



Title	The "bad" and the "sick": medicalizing deviance in China
Author(s)	Bakken, B
Citation	The International Conference on Disease and Crime: Social Pathologies and the New Politics of Health, Hong Kong, China, 18-19 April 2011.
Issued Date	2011
URL	http://hdl.handle.net/10722/146476
Rights	Creative Commons: Attribution 3.0 Hong Kong License

Abstracts

The 'Bad' and the 'Sick': Medicalizing Deviance in China

Børge Bakken

Conrad and Schneider's now classical work on the historical transformation of definitions of deviance from 'badness' to 'sickness' is relevant for the situation in China today, although with some modifications. The weakly founded medical/psychiatric profession and the strong political/ideological discourse in China leads to a strange combination of medicalization and moralization, even criminalization. The 'sick' are often equated with the 'bad,' and 'sickness' is seen as a secondary sign of 'badness.' The pan-moralist tradition of ancient China seems to be closely combined with the Communist era's strong belief in political-ideological correctness, and its strong belief in social engineering.

My previous research on crime and deviance in China in the 1980s and 1990s seems to be confirmed by today's discourse, although there are new moral panics and new forms of medical-moralistic definitions of deviance in contemporary China. Still, the categories of deviance are very much socially constructed entities closely related to the moral-political order of present day China. In this paper, I will use three cases to underline my argument. First, the type of deviance I call 'majority deviance,' related to the case of the prejudice and dangers associated with the only-child. My second example has to do with what I term the 'wayward girl' and the moral panics concerning so-called *zaolian* – or 'premature love' among young girls. The third example is the new panic surrounding 'internet addiction disorder' or IAD. While the 'disco' and the 'dance hall' were the sites of disorder in the 1980s and 90s, the *wangba* – or 'internet bar' – is now seen as the most dangerous site of crime and deviance.

Børge Bakken is Associate Professor and Director of the Masters of Social Sciences Programme in Criminology in the Department of Sociology, The University of Hong Kong. His books include *The Exemplary Society* (2000) and *Crime, Punishment and Policing in China* (2007). He is currently working on a book on punitive norms, provisionally entitled *The Punitive Society*.



Sexual Deviancies, Disease and Crime in Cesare Lombroso and the 'Italian School' of Criminal Anthropology

Chiara Beccalossi

Although historians have written extensively on Cesare Lombroso's theories of criminal anthropology, they have consistently overlooked his research on sexual perversions. Lombroso played an important role in the rise of sexology at the end of the nineteenth century and was considered by many European and American medical writers a pioneer in the field. As with many sexologists of his time, Lombroso understood most so-called sexual perversions, such as homosexuality, as psychiatric disorders. Lombroso and the so-called Italian School of criminal anthropology drew an explicit parallel between sexual deviancies and criminality: just as there were acquired and inborn sexual deviancies such as homosexuality, so criminals displayed acquired or inborn criminal characteristics. This did not mean that Lombroso and his Italian followers necessarily advocated a legal punishment in cases of sexual perversion. On the contrary, the implication of the equation between sexual perversion and criminality was based on the assumption that both phenomena were, in many cases, biologically driven. Focussing on Lombroso's work on sexual perversions, this paper will examine how the Italian School of criminal anthropology equated disease and crime and the political and cultural implications of such an equation.

Chiara Beccalossi is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Centre for the History of European Discourses, University of Queensland. She is the author of *Female Sexual Inversion: Same-Sex Desires in Italian and British Sexology ca. 1870-1920* (forthcoming 2011), and *A Cultural History of Sexuality in the Age of Empire* (co-edited with Ivan Crozier, 2010), as well as a number of articles on the history of medicine and sexuality.



Morality Plays: Presentations of Criminality and Disease in Nazi Ghettos and Concentration Camps and Beyond

Michael Berkowitz

This presentation explores Nazi efforts to interweave, and exacerbate by juxtaposition, accusations that Jews were carriers of both disease and crime in the context of ghettos and concentration camps. It furthermore brings the discussion forward into the immediate postwar period, in considering how Jewish Displaced Persons themselves dealt with matters – and perceptions – of health and well-being, and law and order, once they were entrusted with a significant degree of autonomy.

Under the Nazis, both criminality and disease were part of essentialist constructs of Jews that were critical to antisemitic discourse and persecution – as a spur to, and justification for actions that culminated in genocide. The visual dimensions of these aspects of Nazi designs and programs will be particularly addressed.

The paper begins with reference to Thomas Mann's classic *The Magic Mountain* (*Der Zauberberg*, 1924), a complex novel in which terror is central to a world order where the fundamental distinction between people, and even individuals' self-imagination, is a dichotomy of sickness and health. Although Mann does not confront 'criminalization' per se, morality and deference to authority apparently have the severest consequences. Interestingly, after 1945 the Jewish DPs – although they obviously were compelled to confront serious issues of health and policing – strove to present themselves as preeminently robust and law-abiding, with their bodily and moral lives largely in harmony.

Michael Berkowitz is Professor of Modern Jewish History at University College London. His most recent edited volume (with Avi Patt) is *We Are Here: New Approaches to the History of Jewish DPs in Postwar Germany* (2010), and his last monograph is *The Crime of My Very Existence: Nazism and the Myth of Jewish Criminality* (2007). He is editor or co-editor of three further anthologies and author of *The Jewish Self-Image* (2000), *Western Jewry and the Zionist Project, 1914-1933* (1997), and *Zionist Culture and West European Jewry before the First World War* (1993/1997). Originally from Rochester, New York, he received his PhD under the supervision of George Mosse at the University of Wisconsin (1989).



The Malleable Addict: Heroin Addiction, Therapeutic Treatment and Biopolitics in Southwest China

Sandra Teresa Hyde

This talk focuses on the shift in southwest China from prison sentences to residential care and treatment for heroin addicts. Following one residential treatment community, I argue that mobile global practices link Western 12-step Narcotics Anonymous to self-healing and older Chinese practices like Maoist speak bitterness. In China it is in the drug aid theatres of the world where the Sunlight NGO traveled to stave off drug trafficking across national borders, and to redress newly defined psychosocial problems associated with illicit drug consumption. Through the process of unraveling *on the ground* practices of one international humanitarian NGO and some of its therapeutic models, one begins to see new forms of Chinese biopolitics. In the process of providing residential treatment and care, I argue that biopolitics envelopes the malleable addict time and time again.

Sandra Teresa Hyde is Associate Professor in Anthropology and Social Studies of Medicine at McGill University in Montréal. She has an MPH from the University of Hawaii, a PhD in Medical Anthropology from UC Berkeley/San Francisco, and completed a NIMH Postdoctoral Fellowship at Harvard Medical School. Her current research is on treatment for opiate addiction in China, and this work dovetails nicely with her ongoing focus on the cultural politics of infectious diseases, humanitarianism and governmentality. Her publications include the co-edited volume *Postcolonial Disorders* (2008), with M.J. Good, S. Pinto and B. Good; and her monograph *Eating Spring Rice: The Cultural Politics of AIDS in Southwest China* (2007). She has a piece coming out in 2011 in Peter Redfield and Erica Bornstein (eds.) *The Forces of Compassion*, the School of American Research Advanced Seminar Series, entitled 'Screams, Cries and Whispers: Traveling Heroin Therapeutics and Humanitarian Aid in Post-Socialist China.'



Epidemiology and Corporate Crime in Taiwan

Paul Jobin

Since 2009, two major cases of industrial diseases have been brought to civil courts in class actions, with the support of an original citizen mobilization and a network of cause lawyers. In the first case, in the north of the island near Taipei, 450 plaintiffs had been exposed to a wide range of organic solvents such as trichloroethylene and other toxics when they were working for the US manufacturer of television sets RCA, today property of GE and Thomson. More than a thousand people identified with this case have developed all sorts of cancer. The second case occurred near Tainan, in the south of the island, where high concentrations of dioxin had been left by a former chemical plant. As I have written elsewhere, the plaintiffs, in both cases, complained that they felt used as guinea pigs for the sake of science. Nevertheless, their lawyers could not but make use of epidemiology to prove the causality, while statistical *probabilities* hide various forms of *compromises*. In this presentation, I will stress another important aspect of the controversy, its *criminal* dimension, providing elements of comparisons with recent criminal charges against asbestos companies in France and Italy, as well as drawing upon fieldwork that I have been conducting on another asbestos trial in Japan, against the state.

Paul Jobin is director of the Taipei Office of the French Centre for Research on Contemporary China (located at Academia Sinica), and Associate Professor at the University of Paris Diderot, Department of East Asian Studies. Among his publications: "The Tragedy of Minamata: Sit-in and Face-to-Face Discussion" in *Making Things Public, Atmospheres of Democracy*, B. Latour and P. Weibel, eds; *Maladies industrielles et renouveau syndical au Japon* [Industrial Disease and Renewal of Trade Unionism in Japan] (2006); "Guinea Pigs go to Court. The Use of Epidemiology in Class Actions in Taiwan" with Y-H. Tseng in *Powerless Science? The Making of the Toxic World in the Twentieth Century* (forthcoming 2011), S. Boudia and N. Jas , eds.



Violence and Virulence: Metaphors of Contagion in the Treatment of Bird Flu and Suburban Riots in the French Media in 2005

Frédéric Keck

In September 2005, the French media launched a huge campaign to prepare the public for the arrival in France of bird flu from Asia. In November 2005, an unexpected outbreak of violence took place in the Parisian suburbs, recalling the inter-racial riots in the US. This paper will show how the same metaphors of contagion were used by the French media (both press and TV) to cover these two events, and what they reveal of their underlying signification in the social structure.

Frédéric Keck is a researcher at the Laboratoire d'Anthropologie Sociale (CNRS, Paris). He has conducted fieldwork research on bird flu in Paris and Hong Kong, and published *Un Monde Grippé* (2010). He contributed to the collection *Biosecurity Interventions: Global Health and Security in Questions* (2008), S. Collier and A. Lakoff, eds.



‘Crime Unique to Korea’: *Puinbyǒng*, Gynecology, and Race in Colonial Korea, 1926-1932

Jin-kyung Park

In this presentation, I demonstrate how disease and crime came to be equated historically through the case of Korea under Japanese rule (1910-1945). To do so, I examine colonial biomedical research on *puinbyǒng* and its related social pathologies by focusing on a seven year gynecological conducted by the Japanese obstetrician-gynecologist Takeki Kudō. In colonial Korea, the term *puinbyǒng* (婦人病) referred to a constellation of women’s diseases, especially gynecological ones. Included in this category of *puinbyǒng* were numerous ailments, encompassing infertility, venereal diseases (e.g., syphilis and gonorrhoea), irregular menstruation, uterine problems such as prolapsed uterus, hysteria, neurasthenia, frigidity, and more. Through the case of the prominent Ob-Gyn Kudō and his colonial state sponsored study on Korean female inmates from 1926 to 1932, my presentation in particular calls into question how state-hired Japanese gynecologists extended the boundary of research on colonized women’s *puinbyǒng* to such an extent that it included Korean women’s criminality within the category of gynecological illnesses and examination. Kudō’s gynecological scrutiny of Korean female inmates and their criminal acts showcases how Japanese colonial medicine constructed as its ‘legitimate’ research object not only women’s bodies in clinical settings, but also female bodies in non-clinical social domains, and subjected them to intense biomedical classification for the purposes of advancing colonial ideologies and state policies. I contend that Korean women’s gynecological ills and deviant social acts served as grounds for a scientific differentiation of Korean bodies from Japanese bodies, and for specific scientific mechanisms served to construct Koreans as racially and biologically ‘other.’

Jin-kyung Park is Assistant Professor in Global Asia Studies and Women & Gender Studies Institute at the University of Toronto. Her research focuses on gender, colonialism, biopolitics, biomedicine, and technology in modern Korea. She is currently working on a book manuscript about a cultural history of *puinbyǒng* (women’s disease) in colonial Korea.



Pathological Properties

Robert Peckham

This paper explores confluences of disease and crime in relation to the history of a specific modern locale: the scene. Focusing on the Whitechapel murders of 1888 within the context of late nineteenth-century debates over slum dwellings in London's East End, the paper examines a range of sources – literary, visual and documentary – to show how domestic spaces in the heart of the home were construed, not as passive settings, but as active agents complicit in the production of unhealthy conditions and violent crime. At the same time, data on houses were collated in surveys, reports and statistical charts, not dissimilar to the typological portraits of criminals assembled by criminologists. Typological preoccupations in mass-industrial Europe increasingly connected 'types' of dwellings with specific 'types' of disease and typical forms of wrongdoing. The paper concludes by reflecting on the implications of this pre-history for the ways in which 'scenes' of disease outbreak and crime are understood today.

Robert Peckham is Co-Director of the Centre for the Humanities and Medicine at The University of Hong Kong, where he is also Assistant Professor in the Department of History. He has been Visiting Fellow at the London School of Economics and Political Science and has held fellowships at the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford. His research focuses on histories of infectious disease and epidemic control, technologies of biopower and the modern state's role in the supervision of public health. Current publication projects include the forthcoming *Imperial Contagions: Medicine and Cultures of Planning in Asia, 1880-1949*, co-edited with David M. Pomfret and the monograph *Infective Economies: Plague, Trade and Empire*.



The Official World

Mark Seltzer

Processes of modernization posit the game-like and artificial character of a social order that nonetheless stipulates its biological characterization. No doubt that crisscrossing of bodily and artificial realities determines our situation: it makes up what has been described as the modern 'biocratic' state and counts as what Durkheim would call a social fact. But the game-like, and self-modeling, character of this world and its cultural techniques — 'the official world' — merits then a more differentiated description. I have been tracing, in a series of studies, the formation of our contemporary pathological public sphere: a wound culture. Here I want to take up the sense of 'social pathologies' — the relays of malady and crime — from a somewhat different perspective. The official world is a self-making, self-administering, and self-evaluating world. It everywhere generates little working models of itself — small worlds, little systems, sealed crime scenes, quarantine zones, game spaces. These are the scenes of an indoor social life and scene of the crime both. The modern world comes to itself via these scale models of a unified and autistic world. Hence it presupposes possible or contingent or counterfactual worlds — other worlds, a war of the worlds, and the end of the world. The social science fictions of this world are then nowhere clearer than in modern crime fiction and end-of-the-world stories — for example, what the novelist Patricia Highsmith calls the 'sweet sickness' of contemporary crime, or what Cormac McCarthy, in ultraviolent novels like *No Country for Old Men* and *The Road*, marks as the end of the world, that is, the end of the world as we know it. These are some of the torn scenes and lethal games of the official world that I want to take up here.

Mark Seltzer is the Evan Frankel Professor of Literature at the University of California at Los Angeles. He taught previously at Cornell, at Stanford, and at the Free University and the Humboldt University in Berlin. His books include *Henry James and the Art of Power*, *Bodies and Machines*; *Serial Killers: Death and Life in America's Wound Culture*; and *True Crime: Observations on Violence and Modernity*. He is currently completing a book called *The Official World*.



Dangerous Liaisons: Race, Gender and Prostitution in Early Colonial Hong Kong

Carol C. L. Tsang

This paper situates prostitution in early colonial Hong Kong within the broader context of debates about race and immigration in mid-nineteenth century Britain. In 1857, Hong Kong passed an 'Ordinance for Checking the Spread of Venereal Disease,' which anticipated the Contagious Diseases Act in Britain by seven years, and required prostitutes who serviced European clients to be examined regularly and detained in the Lock Hospital until treated. Meanwhile, depictions of prostitutes as agents of contagion permeated the press and government reports. Chinese prostitutes were invariably portrayed as sexual predators who dwelt on the periphery of Hong Kong society, from whence they preyed upon their European victims. According to such narratives, Chinese prostitutes were construed as a criminal class that threatened the colony's social stability. Drawing on a wide range of sources, this paper explores the assumptions and contradictions that underlay these narratives of 'dangerous liaisons.' It demonstrates how racial tensions in the colony echoed and configured metropolitan anxieties over immigration from the 1830s, when immigrants were suspected of importing disease and other evil practices into the country. Finally, the paper considers the implications of a discourse that pitted Chinese prostitutes, as active agents, against a 'feminized' and passive European masculinity.

Carol C. L. Tsang graduated in History from The University of Hong Kong, where she received an MPhil in 2007 on the history of women's reproductive health in colonial Hong Kong. Her recently completed PhD explored the development of women's medicine in Hong Kong from the colony's establishment to 1941.



Transpeople: Gender Difference, Sickness and Crime

Sam Winter

Transgender people (transpeople) engage in gender expression and experience a self-affirmed gender identity that is inconsistent with their natal (birth-assigned) gender. They display what is often described as *gender identity variance*. There is good evidence that *gender identity variance* is a universal and timeless aspect of human diversity. In many pre-modern societies transpeople (or more correctly, those we would nowadays call transpeople) were valued members of the community and played valued roles.

In more modern times there is often a tendency to view such people as deviant (in some sense 'broken'), unnatural (contradicting laws of nature), immoral (contradicting God's laws), deceitful (engaged in a lifestyle for getting partners), or mentally disordered (suffering from *gender identity disorder*). These 5 response patterns seem particularly common in those societies previously colonised by European powers, and influenced by Judaeo-Christian and Islamic values, and the 'modernising' effects of Western medicine. In addition, these patterns have in common that they situate the transwoman as a man, and the transman as a woman, and therefore undermine transpeople's claims for recognition in their self-affirmed gender identity.

Across much of the world (and indeed much of Asia) transpeople find that their gender identity and expression is criminalised and/or pathologised. Both criminalisation and pathologisation serve to drive transpeople towards the margins of society, where they find themselves at risk of unsafe situations, unsafe behaviours, and poor mental and physical health and well-being (even death). Research evidence accumulates which suggests a possible biological basis for *gender identity variance*. I consider the implications of such research for the way in which we might view transpeople, and the rights society might extend to them.

Sam Winter is Associate Professor at the Faculty of Education, The University of Hong Kong. He has been collaborating with researchers overseas to examine transgender individuals (persons who grow up identifying as members of a gender other than the one to which they were assigned at birth). Recent projects include studies of hormone use and abuse, as well as silicon injections, by transgender women in Laos (co-researcher Serge Doussantousse), Thailand (co-researcher Chayada Lertraksakun) and the Philippines (co-researcher Brenda Alegre).