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HISTORICAL FORMS OF COLLECTIVE DEVIATION

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Problem setting. The existence of any society is characterized by the presence of certain deviations from legal, moral and other norms. Deviations with both individual and collective forms are a significant factor in the development of human civilization. At the same time deviations have both negative and positive manifestations present in every social system and at each stage of its historical development. The ability to identify the causes of collective deviations, to use one of them for the progressive development of society, and to prevent others, dangerous and destructive, is the most important task of modern science, and in particular, philosophy. This problem is especially significant for the modern Ukrainian society, which is currently at an important transformational stage of its development, experiencing not only the change of social, political and economic relations, but also values and value orientations for the majority of existing social groups.

Recent research and publications analysis. It should be mentioned that research of deviation is a rather popular study area among representatives of various sciences (sociologists, political scientists, psychologists, teachers, practitioners etc.). Speaking about the philosophical aspect of the issue, one should highlight the works of such researchers as V. But (made an emphasis on specific features of a person`s socialization and the existed in society norms), T. Garasymiv (investigated the origin, changes, degradation, and extinction of social norms as a basic component of any culture), V. Kaluzhna (analyzed the impact of economic, political, spiritual crises on the spread of deviation), M. Mints (paid attention to the state as the basic “supplier” of deviations), V. Sanzharovets (studied the social deviations in the modern society in terms of manifestation of corruption tort),

D. Tytarenko (studied the processes of formation of civilized person, that would be a model for others) and others. Meanwhile, the historical aspects of collective deviation manifestation have not yet become the subject of study for Ukrainian scholars.

Paper objective is to define and classify the main historical forms of collective deviation, and to determine the specific features of their evolution and transformation.

Paper main body. The phenomenon of deviant behavior has a long history and manifested itself at the various stages of the development of human civilization and culture. The first features of deviant behavior can be found in the cult practice, the so called relict (according to the terminology of ethnographers of XIX – early XX century – “primitive”) peoples. Such practice was studied by V. Besk, E. Taylor, K. Klackhohn, S. Levi-Bruhl, J. Fontenrose, J. Frazer, S. Human and other western scholars.

One of the widespread examples of deviant behavior in relic peoples was dressing (masking) that is the reincarnation of participants of the ritual in certain sacred creatures they addressed to. This is the nature of African masks, "bear holidays" of the North American Indians, Siberian peoples. During such a reincarnation, not only the appearance, but also behavior that reproduced the habits of animals varied. It should be emphasized that this alteration and changed state are not identical to the theatrical performance. They were a way of reincarnation, that is, the mask was the same essence of the character of the cult action. In other words, deviation became an organic way of coexistence of people with the outside world. Thus, the deviant situation initially required (and predicted) semantic changes, special signs of deviation: clothes and abnormal (from everyday and common point of view) behavior, and change of social roles. An important component of such deviant practices was the symbolic denial of social stratification. So during the ancient rite masks neutralized the social status of the community members. In the Indian pueblo rites "lower" members of the tribe were

allowed to walk naked, "play" comic characters, interfere with the actions of the leaders, commit actions impossible in real life [, p. 192].

An element of the ancient magic-ritual deviant behavior was the ancient mysteries addressed to the corresponding gods. Note that ritual-cultic practice was an important part of ancient culture.

It should be emphasized that in ancient Greece there was no single religion, nor did there exist powerful religious organizations that would determine general ceremonies and norms of religion. This is explained by the fact that almost every city-state had its own divinity and its rites. Gradually, from simple religious-magic rituals, formed mysteries-holidays, which later became of great importance for other cities. One of these was fertility festivals or Eleusinian mysteries. "By depicting the victory of the light forces of life over the dark ones – over the forces of death, the farmers counted on the assistance of the gods in obtaining rich harvest, luck in breeding cattle. At these holidays, people welcomed life-giving forces in the form of boredom, greediness and promiscuity. They were objects that embody the power of life. During these holidays the rules of decency, which were observed throughout the year, were simply ignored" [10, p. 5]. Thus, during the holidays deviation became the norm...

Of particular importance to the Greeks were the cult ceremonies in honor of Dionysus. The image of Dionysus and the corresponding ordinances cause the greatest controversy among modern culturologists, but the deviant character of this holiday is universally acknowledged.

The tradition of mystery-deviant holidays continued during the period of the existence of the Roman Empire, however, having received more complex and varied forms. They differed in "variety, masquerade, organization, but at the same time, they had a lot of barbaric and wild features" [10, p. 24]. The most popular of them were Lupercalia and Saturnalia.

Particular importance for the Romans was a holiday in honor of Saturn (the patron of agriculture), which was called Saturnalia. It was celebrated in December and lasted for a whole week. Students were exempted from classes, slaves were

given freedom. A ritual inversion was carried out: during the holiday, the slave masters served slaves and had to allow the latter any behavior (it is clear that because of the volatility of the holiday, the slaves did not "let themselves go").

It should be noted that this holiday became the "ancestor" of many medieval folk holidays, and, according to M. Bakhtin, in a transformed form "passed through centuries", revived in Christmas carnivals [2].

In general, starting with the Roman Empire (the first such holiday was Saturnalia, and especially this phenomenon spread in the Middle Ages), an important tool for the transformation of sacred collective behavior were the carnival holidays, in which the magic deviation, on the one hand, was preserved, on the other, took the form of inversions. M. Bakhtin focuses on the game nature of the carnival, and denotes by this word "the sphere in which there is the meeting, the collision, and, finally, the transformation and interconversion of the opposite principles, in which the most intense existential processes of life occur and in which the values of different order are comprehended and struggling with each other" [2, p. 10 – 11]. During the carnival "civilized", socially acceptable forms of behavior are replaced by inversion, or prohibited in everyday life. "The carnival is not observed – people live in it, and all of them live in it, because it is popular by its nature. While the carnival is going on, no one has life other than carnival" [2, p. 12]. Thus, the carnival is the time of freedom, inversion, violation of social stereotypes and norms, above all, behavioral.

The next historical form of deviation in the Middle Ages is the inversion of the sacred, religious-church cult, violation of which was strictly pursued in everyday life. Thus, in many countries parody doublets at all times of church cult and doctrine were widespread. The "Liturgy of the Drunkard", "Liturgy of the Players", parody of the gospel hymns and psalms; prayers ("Our Father", "Ave Maria"); parable covenants ("Testament of pigs", "Testament of donkey"); parodies of cathedrals, parody disputes, etc are known today. The fashion for such parodies, as well as for the carnivals, appeared in the late XV – first half of the XVII century. Note that at those times a famous German satirist, S. Brent, was

very popular, as well as J. Deccanon, J. Boccaccio; the frivolous genre of Fabio, which became an artistic reflection of deviant behavior was widely used. At the same time deviation gradually lost its sacred significance.

With the process of desacralization of European culture, the carnival more and more transformed into a secular festive form – a masquerade, while preserving the cult and magic attributes: runes (mask, costume), sacred times (oil, Christmas carnivals), collective character. M. Kshesynska, in particular, notes that they participated in masquerade to "intrigue", and not to adhere to secular rules of "decency" and class subordination [7, p. 290]. Thus, the historical carnival was a vestige of sacred, ritual, ceremonial activity and, at the same time, an example of its desacralization, transformation towards the game. The transformation of the medieval carnival into the carnival masquerade of the New Age demonstrates the transformation of sacred and sacralized forms of collective deviation into secular.

In general, speaking of the historically widespread forms of collective deviant behavior, one should pay attention not only to sacral, game, secular ones, etc., but also to those that are called extreme (rebellions, pogroms, revolutions, religious movements, etc.) as well as cultural and educational ones. Let us examine them in detail.

1) Religious movements. One of the most widespread among them in Western Europe in the Middle Ages were just religious movements, which, in essence, changed the entire course of human history. At the same time, it is worth paying attention to the fact that any religious movement is a deviation that not only expresses disagreement, counter-position, but also inspires specific social actions. The most prominent in this sense are Protestant movements that originate from the absolutely deviant act of Martin Luther, who on October 31, 1517, on the doors of the Wittenberg Church wrote "95 theses" of the Reformation [8, p. 56].

Naturally that over time the extreme deviation, even religiously colored, acquires the character of the (religious) war with the activation of negative and destructive appeasement under the apparently peaceful and righteous slogans typical to any war. An illustrative example in this regard was the history of the

Taborites (Hussism) and the Peasant War (People's Reformation) under the leadership of T. Müntzer. In the first case, the pogroms of churches and estates were called "God's judgment over the world" through the elected "zealots of the cause of God." In the second – the peasant army went out to fight with the knights in white clothes under the slogan: "God is with us!" He will not allow the victory of the wrong "[8, p. 65]. Another version of religious deviation was mass hysteria. For example, the movement against the Pope and the Vatican, led by J. Savonarola in Florence, led not only to mass repentance, but also to a mass pogrom, the destruction of artistic Renaissance masterpieces, antique manuscripts, rarities, etc. [3]. Another example is the hysteria of sorcery, which covered entire villages and monasteries, and was severely punished by the Inquisition.

In counter-movements, in the counter-reform in particular, the same forms of religious deviation were reflected. The most significant in this sense was "Bartholomew's Night" in Paris on the night of August 24, 1572, which led to the death of tens of thousands of Protestants. Similarly, the terror that occurred as a result of the defeat of the T. Müntzer's movement not only took hundreds of thousands of lives, but struck contemporaries with cruelty and "arbitrariness."

Speaking about extreme religious movements in the Middle Ages, we will also pay attention to the movement of flagellants (from the word – "flee, suck, beat, torment"), which was widely spread in Western Europe in the XIII – XIV centuries. Flagellants beat themselves in monasteries, flagellated parishioners in the streets before absolution. The processions of the flagellants filled Italy, Southern France, then Germany, Hungary, Poland. Gathering in the crowds, they stripped naked (even in cold winter), and "suppressed the flesh" [4, p. 176]. According to the spiritual mentor of the flagellants, Peter Damiani, the flagellation solved four tasks: they imitated Christ, experienced martyrdom, humbled the flesh, and atoned for their sins. P. Damiani puts the holy Dominic, the founder of the famous Dominican Order, as an example in his teaching. Dominic himself (1170-1221), as his biography shows, is a typical deviant of that time [6, p. 997]. Meanwhile, his teaching later became popular among the general population.

Consequently, it can be noted that religious movements were an effective instrument of economic and political struggle and social transformation.

II) Pogroms. Deviant acts of the most irrational nature, but at the same time widespread in many countries of the world, include pogroms, in particular, according to an ethnic principle. Xenophobia, which acts as an ideological basis for pogroms, is the rudiment of primitive society, which sends people to the deep, animal instincts of protecting their territory from strangers. At the same time, xenophobia is a means of national consolidation, activation to combat a certain enemy. Because of this, ethnic xenophobia and national liberation wars are similar sources of psychic energy, with differences in goals, methods, and outcomes. Good examples of such xenophobia that followed the pogroms on ethnic grounds were Moorish pogroms in Spain in the X-XV centuries, Jewish pogroms during the Thirty Years War (1618-1648), Armenian Genocide of 1914 in Turkey, Holocaust in Germany during the Second World War.

III) Rebellion and turmoil. These terms characterize not as much the content as the expressive political nature of the event and the state of its actors. Here, the determinants and goals, which are usually political, are not seen. Because of its expressiveness, rebellion (sadness as its first stage) has a destructive and predominantly devastating character.

IV) Revolution. The revolution differs from other forms of collective deviation by the result, certainty, ideology (the existence of a program, goals, tasks, driving forces, etc.), maturity, completeness and structuring of infrastructure, which prepares and conducts revolutionary actions. At the same time, the internal content and the driving force of the revolution are rebellion. The revolution as well as the deviation is ambivalent. On the one hand, Freud, E. Fromm and other psychoanalysts rightly considered the revolution as a projection of violence [11; 12]. On the other hand, the revolution is: the result of a rebellion; a certain type of collective holiday with the corresponding connotations: sacred, carnival, cult; the way of sacrifice; a means of achieving justice, sanctioned or dictated by requirements of social progress, historical and psychological necessity, or God.

Significant in this sense was the Great French Revolution of 1789, which formally began with a "hungry rebellion". The capture of Bastille on July 14 is still the official national holiday of the French Republic. The reason for the holiday was even the execution of the king. The execution of a royal marriage – impossible and unnatural in ordinary life, was perceived as an act of sacrifice. That is, deviation transformed into a political gesture justifying the act of sacrificing "higher" goals (social progress and historical necessity).

The etymology of the 1960-1970 student revolutions, which took place in many European countries, and in particular in France was similar. It should be noted that the political upheaval that swept France in May-June 1968 began with mass protests by students who protested against police reprisals and demanded the reform of higher education. These performances led to a nationwide strike accompanied by seizure of enterprises and institutions, pogroms of shops and university campuses, arson cars and clashes with the police, that is, a set of deviant behavior.

The movement led to the resignation of the government, eventually the French President Charles de Gaulle. It also caused profound changes in the socio-economic, political and cultural development of France. Thus, the "student revolution" contributed to the emergence of a special student subculture (the appearance of the movement of hippies, punk, rockers, metalists, etc.), and also contributed to the legalization and development of rock music, rock poetry; the emergence of a new "youth" style of clothing, lifestyle and behavior – that is, a fundamental shift in the arts, culture of everyday life and in the sphere of serving their commercial structures. Fashionable short skirts, jeans, special hairstyles for boys and girls (long hair or, on the contrary, skinheads); youth style in adults typical to those times, all these was a manifestation of deviant behavior. The Student Revolution legalized the "sexual revolution", changed the attitude to sexual freedom and prostitution, thus broke taboo practically on all forms of deviant behavior

French scholar R. Aron used the terms carnival, masquerade, Saturnalia,

insanity, farce, etc. to characterize the events of those times in France [13]. Meanwhile, despite such assessments, after this revolution deviation came into the "collective unconscious" of a modern person, confused personal view on the permitted / unpermitted. Sexual freedom, violence, drugs became "hot spots" of modern culture, its depressive factor, the subject of concern and intellectual reflection of many scholars.

Together with extreme forms, today cultural and educational forms of deviation are becoming increasingly popular, among which we distinguish philosophism, dandyism and underground.

1) *Philosophism*. The "classical" example of deviant philosophers are cynics. The name of the course – from the Greek word "dog" – denotes the world outlook of its representatives. And "proximity to nature" (according to the definition of Antisphen, one of the founders of this current), and "dog life" (as it was called by the enemies of cynics), and dog "ethos" – loyalty, devotion, etc. (according to one of the brightest representatives of the current Diogenes) – everything speaks of a way of life and behavior, abnormal in terms of the ancient "philistine".

Cynics have changed the ancient image of the "sage" with its sign-semantic attribute: suit, demeanor, style of speech. In cynics all this was completely inverted. According to Diogenes, Antisphen first assigned the objects and clothes typical of the slave or representative of the lowest layer of society. Thus, a sign of the cynics became a cloak, which was worn directly on the naked body, the beggar bag, and a traveler`s stick (the "Heracles baton"). A striking manifestation of deviant behavior and a symbol of the epatage of the cynics was the clay barrel where, according to the legend, Diogenes lived. The cynics` course of conduct cannot be regarded as theatricality, but as an organic form of behavior based on a conscious intellectual deviation. Cynics showed social and cultural marginality: not slaves but live as slaves; intellectuals, but with the way of life of the poor; have rights but refuse them in favor of freedom.

The deviation of the intellectuals with the specific expressiveness demonstrates ideological, countercultural determinants of deviant behavior, its

protestant ethos and at the same time “playful” form, which is socially accepted.

II) Dandyism. Dandyism is a secular version of protest behavior, both in cultural-historical and deviantological sense. And the word "dandy", and the derivative of it "dandyism" denotes a counterposition and epithetic. Originated in England, dandyism included a national contrast to the French fashion, caused by patriotic commitment at the end of the XVIII century. However, from the beginning of the XIX century the development of dandyism shifted its accents. Dandyism became to some extent a romantic rebellion, focused on the extravagance of behavior that offends secular society, and the romantic cult of individuality. It opposed the secular society with its cult of class corporate identity, class ethics and aesthetics. The disdainful manner of dressing, behavior, "obscene" figures of speech, swagger of gestures, demonstrative shocking of others – all this became a lifestyle for the dandy.

III) Underground. Actually, the name of this current movement in culture and art suggests its deviance. «Underground» in translation from English is clandestine, illegal... Representatives (musicians, writers, artists and other intellectuals) have always opposed themselves to popular culture and official art. An underground always characterizes the gap with the mass, typical, commonly accepted [5, p. 9].

Thus, opposition is an essential feature of the underground, which manifests itself through the means of epatage. Consequently, the underground is an element of counterculture, which opposes itself to the usual, established, and traditional.

In general, underground and counterculture as a whole is a special kind of moral protest, in which the fact and process, the atmosphere of the protest, often is more important than the result. Counterculture is targeted at the public even if it is carefully concealed or publicly denied. However, the true counterculture underground hiding under the guise of deviance intend to update life, by shocking fill it with a new, positive, progressive content, and thus differs from others destructive forms of deviation.

Conclusions and perspectives for further research. It is shown that the

phenomenon of deviant behavior is manifested at the earliest stages of the development of human civilization. The first historical type of deviant situation is ritual practice. It required dressing (masking) – the reincarnation of the participants in the ritual to the sacred creatures they addressed to. Deviation in those days is an organic way of life. The ritual deviation was accompanied by deviant behavior, but in this case it was temporary, serving as a component of the ritual complex, which included a location (sacred place), time, ceremony, a special kind of behavior. Thus, the deviant situation required (and predicted) semantic changes, special signs of deviation: clothing and abnormal (from everyday and common point of view) behavior, language style, etc. The deviant situation was characterized by a change in social roles, a denial of social stratification, an abnormal behavior of participants. During the culture development, cult-magic deviations remain transformed in traditional folk holidays.

It is substantiated that during the next stage of human development, in particular in the Middle Ages, along with the process of desacralization, deviation was transformed into carnival-masquerade forms, while preserving cult-magic attributes: runes (mask, costume), sacred times (oil, Christmas carnivals), collective character and deviance as a type of consciousness and behavior. Collective holidays can be considered as a marginal rudiment of sacred-ritual, ritual activity and, at the same time, as an example of the transformation of sacred and sacralized forms of collective deviation into secular and gaming.

The following forms of collective deviation are singled out: sacred (holy), sacralized (religious movements), secular (carnivals, masquerades, games, etc.), extreme, cultural and educational. It is shown that during the historical development, the sacred forms were mutated in the game, preserving, in most cases, a sacred-magical presumption. Manifestations of extreme collective deviation are rebellion, turmoil, pogrom, revolution.

It is determined that revolution differs from other forms of collective deviation by results, certainty and articulation of ideology; maturity, completeness and structuring of infrastructure, which prepared and conducted revolutionary

actions. At the same time, the revolutionary deviance is always ambivalent. Being, on the one hand, the result of rebellion, the revolution, on the other hand, is a holiday with the corresponding connotations: sacred, carnival, cult; rite of sacrifice and means of achieving justice. At the same time, revolutionary acts (execution of the ruler, terror, destruction of enemies, violence, pogroms), entering into the "collective unconscious", become a factor of legalization of any deviation justifying the act of sacrificing the "higher" goals.

It is revealed that opposition is an essential feature of deviant behavior. At the same time, the deviation of intellectuals (philosophers, scientists and artists, representatives of the underground, dandyism and bohemia) with a special expressiveness demonstrates the ideological, counter-cultural determinants of deviant behavior, and its protest nature.

Thus, collective deviation, having long historical traditions today has transformed into a significant factor in the development of world culture, science, politics, etc. At the same time, its negative manifestations (terror, turmoil, revolutions, etc.) are a response of citizens to the inability of the state and its rulers to find opportunities to translate the deviant potential into the playful (creative) and constructive forms.

In subsequent studies, various historically significant forms of individual deviation (shamans, dervishes, holy fools, etc.) and their transformation in modern society will be studied.

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ІСТОРИЧНІ ФОРМИ КОЛЕКТИВНОЇ ДЕВІАЦІЇ

І.А. Кіріченко

Визначено, що існування будь-якого суспільства характеризується наявністю відхилень від правових, моральних та інших норм, а вивчення особливостей та етимології цих відхилень є важливою науково-практичною задачею. Мета статті – з'ясування та класифікація основних історичних форм колективної девіації, встановлення особливостей їх еволюції та трансформації. У основній частині розглянуто еволюцію колективних форм девіації. Показано, що феномен девіантної поведінки проявляється на найраніших етапах розвитку людської цивілізації. Обґрунтовано, що у Середньовіччя, разом з процесом де сакралізації, девіація трансформувалася у карнавальні-маскардні форми, зберігаючи культово-магічні атрибути. Виділено такі форми колективної девіації: сакральні (священні), сакралізовані (релігійні рухи), світські (карнавали, маскаради), екстремальні (бунт, революція), культурно-просвітницькі (філософізм, дендизм). З'ясовано, що опозиційність є сутнісною рисою девіантної поведінки. У висновках узагальнено, що колективна девіація, маючи тривалі історичні традиції, сьогодні трансформувалася у вагомий чинник розвитку світової культури, науки, політики тощо. Її негативні прояви (терор, погроми) виступають своєрідною відповіддю громадян на нездатність держави знайти можливості для переведення девіантного потенціалу у ігрові, творчі та конструктивні форми. У наступних дослідженнях буде розглянуто різноманітні історично значущі форми індивідуальної девіації та їх трансформацію у сучасному суспільстві.

Ключові слова: девіація, девіантна поведінка, сакральність, обряди, карнавал, революція, бунт.

ИСТОРИЧЕСКИЕ ФОРМЫ КОЛЛЕКТИВНОЙ ДЕВИАЦИИ

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Определено, что существование любого общества характеризуется наличием отклонений от правовых, моральных и других норм, а изучение особенностей и этимологии этих отклонений является важной научно-практической задачей. Цель статьи – выяснение и классификация основных исторических форм коллективной девиации, установление особенностей их эволюции и трансформации. В основной части рассмотрена эволюция коллективных форм девиации. Показано, что феномен девиантного поведения проявляется на ранних этапах развития человеческой цивилизации. Обосновано, что в Средневековье девиация трансформировалась в карнавально-маскардные формы, сохраняя культово-магические атрибуты. Выделены следующие формы коллективной девиации: сакральные (священные), сакрализованные (религиозные движения), светские (карнавалы, маскарады), экстремальные (бунт, революция), культурно-просветительские (философизм, дендизм). Выяснено, что оппозиционность является сущностной чертой девиантного поведения. В заключении отмечено, что коллективная девиация, имея длительные исторические традиции, сегодня трансформировалась в весомый фактор развития мировой культуры, науки, политики. Ее

негативные проявления (террор, погромы) выступают своеобразным ответом граждан на неспособность государства найти возможности для перевода девиантного потенциала в игровые, творческие формы. В последующих исследованиях будут рассмотрены исторически значимые формы индивидуальной девиации и их трансформация в современном обществе.

Ключевые слова: девиация, девиантное поведение, сакральность, обряды, карнавал, революция, бунт.