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P.O. Box 461, Village Station New York, NY 10014

Writers and Readers Limited 9 Cynthia Street London N1 9JF England

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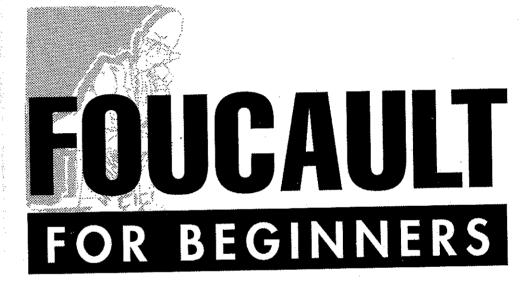
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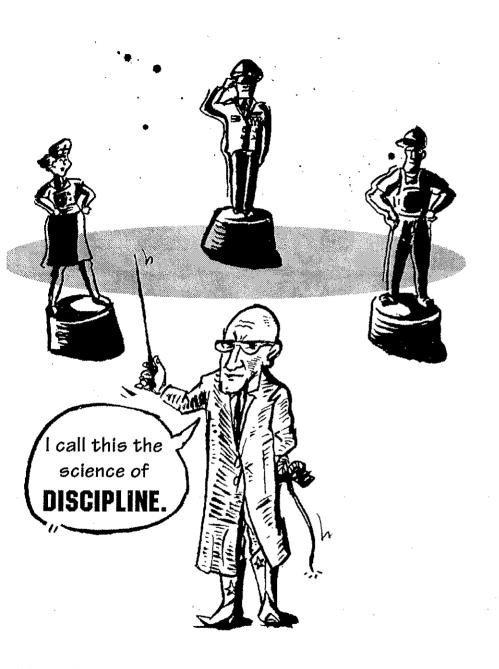
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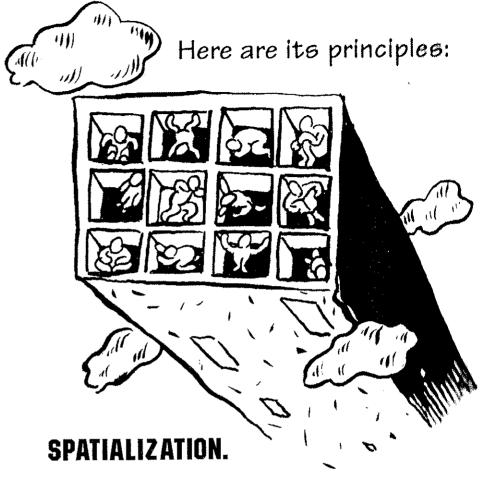
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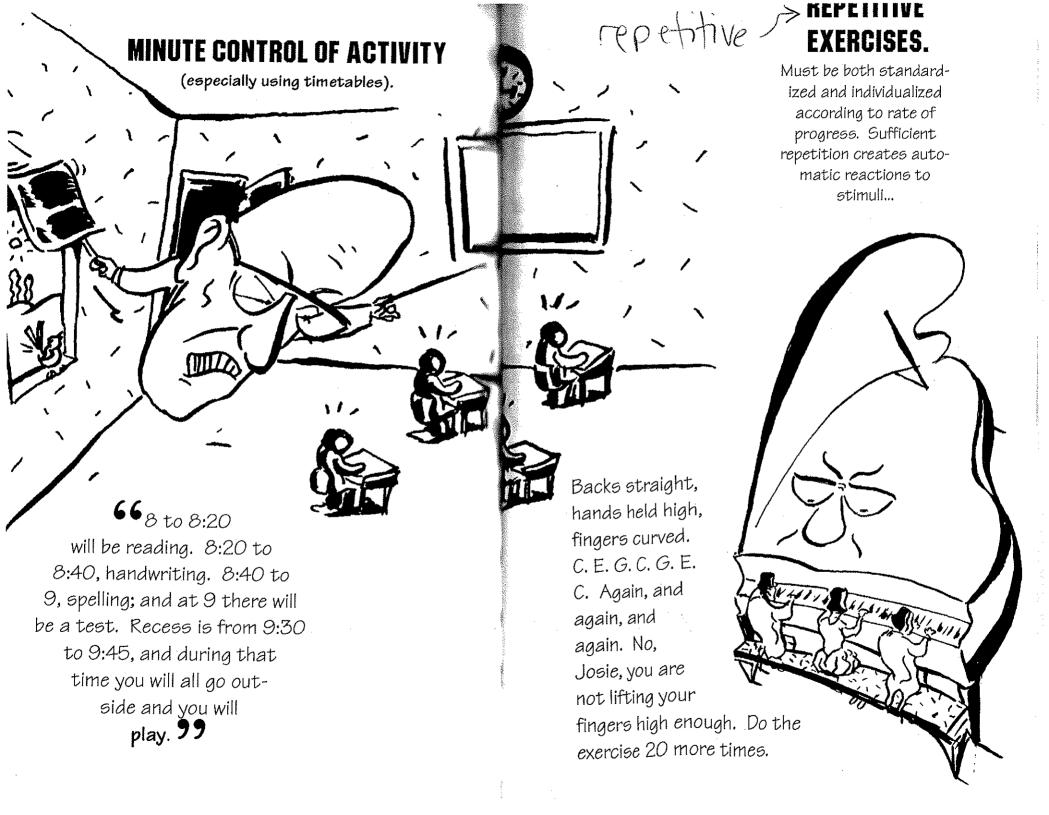


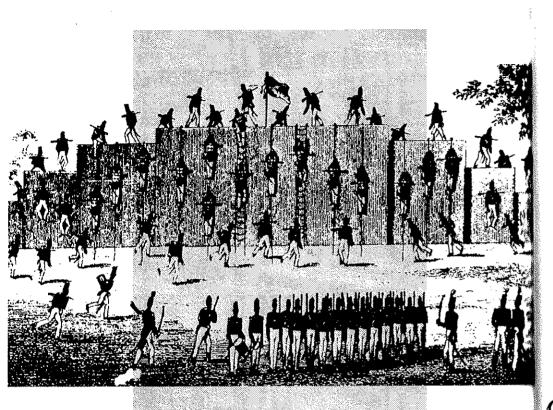
Now we have to switch the scene to outside the penal system, where, meanwhile, a new science of changing—engineering really—the individual develops in the army, schools, hospitals, madhouses, poorhouses, and factories.



A place for everyone, and everyone in his place. Where someone is indicates who and what he is, as in the wards here, or in schools where the best student moves to the head of the class.







DETAILED HIERARCHIES

A complex chain of authority and training. Each level of the hierarchy keeps watch over the lower ranks.

NORMALIZING JUDGMENTS.

That is, a continual analysis of whether the disciplined one deviates in any way from normality. Laws are traditionally set out only in negative terms. They put limits

on behavior and decide
what is unacceptable.
But laws rarely talk
about what behavior
is desired. As a form
of power, the law prevents, but does not
specify. Disciplinary

power is very different: it not only punishes, it rewards. It gives gold stars for good behavior. And the tendency is for that which transgresses its dictates to be defined not only as bad but as abnormal. It is a more subtle use of power that works on the

transgressor from the inside, and consolidates the ranks of the "normal" against all others.

Nowhere is the institutionalized
use of a concept of normality used as a technique more
fully than in a madhouse.
Today's madhouses are a series

of gradated wards through which the inmate can move only by good, appropriate, sane behavior, as defined by the authorities of the institution.



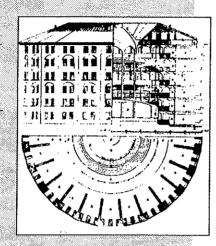
making sense

The innovations of disciplinary power are all brought together in a single architectural innovation.

The Panopticon

"Morals reformed — health preserved — industry invigorated — instruction diffused — public burdens lightened — Economy seated, as it were, upon a rock—the gordian knot of the Poor-Laws not cut, but untied — all by a simple idea in architecture!"

From the Preface to his *Panopticon* by Jeremy Bentham
(1748-1832)



The idea is that every person is isolated in a small room, where they all may be observed at all times by a single person in the center tower. The building would be lit around the perimeter, so that each person could be clearly seen by the central observer, but each inmate would see neither the observer nor any other inmate. Bentham envisioned the same basic concept for factories, schools, barracks, hospitals, madhouses,



While Discipline was being developed in all these different modes, Punishment was changing as well.

The system centered on pain and spectacle was coming under attack from social theorists, but more important, the spectacles were getting out of hand, becoming a site for political unrest and riots (like the Rodney King riots), and, especially after the French Revolution, great pains were taken to avoid political unrest and riots.

An entire system of carefully articulated and gradated punishments became reduced to a single punishment for all crimes: imprisonment. We are so used to this idea today, it is hard to imagine it as new. But prisons had not been used for punishment, they were simply meant for holding those whose trials were pending, and detaining debtors until they paid off their debts. Many people did not understand the new notion.

Why would putting someone in prison make her a better person?

Why do you want to hide the guilty away? What are you going to do to them?

Put the criminals all together, and they'll just form huge crime networks. Taking away someone's freedom will not teach him how to act as a free man.

That's punishment? They'll live better than an honest poor man! These criticisms were heard from the beginning, and they have been heard ever since.



The Panopticon provided a model for using Discipline in prisons. Disciplinary activity became the standard answer to all criticisms. Prisons would necessarily reform the prisoners because Discipline remakes the individual along entirely new lines. Constant observation and penalties for the smallest infraction of the many rules would start the process. Every second of the day and night could be carefully structured. Work, work, and more work, especially of a boring and repetitive nature, would instill proper work habits in the prisoner. As the prisoners became better behaved, they could gradually be granted a whole series of privileges, culminating in a parole based on a careful review of their behavior in prison. If the prison does succeed in remaking the individual through this process, what kind of person will be made?

A docile worker who does as ordered without question. An automaton, the perfect fodder for the Capitalist factory.



And what about the ones the prison doesn't remake?

The failures?