more than ideology or false consciousness (Castoriadis 1998, Anderson 2006), it is possible to bring about a change in perspective and increase awareness and personal responsibility. To use Boltanski’s concepts, as viewers of a catastrophic scenario, we are not indifferent, we are emotionally involved. This involvement is not “free”; it, so to speak, demands action in the form of financial contributions and “gifts of speech”. This sentiment also underpins a universal sense of humanity; a universal humanitarian link is created between the sufferers and the affected observers.

The critical point concerns the low level of awareness that changing personal perspectives is the first step in transforming the world and above all our lifestyle. Cooperative international solidarity will only be possible by overcoming the ancient principle of growth without end based on the virtuous circle of production-consumption (Latouche 2004). New attitudes, institutions, and above all new ideas and values are needed to achieve this aim, which is social, economic, environmental, political and ethical in scope.