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Centuries of Deviance – Conclusions



Don Quichotte

Andreas Paul Weber was critical of the Nazi regime - he was arrested, sent to a camp and then a prison because of his art. Throughout the 1930s, his work and his lithographs dealt with most of the socio-political issues of the day and dealt directly with who was considered “deviant”. His graphic above has Don Quixote bandaged and lance-less, casting a worried glance back towards a rather content Sancho Panza who is not riding with him - Rozinante is gazing forward and her step is certain, is this Quixote’s last look back before the final and impending disaster?

How do we gauge the importance of a long-winded study of deviance as ours was? Was/is it just an alibi for the story of modern institutions and social control? Is it a story of a perceived deviance opening and ushering new areas of freedom from domination? After four years of research and deliberation we expected to have arrived at the stronger statement on the phenomenon. What we presented here is a tentative argument; it is confident only in so far as we know what the answer cannot be; its tentative nature is key to our scholarship because the work of reconstituting the way we imagine sociology, the way we talk to each other across the 227 borders of the contemporary period, is harder than we first thought.

So this is an invitation to the broader sociological community to engage with a series of insights around their entanglement which began with European foraging, without the “European” being the sole subject of the narrative. We seek to establish, in a Popperian spirit, a series of imaginative hypotheses to start compensating for the weakness of the existing canon: a sociology that brackets away three quarters of the world's population inside a conceptual tent of “traditional” society is untenable. The tremendous historical research of the last decade is difficult to absorb within an academic's lifetime, but a contemporary scholar would be better served if she read some of it.

There is no plausible defence of the sociology's habit of remaining agnostic about non-European history while continuing to repeat platitudes about Asia, Africa or the Americas. Instead of reading Weber on the "Chinese literati" or his take on the World Religions, a good dose of Timothy Brooks' *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* or Philip C.C. Huang's eloquent discussion of Qing jurisprudence, or even Ho-fung Hung's sociological work on the 1600s to 1800s would not go amiss and would be a more sound scholarly choice. Furthermore, even if Andre Gunder Frank, Kenneth Pomerantz and R. Bin Wong are flawed in thinking that it was luck rather than pluck that made for a European ascendance in their take on "the Great Divergence" there is no way one can continue reading societies such as China, Japan, India, Persia, Ethiopia or the Lunda Kingdom as a series of deficits, absences or non-Europes.

Such a problem arises often out of the organisation of the West's knowledge project itself: there is very little of the scholarship in Area Studies that crosses the sociological moat. Wiebke Keim in another context provided a serious empirical analysis of what has been systematically allowed to cross into the Parisian citadel.¹ So, focusing on the entanglement of a variety of rationalities in the 17th century and on the interconnections of steering and clustering processes on a planetary scale will not diminish the importance of institution building anywhere. This work on deviance is perhaps written up in the spirit Michel Foucault: an invitation to others to write a better book.

Admittedly, Foucault has been a serious companion throughout this journey because his work addresses directly the social technologies that attempted to curtail deviance and effectively steer human effort in the modern period. Many of his insights on how a "disciplinary method" was instituted resonates deeply (Foucault 1977: 197): "this enclosed, segmented space, observed at every point, in which the individuals are inserted in a fixed place, in which the

slightest movements a soap of supervised, in which every event is recorded” remains at the heart of this endeavour; his work whether it was about the tortuous quartering of a regicide or the subject’s solitary conditioning has been powerful enough and could be read as Max Weber's counterpoint. Whereas the latter could be pessimistic about the “iron cage” or bureaucratic organisation and the reification it implied, Foucault’s empathy was with the subaltern, the prisoner, the insane and the queer. Nevertheless, such companionship must not be exaggerated as there are great differences between our work and the work of the Foucauldians.

A very remarkable postgraduate tried to reduce our work to an enticing and amusing formula: $W(aBrWal)+D(aC/H)=aF$. The “a” stands for “augmented”. What we have achieved in other words after pages and pages of text was to augment Foucault. This was achieved because Max Weber was augmented by the Braudellian and the Wallersteinian schools with their non-teleological and cyclical historicity which start the narrative of the world system earlier than the sociological canon. To that augmentation one adds Durkheim, in turn augmented by the work of Percy Cohen and Stuart Hall on Moral Panics. The echo of all this scholarship is obvious in the pages that preceded these, but it only creates a new straitjacket and does not allow the story much space to move out of the sociological familiar. But, it was certainly not an effort to augment Foucault.²

The substance of his work was around the fixing of Europe between 1780 and 1820 after a series of crises that threatened its social fabric. His focus on the origin of the human sciences, for example in *The Order of Things*, speaks of intersection of political economy, biology and language as the areas through which Man emerges as a subject of study and how this creature is constituted as a subject through their discursive practices. Similarly, the carceral institutions, his “archipelago” of modernity, for example in the birth of the Asylum, the

Clinic or in the text *Discipline and Punish*, speak of the way through which out of prior forms of confinement, out of the urban poor, people were selected, incarcerated and shaped into social beings. And how it results in, in his powerful words, a reality of resemblance: institutions begin to resemble each other from the school to the factory, from the factory to the prison. The panopticon becomes the modality of rule.

Furthermore, from a long historical perspective, Michel Foucault is correct. The evidence garnered by our four research teams covering many areas of our planet and across the 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries as a pilot, so far, points in two directions: (1) there are cycles of its proliferation that share with Michel Foucault (1984: 85; also see Rusche and Kirchheimer 1968) a concern that, instead of more freedom or progress, we see different forms of control and domination. In his words, we witness “the endlessly repeated play of dominations” or how “humanity installs each of its violences in a system of rules and thus proceeds from domination to domination. There are periods defined as polarizing, as a threat to the socio-economic system, as signs of imminent collapse and then, there is decisive action, change and re-steering. Yes, there are cycles that involve the perceived proliferation of deviancy - let us call them “anomalic phases” - which point to institutional failures that not only generate concern but bring with them improvisation, innovation and institutional reconfiguration. Nevertheless, we also observe a cascading “progress” when deviants struggle hard enough to win space and respite or societal recognition. Not all deviants have done so effectively, but the many who have, have countersteered the system towards greater equality and freedom. So, for the current period, the apposite question is: “What are the polarisations embedded in current forms of deviance, and can this anomalic phase be fixed?”

Our disagreements are threefold: firstly we differ about the constitution of the “subject” and the “human”. In our work its emergence occupies a different place and time and by

implication it is to be found in a different conceptual location. In dealing with François Bernier and his relationship with the French Absolutist State via the arch-fixer Colbert, we are signifying an important emergence, where “science” meets the “juridical”. The formulation of the subject itself - which subjects were “free” or “unfree”; which subjects were different as races; to whom they were subjected; which rules applied to whom - occurred earlier in the throes of slavery and in the context of slave rebellions. The Civil, Criminal and Black Codes must be read together. The Code Noir marks the most serious turning point in the “modern”. It is central to the differentiation between those who were to be the subjects of the Civic Code versus the subjects of the Black Code. The Foucauldian work misses the emergence of the juridical forms of subjection, along with the scientific project of classification which begins with Bernier’s work and it also the prior proto-anthropological work undertaken by Jesuits and early missionaries in the New World.

If our disagreement with the Foucauldian School about the “subject” is serious, the second area of difference places us on a different planet as concerns his Nietzschean take on the “play of dominations”, the eternal and cyclical return of the technologies of power, inscribed on the body by rules, techniques of control and manifold repressions. This interesting, anti-teleological and anti-progress idea is wonderful for the seminar room and has put pay to the easy celebration of “more freedom”, “enlightenment” and “emancipation”. But it veers off target when it cannot show how deviant struggles have played an important co-constitutive role which, over time, despite setbacks, despite the wrack and the violence, have enlarged the areas of freedom and equality and constitute cultural formations with their own discursive practices that generate dissonance, alterity or resistance. Foucault and his followers try to ontologise resistance and bio-power - we feel that this is not adequate at all.

Thirdly and finally, by starting to tell the story of entanglement earlier, to accommodate a broader notion of humanity and agency, the conversation between the projects becomes difficult: the emergence of the Grand Confinement at the beginning of the study of madness is not something that will follow a linear path to the Birth of the Asylum. It does if one stays within the geography of Europe. There are parallel stories of encampment, isolation, hospitalisation and they are, by now, well-researched in the 17th and 18th centuries. If we stay in France, the commanders of souls and bodies had been in conversation with Caribbean, American, North African and Indian conditions and improvisations. The Jesuits were everywhere; their lessons transferred from everywhere: they transformed schooling and university practices; they inaugurated institutions for the care of the sick as much as they had a major role in the works of science and classification. Nevertheless, such a pulling back of the period has damaged some Weberian certainties as well: between Colbert and the Jesuits, the Chinese Mandarins and African slaves and, of course, within the feedback loops of the Protestants, the Wesleyans and the Moravians out there in the New World. We are asking for the rethinking of the Protestant ethic as such. The Puritans were not only in tension with the Catholics and the Anglicans, but also with the “heathen”: the Moslem and the thousand incarnations of Kali.

We believe that economic reductionism does not give us a convincing answer either. Without disrespect to the growing number of fascinating economic histories and of historians ever-busy with powerful revisions, we feel that examination of economic aspects can only provide a partial explication of the history of deviance and alterity. From a long-term perspective, it might appear that, from the economy and economic interest in the rate of profit and the patterns of accumulation, we can glean a vision of a continuous system in ascendance. We believe that staying within the grid of capital accumulation would provide an incomplete picture of how the system has steered itself into effectiveness. It would be easy to show an

upward trend with its booms and busts and with its creative and destructive impulses, its A- and B-phases. But what we would be left with is a drab picture that makes sociality and struggles disappear - it would make sociality an adjunct or a supplement to the story. We would have to argue that the steering - means through which society was clustered were not merely functional adjustments to the rhythms of the system. We have demonstrated that deviance and its cycles are rather more complex, and that the windmill, although it might have hassled Don Quixote, did not by itself produce a sanatorium.

In other words, we have worked in the opposite direction to decipher cycles of deviance and anomalous phases. Capital accumulation would have been difficult, if not impossible, without the anomalous phases being resolved socially, politically with apparent effectiveness for brief periods of time. Without keeping an eye on the competing fixers and their fixing, and also on the deviants fighting back - without the din - we would mistake the balance of compliance that is reached within each stage as a byway of economic progress. We have imagined that the system could have gone out of control at any time between the 1620s and 1650s, between the 1680s and the 1720s, between the 1750s and the 1780s, the 1820s and the 1840s, 1870s and 1900s, 1930s and 1950s, and, of course, in the period we are living through at present. In each of these periods, we can trace the rise of moral panics and general societal discord where different forms of deviance are perceived to proliferate.

But the fit is not very tight. As our studies have determined, there are exceptions that point to the need for further research, as moral panics are also to be found in four A-phases – beyond the 1720s, beyond the 1840s, in the post-1900s and even in the 1950s to the 1970s. Apart from these ambiguities, more comparative work is required to examine in greater detail how a genealogy of rules, tropes, pieces of law and pieces of institution gets transferred from one context and from one fixer to another.

We also believe that the definition of deviance as behavioural, articulatory, existential or miasmatic advances social understanding. These are not just heuristic types that allow us to produce narrative out of the complex material encountered; that in itself is undoubted. These tropes also allow us to define more accurately the world's necessary forms of repression and violence, both overt or covert. We are also able to trace a narrative of freedom: that each one of us can be in trouble for what we do, what we say or signify, what we are; and what we are carrying inside our bodies, from evil spirits to viruses. We all need to ask everywhere how much of the calculus of freedom in each area has become non-deviant?

Also, scanning back to understand where proclivities or dispositions to act originated, or how multiple socialisations have originated, took us outside existing sociology: The Code Noir of 1685 and its implementation or usage was as important as the Panopticon; looking at the organisation of the slave trade, its slave factories, its ships and Guineas, the plantations and the estates, the Lazarettos and the compounds of indentured labourers, has been key to understanding such dispositions. So have piracy and peasant rebellions or peasant disquiet. Unavoidably key, too, have been- the classification and the reclassification of people, castes, tribes, ethnicities and, through that, the practice of exterminist policies throughout the modern period. Finally the importance of boundaries and borders- how they trapped people within and how they excluded people without, how were they drawn, how there were armed and how their fences were erected- has been a persistent motif of the study.

It is absurd too that the colonial moment has not formed part of the mainframe in any sociological story. It would be preposterous to think that the encounter by colonisers with 40% of the world's population did not affect the way deviance was managed or pilloried. And it is always important to ask the question Frantz Fanon and Aime Cesaire did, regarding whether the implosion of Europe transpiring as the existential slaughter of people during the

Holocaust was not the result of prior experimentations in the world's periphery. Wiebke Keim's exploration here finds that this is only part of the story, but an important part nevertheless.

Today's great disturbances, the constant manufacture of fear and the new cycles of deviance that we are getting shrill about: the unwanted migrants threatening putative ways of life and demanding reversal of years of multiculturalism, cannot be understood without prior historical props. Perhaps what is important to recognise around deviant struggles is the resistance to modern-day encampments. The fragility of all of this is obvious: for the masses of refugees and migrants without legal documents, worldwide encampments, detention centres and holding places remain a reality.

Perhaps contemporary deviants are founding a world beyond Giorgio Agamben's "bare life", through an emerging idea of living rights: the right to be, the right not to be maimed or bombed, the right not to be raped are being pro-figured. This site of freedom enhances other sites of freedom brought into history by slaves and ideas of equality brought in by levellers and masterless men and women. Durkheim was correct in his observation that deviance has been normal; the modern-day Durkheim, Giorgio Agamben asks whether the normalisation of bare life in a state of exception is enough. We do not think so.

Notes

1. See her work on the practice of inviting international guest speakers to the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales/Paris: W. Keim 'Analyse des invitations de chercheurs étrangers par l'EHESS. Compétences reconnues et clivages Nord-Sud', in *Cahiers de la Recherche sur l'Education et les Savoirs No. 9*, 2010: 33-52

2. When it comes to the cyclical historicity, a reworking of Ibn Khaldun has often come to mind - wasn't he the first and most consequent in advocating a cyclical theory of civilisation? It would have been enticing to see whether we could have made connections between his discussion of a tribal nomadic community with a strong *asabiya* (what could today be called group solidarity/ethnicity) towards ever more developed civilisation until a climax is reached, the tribe is in power but because of its own achievements becomes more and more decadent, and the solidarity weakens, with what we have termed an anomalic phase!

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