Linking Visuality to Justice through International Cover Designs for *Discipline and Punish*

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Abstract:

Discipline and Punish revolves around the demise of a brief impulse to develop a juridical subject. We employ cover designs of this book from around the world as lenses through which to focus on how Foucault links visuality to justice. From examining covers showing the envisioning of "model men" that justify the inspection of others, we move to covers drawing attention to the measured rationalities and restless irrationalities of such inspection, and to the ubiquity of the resulting "carceral complex" across interconnected institutions. We turn next to cover images that spur our attention to the contemporary significance of torture, either when consumed in spectacular forms of "dark tourism" or when perpetrated secretly under state sponsorship – a possibility that *Discipline and Punish* appears not to anticipate. In response, we develop an understanding of how torture may nonetheless cohere with Foucault's conception of discipline. Finally, we discuss how cover designs remind us that we, like Foucault, are caught up in disciplinary gazes, and ask where the possibilities of resistance and hope might lie.

Introduction

Michel Foucault's (1977[1975]) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* is most ostensibly an historical, genealogical exploration of the exercise of power in the name of justice, one that shatters the assumption that the treatment of supposed law-breakers has progressively improved. The book covers a breadth of ways that formal justice has been enacted on the body, including through public torture and executions, in hidden dungeons, via forced labour, and especially through panoptic prisons. But *Discipline and Punish* is not only about supposed criminals and the changing prison; it is about the day-to-day scrutiny, regulation and normalization of ordinary people through schools, the military, workplaces and even "the disciplines." Given Foucault's critique of the deep surveillance that has come to implicate and constitute our very souls, it might seem that his genealogy is exclusively about the deepening of injustice. Yet the text pivots around a transitional moment when an impulse towards developing a juridical subject who possesses rights and who is publicly corrected through a direct link between an offense and its punishment, was superseded by the more administrative, individualizing and secretive project of creating docile, disciplined, normalized subjects.

The many layers to the history that Foucault presents give us cause to appreciate the challenge faced by designers of his book covers, who are tasked with representing these distinct but interwoven shifts in the enactment of justice (or injustice) within a singular cover image. Although the panoptic prison design is the obvious candidate, we sigh a little to see *Discipline and Punish* so inevitably reduced to it, especially as Foucault (1984) emphasizes that it is not architecture, so much as the politics of spatialization, that concerns him. We therefore ask, what other kinds of visual representations might come close to imaginatively conveying the complexity and critique within this text? How does re-reading *Discipline and*

Punish alongside the visual inspiration of its many covers bring other concepts in the text to the fore?

We have thus collected, researched and analyzed over forty covers of *Discipline and Punish* from many publishing houses and countries around the world, with an eye to these questions. In looking at images as diverse as Jesus being spanked, light streaming through prison bars, mysteriously floating eyes, and a simple schoolroom ruler, we have developed five key themes. First, in "Envisioning model men," we focus on those images that engage with the representation, scrutiny, or dissection of what might be considered "model" humans and that suggest questions of how these models connect to ideas of human nature and the achievement of justice. Second, in "To see is to measure," we explore images that evoke the certainty and rationality of measurement in the pursuit of justice, yet potentially undermine and unsettle this rationality. Third, in "Making the ubiquitous visible," we discuss images that transcend the prison, evoking Foucault's argument that there are deep resonances in enactments of justice/injustice across modern society: there is no outside to the "carceral complex." Fourth, we take up images that refer to contemporary uses of "Torture as spectacle and discipline," in relation to Foucault's argument that discipline has replaced torture. Finally, *Discipline and Punish* focuses heavily on the viewer – one who witnesses the "spectacle of the scaffold," who participates in surveillance and who is subjected to surveillance. Thus, in "Participating in the gaze" we discuss how images work to remind the reader herself that both she and Foucault are viewers, implicated in surveillance processes. We close by remarking on the overall starkness and the seeming entrapment of the carceral complex that these images convey, and treasuring small facets of the images that hint at possibilities for resistance and hope.

Methods

Book covers have usually been studied in the discipline of design, though their potential as sites of analysis in other disciplines is just beginning to draw attention. Such analyses typically collect diverse works available in a given genre, for readers in a given context, and analyze why and with what impact the cover imagery quite uniformly represents a certain discourse (e.g., Feres 2009; Lyne 2002). That we concentrate on a single work, and avail ourselves of the diverse images that cover it around the globe, makes our inquiry and that of Bischoping, Abdelbaki, Ahmed, Banasiak and Gül Kaya (2015), who studied international covers of Edward W. Said's (1978) *Orientalism*, unusual. This approach may throw into relief the singularities and contexts of individual designers' engagements with *Discipline and Punish*.

We located 68 distinct cover designs for *Discipline and Punish* by using Worldcat (an international online library catalogue), eBay and used booksellers' sites, and readers' fan sites such as GoodReads and LibraryThing, as well as by searching for translations of the English and French titles in numerous languages. Because we wished to interpret how cover designers took up *Discipline and Punish*, specifically, we set aside designs used throughout a publisher's series of works by Foucault or other thinkers, as well as those consisting of a conventional "photo of the author." Our final sample was of 45 designs from 27 countries. Interested readers may view these as a collage on Pinterest (https://www.pinterest.com/kathyb0506/discipline-and-punish-by-michel-foucault/), a free social media site on which users can bookmark images appearing elsewhere.

We follow the analytic strategy developed by Bischoping *et al*. (2015), which commences by identifying cover images via publishing house information or reverse image search engines. Covers are then interpreted as instances of intertextuality, a long-theorized concept that draws attention to the meanings made when related texts – a term that here encompasses

images, and spoken and written language – are juxtaposed (Allen 2011). In addition to interpreting the juxtaposition of cover images to the content of *Discipline and Punish*, the titles that artists gave to cover images (see Barthes 1964), scholars' earlier analyses of images, or the ways in which the image had previously circulated can be considered. Cognizant that we lack situated knowledge of many of the contexts of which we speak, we do not aim for definitive readings (if such exist), so much as polyvocal, often-questioning ones. We independently write short analyses of the images and themes that most draw us, and then merge these while retaining some flavour of our divergent readings.

In applying this method to *Discipline and Punish* covers, we asked whether a distinctly Foucauldian approach to visual sociology could be incorporated. We found Foucault's work quite varied in its approach to the visual. For instance, in *Discipline and Punish*, he treats most of his plates as self-evident representations of the concepts that he develops; often, he offers no comment whatsoever on a plate. Yet, in *This Is Not a Pipe*, his study of surrealist René Magritte's famous painting, Foucault (1983) admires a work that wreaks havoc with the ideal of self-evidently representing "reality." He writes there in a personal, evocative, unabashedly idiosyncratic vein, sometimes with free association. For instance, Foucault (1983) says that in the space between a painting, its name, and act of name-giving, "strange bonds are knit, there occur intrusions, brusque and destructive invasions, avalanches of images into the milieu of words, and verbal lightning flashes that streak and shatter the drawing" (36). Thus, we see that if our approach is to emulate Foucault's, we may speak of art that is more representative or more abstract, in ways that deal straightforwardly with what is shown (e.g., "This is a prison cell") or that treat signs as arbitrary and subjective (as in "This is not a pipe").

Moreover, owing to Foucault's (1977[1975]) observations of how quantitative measures serve to discipline, a point that our analysis will address, we eschew analytic avenues that

prioritize the quantitative or treat any "norm" among cover designs, such as the use of prison images, as naturally most insightful. After all, our goal is not to characterize all cover designs, so much as to use them, where possible, as lenses for deeper understanding. If readers experience a tension as they encounter an analysis that gives so little weight to numbers, we propose that it be understood as indicative of the disciplinary practices that Foucault documents.

Findings

Envisioning Model Men

As mentioned above, *Discipline and Punish* (1977[1975]) observes a shift away from a public, ceremonial form of sovereign vengeance: first towards a juridical subject "caught up in the fundamental interests of the social pact" (128) and then toward the superseding disciplined subject, formed through coercion and administrative power. These subject positions hinge on radically different models of the fundamentals of human nature, on how these fundamentals are to be known, and consequently how justice or discipline should be achieved. In this first section, we focus on the pair of covers that we read as depicting "model men,"[19] subject positions that sometimes cohered with Foucault's analysis, and sometimes seemed in creative tension with it.

Not for the squeamish, the Russian publisher Ad Marginem's cover of *Nadzirat' i nakazyvat'* shows the head and shoulders of a man lying in darkness on the ground, with a red circle, subdivided into segments, arcing over him (Figure 1). A tidy line divides the upper half of his head, which looks out at nothing, its skin flayed from the lower half, which gazes mutely toward the viewer. A flap of the detached skin lies horridly over the hair of the intact half. The flayed half of the head initially recalled to us the opening three pages of

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[19] We say "men" deliberately because, in our interpretations, only three designs depict women.
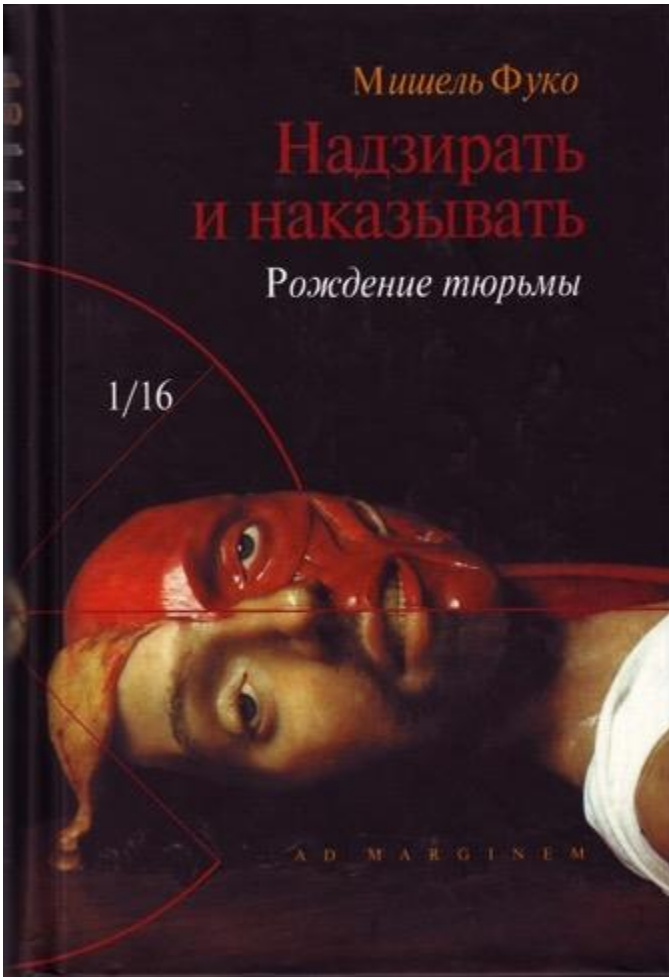
Figure 1. Ad Marginem, Russia, 1999 cover. Design: Andrey Bondarenko. Reproduced by permission of Ad Marginem.

Discipline and Punish, which regale readers with how Damiens the regicide had been tortured in 1757 by horses enlisted to draw him into quarters, and by pincers tearing at his flesh. If the flayed half suggested torture and bodily repression, the other half suggested newer technologies that leave disciplined subjects' bodies intact while at the same time penetrating deep under the skin to implicate the soul.

However, our (flayed = tortured) vs. (intact = disciplined) reading became complicated by the discovery that this cover image is of a sculpture from La Specola, a Florentine museum with a collection of 18th and 19th century waxen anatomical models. As Mazzolini (2004) explains, although the waxen models followed the contours of specific, individual cadavers, several of them quote, in three dimensions, the most renowned anatomical drawings of the time. Felice Fontana, the museum's first director when it opened in 1771, felt that no individual body could suffice as an ideal example in itself.[20] La Specola's collection thus takes the egalitarian claim that juridical subjects are all alike under the skin, and asserts that science is the impartial means of understanding and modeling this "knowable man" (Foucault 1977: 305). The resulting "fact," an idealized model, conceals its social construction and genealogy. This facticity, in turn, is central to the capacity of science to discipline (Foucault 1973[1963]; Lynch 1985).

Further, Fontana posited that compared to the models, individuals – and their physical contiguity – are irrelevant. Now in our reading of the Russian cover, we see the abstracted model of muscles, tendons, and the orb of the eye contrasted to the intact half of the head to suggest that the individuality we think of as "a face" is an imperfect deviation layered onto the model, the flap of peeled-off skin drooping over it like a dunce cap. The reading has become: (flayed = a model man known through scientific scrutiny) vs. (intact = an inadequate individual in need of correction). Further, that both sides lie partly within the red circle conjures up ideas of their measurement and dissection, but also of a Christian halo. In other words, the cover design subtly yet powerfully comments on sanctified scientific models to which scrutinized individuals can be compared, found wanting, and corrected.

The creators of the wax model shown on the Russian cover of *Discipline and Punish* were near-contemporaries of the prison

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[20] Even the waxen models did not fully please Fontana; he dreamt of creating a wooden model that could be dissembled and re-assembled entirely (Mazzolini 2004).

reformers Foucault writes about. A key image on Indonesian publisher LKiS's 1997 edition of *Displin Tubuh* (http://www.goodreads.com/book/show/3417926-disiplin-tubuh) harks back to much earlier eras. Placed on the cover's right side, this image, "Vitruvian Man" (Figure 2), shows both
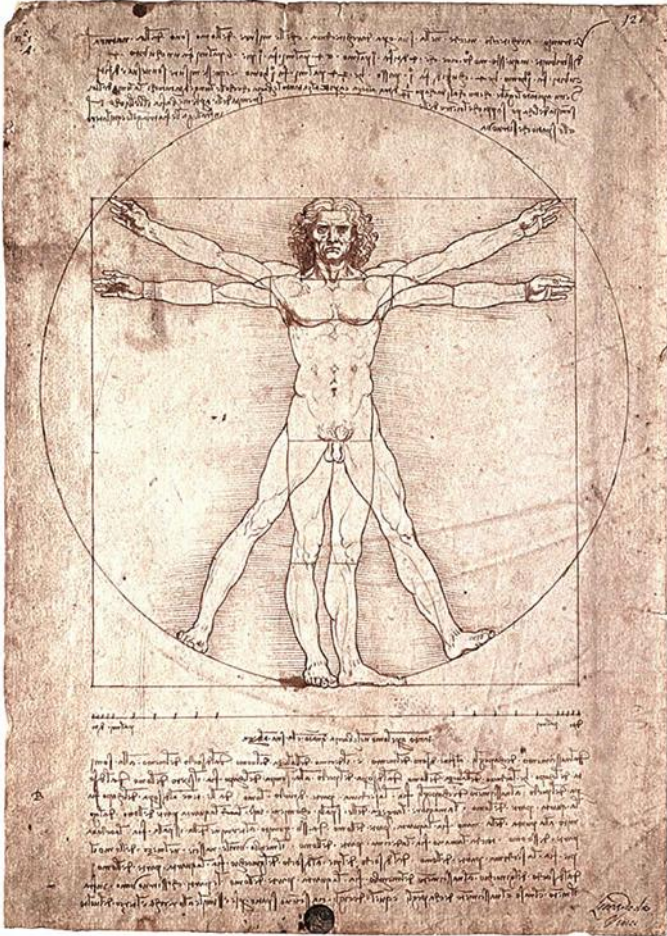

Figure 2. Image used in LKiS, Indonesia, 1997 cover design. Illustration: Leonardo da Vinci (Vitruvian Man, ca 1490). Photo: Steven Yu (2006). Reproduced by Creative Commons Attribution Non-Commerical No Derivatives License. https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/2.0/

a standing and a spread-eagled man, surrounded by a square and a circle, which might suggest a subject stretched on a rack, captured in the pupil of a surveilling eye, or transformed into a cog in a wheel. Yet, the man's face seems serene, and his standing pose is at ease. Interpreters of this image, drawn ca 1490 by Leonardo da Vinci, and based on a list of bodily ratios penned in the 1st century BC by Roman architect Vitruvius, often take it to be a statement about the harmonies inherent in the human form, and about man as a microcosm of the celestial sphere that the circle symbolizes (e.g., Fara 2009, Jeanneret 2001; Strongman 2010).

This positioning of human subjects as innately beautiful and good is far from the subject positions of which Foucault writes in *Discipline and Punish*. Perhaps for this reason, on its left side, the Indonesian cover also shows a darkened image of Foucault, one resembling the caricature on the cover of Fillingham's (1993) *Foucault for Beginners* (https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/176791.Foucault_for_Beginners). Foucault appears to be looking toward Vitruvian Man from the shadows, holding his hands to his cheeks in consternation. Because Foucault (1989) so optimistically looks to Ancient Greek and Roman philosophy to advocate for ethical self-mastery, his image on the Indonesian cover may suggest that he mourns the passing of another ideal, in this case, the calmly celebratory subject position of the Vitruvian Man. Or, no matter how tranquil Vitruvian Man may seem, Foucault may rue its modern deployment as an image that invites inspection, division, evaluation and normalization.

As we discussed these covers, we observed a slippage between our use of two meanings of "models": one in which models make claims about what *is* (whether derived from anatomical drawings or deductions about mathematical harmonies), and ones in which models propose what *ought to be*. The very slipperiness between apparently innocent description and value-laden idealization seems to facilitate

certain disciplinary processes, particularly measurement and assessment.

To See Is To Measure

"Blind Justice" is meant to objectively assess the facts of a situation without being swayed by knowledge of who is being judged. But the new visibility of the disciplined subjects whose formation Foucault analyses opens them up to the possibility of incessant scrutiny. The gaps between these subjects and their distance from an envisioned model can constantly be measured. As Foucault writes, "[a] whole set of assessing, diagnostic, prognostic, normative judgements concerning the criminal have become lodged in the framework of penal judgement" (Foucault 1977[1975]: 19). That these judgments, like those of Blind Justice, can have the appearance of objectivity relies on their positivist epistemology and methods.

With tongue in cheek, we note that in sum, the English translation of *Discipline and Punish* contains 51 mentions of calculus / calculate / calculation, eight of arithmetic, and three of mathematics. It would be fair to say that Foucault sees quantitative measurement as the juridical body's Kryptonite, and ultimately its failing. But, because measurement translates more readily onto the page than some of Foucault's other concepts, for cover designers it is rich in potential. We see this, for instance, in covers that reproduce and recolour the arched, delicate birdcage of a panoptic cell from the Nicholas-Philippe Harou-Romain (1840) plate in *Discipline and Punish*.[21] This image of the scrutinized prisoner is redolent with calculated geometric arcs and measured, precisely equidistant lines.

To our eyes, one of the most compelling cover designs in this spirit was for USA's Random House (1995; Figure 3). Whereas a stout majority of covers explicitly reference a

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[21] The Thai example (https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/24659044) of such a cover was published in 2002 by Thammasat University.
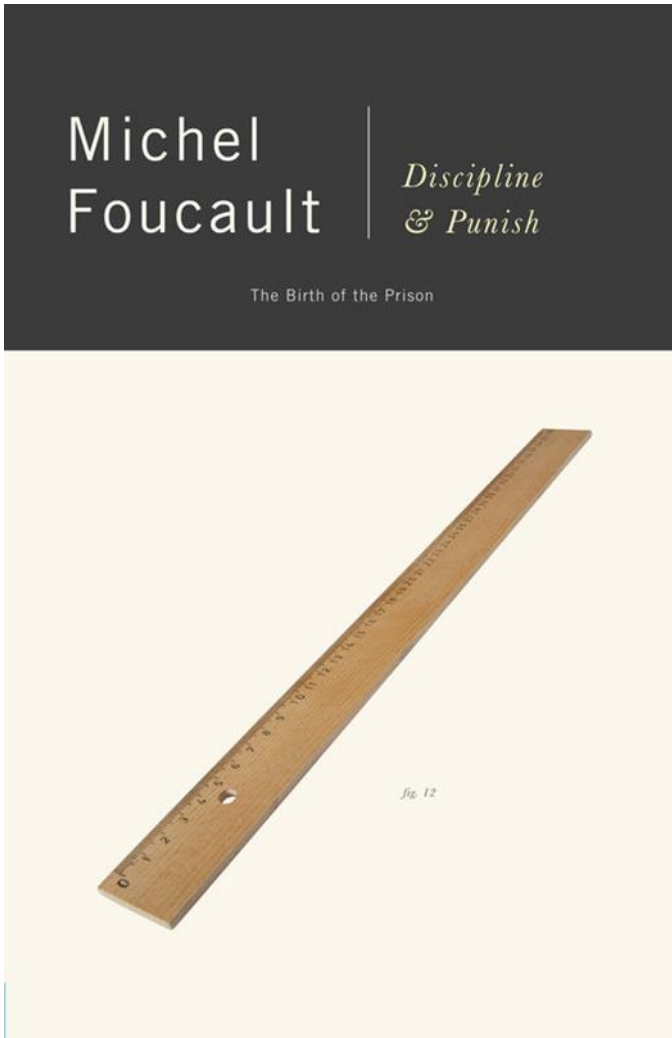
Figure 3. Random House, USA, 1995 cover. Reproduced by permission of Random House.

prison or torture context, this design shows only a wooden ruler, with the caption "Fig. 12," set against a plain, ivory background. This streamlined, decontextualized design stimulated us to broadly consider the ruler's possible relations

to Foucault's text. We thought that it could resonate with the theme of creating docile, disciplined subjects because although a ruler seems everyday and benign, it is used as an instrument of organization, and of determination. A ruler can speak to rules for "objectively" measuring crimes and meting out consequences. A ruler can measure distances between people, while figuratively, it references more general acts of dividing and measuring people, activities, and time that Foucault elucidates (Foucault 1977[1975]). Additionally, a ruler references hierarchies, ranking, and inequalities, for the numbers upon it are arranged in ascending order, its marks speak to differentiations great and small, and a ruler has historically served as a tool for corporally punishing children. That the ruler itself is numbered "Fig. 12" references how quantification permits both measurement and enumeration in a hierarchy or a set: the mechanisms of measurement can themselves be measured, just as watchers can themselves be watched. Finally, the word "ruler" has a double meaning: it is not only a measuring stick but also one who rules.

While we interpreted this "ruler" as speaking to the disciplinary acts and claims-making permitted through "objective" or rational measure, certain other cover designs offer an intriguing counterpoint, illuminating the contradictions and irrationalities at the heart of this purported judicial rationality. One such cover design, created for Greek publisher Kedros's edition of *Epitírisi kai timoría*, is shown in Figure 4. We interpret the image, a series of minutely-fine lines, in relation to Foucault's (1977[1975]) statement that "For the disciplined man, as for the true believer, no detail is unimportant" (140). The consequence is that infinitely finer distinctions and measures can always supplant the ones now possible. The effect is that the image seems to flicker, like a fluorescent light gone wrong; the logic of the ever-finer distinctions becomes obsessively dysfunctional.

Romanian publisher Humanitas uses another such cover image on its edition of *A supraveghea şi a pedepsi*. The image (Figure 5) is from a famous series of etchings of invented

Figure 4. Kedros Publishers, Greece, 2008 cover. Design: Alexis Kyritsopoulos. Reproduced by permission of Kedros Publishers.

prisons, created by Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1778) and inspired, it is said, by delirious visions he had while ill with malaria (Leggio 2010). Piranesi was an early-day M.C. Escher, fascinated with optical illusions: look closely at the walls and Hogwarts-like staircases in the cover image, and try

Figure 5. Image used in Humanitas, Romania, 1997 cover. Illustration: Giovanni Battista Piranesi (The round tower, plate iii from Invenzioni Capric di Carceri, ca 1749, Online Collection of Brooklyn Museum, Frank L. Babbott Fund and Carll H. de Silver Fund.). Photo: Brooklyn Museum. Reproduced by permission of Brooklyn Museum.

to picture them in three dimensions. As Howe (2010) explains:

> Each portion perceived is indeed a part of a logical geometry, but as a narrative, it is isolated and contained. Try as we may, we cannot link them to each other. The effect is a multiplying of potentials, of lines of flight, a world of visual parings and splinters that cannot be rearranged into a whole. (Howe 2010: n.p.; see also Roncato's unpackings of the illusions 2007)

In this cover image, the seeming logic of a colossus of justice that is built with disciplined attention to detail reveals itself to

be capricious, dissonant, and unjust at its core. Like the Greek cover analyzed above, this image suggests that perhaps it is not measurement that is quite the problem, so much as the restless, delirious possibility of its refinement, evoking another commentator on Piranesi calls "the notion of Hell as an enormous bureaucracy" (Dixon 2004: C05). Aldous Huxley's (1949) comments on Piranesi even anticipate Foucault's analysis, linking the etchings to the "panoptical prison" and the "up-to-date factory" (6). Yet we must note that Howe's reference to lines of flight elicits a counter-reading: within chaos are possibilities of explosion, evasion, or resistance to the molar rigidities of bureaucracy, category, measurement and hierarchy (Deleuze and Guattari 2003).

Making the Ubiquitous Visible

The rationalities of discipline are not only irrational, but also form an omnipresent carceral complex, as the panopticon has become "a generalizable model of functioning; a way of defining power relations in terms of the everyday life of men" (Foucault 1977[1975]: 205). As a result, "[w]e are in the society of the teacher-judge, the doctor-judge, the educator-judge, the "social worker"-judge; it is on them that the universal reign of the normative is based; and each individual, wherever he may find himself, subjects to it his body, his gestures, his behaviour, his aptitudes, his achievements" (Foucault 1977[1975]: 304). In this section, we discuss cover images, as well as certain image histories, that capture how the panopticon extends beyond the confines of the prison and is articulated in other, interconnected institutions.

Throughout *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault is attentive to the socialization of children, specifically those in classrooms. Three of Foucault's (1977[1975]) ten plates depict bedtime at the Mettray Penal Colony for young delinquents, a steam-powered machine for whipping lazy, disobedient children, and a tree attached to a post to correct its growth, to advocate "the art of preventing and correcting deformities of the body in

children" (169).[22] In the only one of the cover designs to show a child, and one of the few to depict a woman, French publisher Gallimard's 1993 edition of *Surveiller et punir* presents a cropped version of Max Ernst's 1926 painting, "The Blessed Virgin Chastising the Infant Jesus before Three Witnesses, André Breton, Paul Éluard and the Painter." This arguably blasphemous image shows a haloed Virgin Mary, dressed in scarlet, spanking a naked Jesus who is lying across her lap (it's clear in the original painting, but not the square-cropped cover image, that Jesus' halo has fallen to the ground). If we read the shift in punishment, as Foucault (1977[1975]) does, from "the vengeance of the sovereign to the defence of society" (90) then we can see in this image the Durkheimian notion that all citizens are subject to the will of the collective conscious (see Jones and Scull 1973) – not even Jesus is immune to corrective discipline. Mary, too, must fulfill her parental duty of shaping the infant Jesus through discipline, according to the Christian teaching of "spare the rod, spoil the child." Like Jesus, she is being disciplined, for three men watch her from behind, scrutinizing and assessing her mothering practices (we return to these watchers in the final section of our analysis).

Reminding us of the resonance of productive, disciplinary processes in prison and workplace alike, UK's Allen Lane Publisher's 1977 edition of *Discipline and Punish*, presents the engraving "Prisoners on a treadmill" (Figure 6), by Victorian Frederick Barnard (1846-1896), who also illustrated works by Charles Dickens. This engraving depicts numbered prisoners climbing or resting in numbered compartments of a treadmill, supervised by a guard – again designated by a number.[23] Of note is that the treadmill, for all its exhausting

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[22] Cover images from Bulgaria (https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/7673400) and Iran (https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/15747615), published by Universitet-sko izdatelstvo Sv Kliment Okhridski and Nashr-e-Ney, respectively, each use the "tree" plate. It had originally appeared in the text in which French physician Nicolas Andry de Bois-Regard (1743) coined the term "orthopedics."
[23] Another cover image in the same spirit appears on Norwegian publisher Gyldendals Fakkelbøger's edition (https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/26861638-det-moderne-fengsels-historie) of *Det moderne fengsels historie*. The image, from an 1862 engraving,
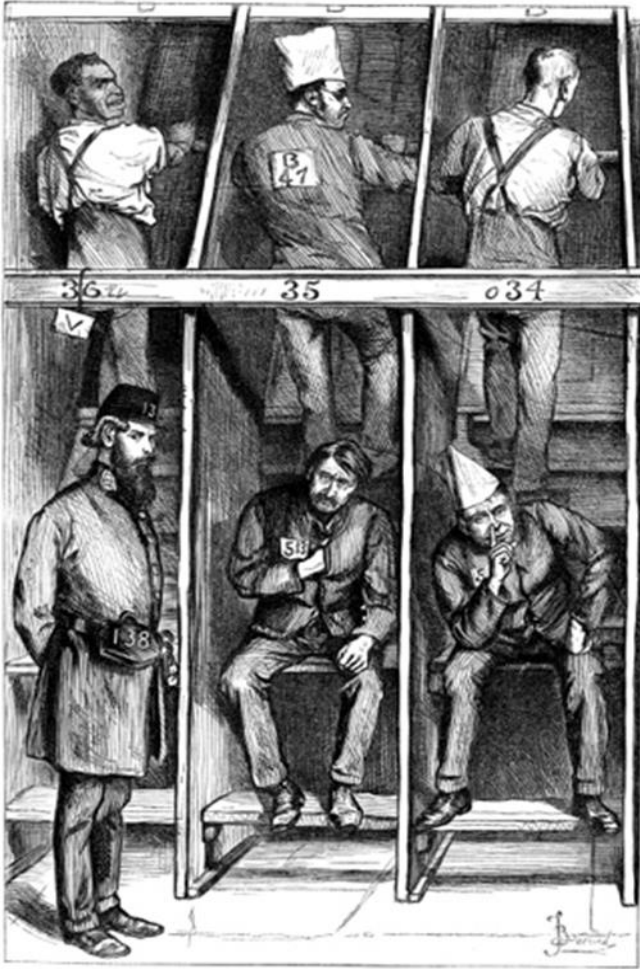
Figure 6. Image used in Allen Lane Publisher, UK, 1977 cover design. Illustration: Frederick Barnard (Prisoners on a treadmill). Reproduced with permission of Victorian Picture Library.

depicts women in Holloway Prison picking oakum and working a treadmill with numbered compartments.

and monotonous busy-ness, was not particularly profitable. Of course, its purpose was not immediate economic production within the prison so much as the long-term didactic project of producing a general population of individuals, "mechanized according to the general norms of an industrial society" (Foucault 1977[1975]: 242). This image represents a form of punishment that seeks to generate order and obedience, namely, the habits and attitudes of docile, productive workers. It is telling that the conception of a panopticon, so often credited to Jeremy Bentham, was one that Bentham had adopted from his architect brother Samuel, who had originally devised it as a factory design while working for Catherine the Great (Huxley 1949).

The engraving "Prisoners on a treadmill" is, moreover, representative of a discourse about prison labourers that circulated into educational settings, sometimes with medical input. We observed this when we tracked down the engraving's original caption, "Then tread away, my gallant boys / and make the axel fly" (AllPosters n.d.). These lines were written by Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr., a U.S. physician and popular poet, whose poetry appeared in a 19th century elocution textbook (Goldsbury and Russell 1844). The terms in which this textbook's editors explain their goals immediately bring Foucault to mind. Goldsbury and Russell (1844) aim to "regulate the tones of boys" (xi) and to find ways to impart theories of correct speaking that "make them so familiar as to govern our practice spontaneously and without reflection" (xii). The regulation specific to this poem takes the form of telling students to read in a manner "lively," "excited," and evocative of "the playground" (Goldsbury and Russell 1844: 140). Thus, through the institutional articulation of the prison with the workplace, the hospital, and the schoolroom, students reading poetry are ironically disciplined to perform a subject position of being "free."

Torture as Spectacle and Discipline

This subject position of supposed freedom, one from which ubiquitous disciplinary processes are so taken-for-granted as to be invisible, shapes contemporary perspectives on past violence. For instance, one of us visited a castle where one can be put in the stocks, a form of entertainment that works by comfortably asserting how "civilized" we have become. Further, in certain forms of what's called "dark tourism," histories of mass political violence and state-organized terror may be pleasurably consumed. Such is the case at Patarei sea fortress in Estonia (Figure 7), which is pictured on the cover of *Discipline and Punish* published by Tantor Media in USA. Originally built in 1840 by Russian Emperor Nicholas I, Patarei came to function as an army barracks, as a Soviet Prison in which the KGB carried out acts of torture, and, after the USSR's dissolution, as an Estonian prison. Through the ease of the fortress' historical repurposings, its image evokes the ubiquity we discussed in the previous section. It is now a tourist destination, one where festivals and concerts, sit uneasily alongside tours that delve into the building's past, sometimes in a sensationalist manner (Atlas Obscura n.d.; Belford 2013; Patarei n.d.). For example, one tourist recounts:

> We were set up with a spectacular show, being "caught" and "interrogated" by KGB look-alikes managing to give us a hint of the terror and fears of the former inmates in this prison ruin. Only negative side was the freezing cold (though probably better that on a hot summer day). This frightening place with its incredibly rough conditions for prisoners gives a serious setting for understanding more of the oppression under the Soviet occupation. (Toralfsan 2013: n.p.)

For this tourist, consuming a staged and contained form of torture is "spectacular," a reaction not so different from the audiences of genuine public torture whom Foucault describes. Perhaps attractions like these, by reinforcing the juxtaposition between our past brutality and present civility, facilitate the

Figure 7. Image used in Tantor Media, USA, 2013 cover design. Reproduced by permission of iStock by Getty Images.

extent to which we willingly subject ourselves to the strictures of a disciplinary society.

A rival interpretation of the Patarei image is that it challenges Foucault's genealogy of the shift from public, spectacular torture to ubiquitous, naturalized discipline. Foucault does not seem to account for the use of torture in the 20th and 21st

centuries by many of the states from which our covers are drawn. The Indonesian purge of suspected communists in 1965-1966, the torture of alleged communists by the Greek junta of 1967-74, the torture and murders of some 10,000 to 30,000 people during the Argentine "Dirty War" of 1976-1983, and the US military's use of torture at Guantanamo Bay are examples that come readily to mind. We will concentrate on the Argentine case, which especially seems to contradict Foucault in that some of its most preferred targets were the very kinds of professionals Foucault considered instrumental to the regulation and normalization of individuals within institutions, namely, "psychologists, psychiatrists, sociologists, welfare workers, and journalists" (Suarez-Orozco 2004: 380). This led Suarez-Orozco to deem *Discipline and Punish* inadequate at analyzing state-sanctioned violence and torture in the post-colonial world.

We disagree. Given that *Discipline and Punish* is marketed and read in many of these countries and that the "West" has been so complicit in state-sanctioned torture in Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East, it would be a shame to insist that Foucault's insights on punishment are irrelevant there. It seems to us that the key to interpreting the Dirty War and other modern state-sponsored torture as disciplinary is to say that torture, if conducted in stealth and secrecy, is fully and horrifyingly compatible with Foucault's conception of discipline.

The cover of *Vigilar y castigar*, designed for Siglo Veintiuno in Argentina (Figure 8) seems to speak to this possibility. Its compelling imagery shows three floating eyes hovering over a body that is divided into segments. This anatomized body becomes all the more chilling in a context in which medical doctors facilitated torture: Suarez-Orozco documents interrogations in which physicians were consulted on the extent to which bodies of different ages and vitalities could be abused. Moreover, the sexual ambiguity of the individual in the cover image, given the hint of breasts and a phallus that is also diagrammatically ovarian, captures the torturers'
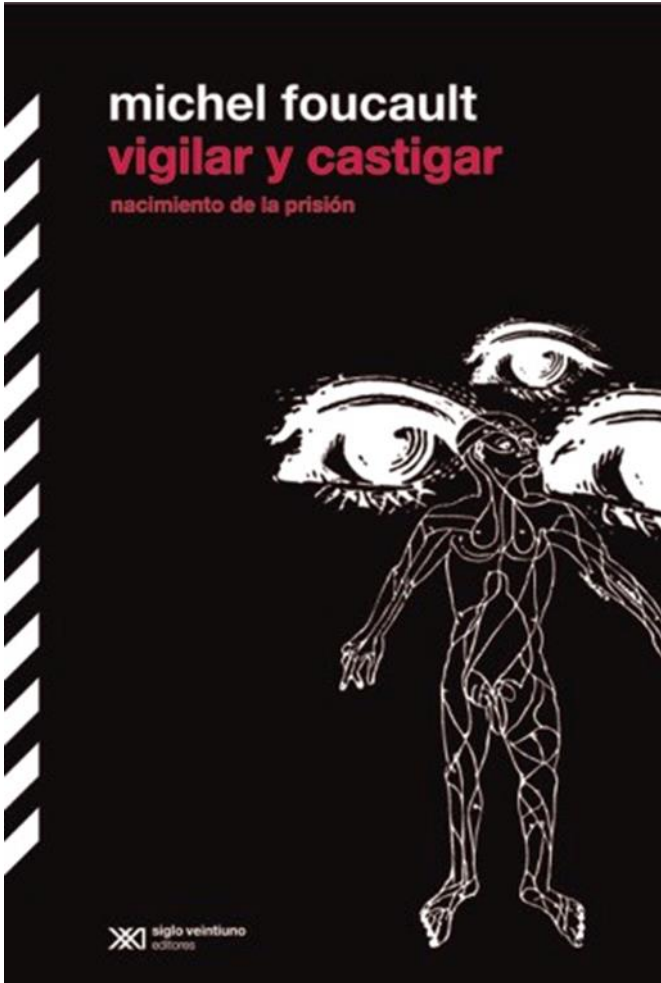
Figure 8. Siglo Veintiuno, Argentina, 2015 cover design.
Reproduced by permission of Siglo Veintiuno.

frequent focus on men's and women's sexual organs, symbolically
assaulting the ability to spread, or reproduce, subversion (386).

Further, that the eyes on this cover are disembodied renders the
surveillant unknown. Rather than a single evaluative eye, the body is
observed by many, suggesting both "the uninterrupted play of
calculated gazes" (Foucault 1977[1975]: 177) and the ubiquity of the

panopticon. The disappearances, the torture, and the pervasive sense of fear they generated, were not the vengeance of a sovereign; rather, their intent was to produce discipline through uncertainty. Over time, the targets of the state shifted from those who vocally advocated for justice and human rights to anyone considered sympathetic to the "subversives" and even those who remained indifferent by failing to denounce supposed enemies of the state (Robben 2004: 203). Through the terror of uncertainty, these practices established a new form of social control.

We thus see how this cover image is particularly potent within its Argentine context: the stakes of surveillance are grotesquely stark, we see the expanding ways that disciplinary power can pervade everyday identities, activities, and behaviours (Foucault 1977[1975]), with the body vividly on the line through the ongoing possibility of torture. But the cover does also offer a trace of hope. Two of the eyes seem to spring from the subject's shoulder blades, creating the counter-effect of angel wings. Despite Foucault's (1977[1975]) concern that the soul is produced through "punishment, supervision and constraint" (29), the image hints at liberation through spiritual transcendence, possibly through religion, or spirited political resistance.

Participating in the Gaze

The thread of our argument so far has brought us to an emphasis on the ubiquity of the disciplinary society. But what is our place in it, and what is Foucault's? In this last section we concentrate on cover designs that pose this question creatively through nuanced uses of the "ubiquitous gaze." This is the name artists give to a trick of perspective that gives viewers the impression that the eyes of a person in an image are following and directly engaging with the viewers' eyes. The impact is to narrow the gaps of time and space that divides us, as viewers, from those depicted. We no longer privately observe their worlds, but become participants. For instance, when the guard of Figure 6 seems to gaze at us

balefully, perhaps he is warning us to keep our slates clean. But maybe his warning backfires, instead evoking our solidarity with the men on the treadmill (recall Foucault's assertion that public executions ceased to be effective because too many members of the public felt fellowship with those being executed).

The first cover we discuss was published by Brazil's Editora Vozes.[24] As best we can tell from our Photoshop experiments, it is Foucault's eyes, with blood-red irises, that are following ours, insisting that we consider the relation between him, his text, and us. The other design elements are striking too. Above Foucault's eyes, hands reach up, as though drowning, their shadowy "heart" and "fate" lines containing ghostly silhouettes of suffering people, one of them with arms stretched out as though crucified. Below Foucault's eyes are bare dangling feet, reminiscent of the scaffold. Within this context, Foucault at times looks desperate to us, as though his suffering is caused by a torturous spectacle of hanging, drowning, or crucifixion. But his gaze can also look menacing – watching us, evaluating us.[25] Even though Foucault actively criticized the disciplinary use of modern surveillance technologies, perhaps he resented being "always-already" (Foucault 1978: 82) trapped - like all of us, doomed to angrily participate in it despite himself. Perhaps such resentment can itself be considered a kind of resistance.

Another pair of cover images using the ubiquitous gaze tricked us into realizing our role as voyeurs, as participants in surveilling others. One of them is Ernst's painting of Mary and Jesus, discussed earlier. Our commentary there had concentrated on its two central subjects. Experiencing ourselves to be gazing, unobserved, into intimate domestic space, it took us a second or two to realize that others were

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[24] This cover can be viewed here: http://www.goodreads.com/book/show/13455222-vigiar-e-punir

[25] Foucault's biographer, James Miller (2000), mentions that Foucault could look "like a bullying field marshal" (179), and that his face had been used in advertisements for the *London Review of Books*, as though commanding people to become subscribers.

peeping in too. And herein lies the trick of this painting: the awareness it deliberately produces of that shift between our private lives and our experiences of being caught out publicly and disciplined in a court of public opinion (see Norris 1985). With that public comes a sense of shame about witnessing Jesus' punishment, and staring pruriently at Mary's breasts or Jesus' butt. Moreover, there comes a process of social comparison, of assessing the other witnesses' faces as variously approving, smugly righteous and mother-blaming, indifferent, or – like the witness in the center – intent, shocked, and glaring at us. As our gazes ricochet against those of the other witnesses, we find ourselves aware that public and private become blurred within a disciplinary society, that surveillance melds with assessment, and that our participation in such public observations complicates our affects, desires, and moral compasses.

Painter Ernst, like Magritte, whom we met in the Methods sections, was of the surrealist movement, concerned to explore how the imagination and Freudian subconscious held what Marxists would call emancipatory potential (Voorhies 2004). So too was Jacques-André Boiffard, the photographer of an image used by the Netherlands Historische Uitgeverij on several editions of *Discipline*, *toezicht en straf* (Figure 9). Our first reactions to Boiffard's manacled, blinded, deindividualized figure were that it was sensationalist, and that it reduced Foucault's rich analysis to his opening section on the spectacle of torture. Yet the image grew on us. We began to speculate about the liminal spaces that the figure could be occupying.

For example, is this figure male or female? Is the figure actually being tortured – or, might the person be participating in sadomasochism and the pleasures that can come from bondage and its power flows? That the face beneath the mask appears to be faintly smiling, rather than fearful, speaks to the latter possibility. Moreover, was the figure genuinely handicapped and abjectly deindividualized by its hood, stuck

Figure 9. Historische Uitgevrij, Netherlands, 2010 cover design. Design: Gerard Hadders, ProArtsDesign, Schiedam, NL; illustration: J.A. Boiffard (no title 1930) at Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, USA. Reproduced by permission of Historische Uitgevrij.

with whatever discipline came its way? Or, did it use the hood to gaze on others – even us – at will, as if from a private panoptic tower, without letting others know? Boiffard created other images on the theme of masks and masquerades (see Poskin 2013 for examples), visual tropes that signify carnivalesque transgression and the potential for the day-to-day to turn uncanny (Castle 1995). With Man Ray, another famous surrealist, Boiffard even made a film in which mask-wearing characters "dance, play, swim, and cavort self-consciously for the camera," signally without giving anything

personal away (Baldwin 2000: 151). So too might this cover figure.

The figure, in sum, *is neither and both* tortured and disciplined, male and female, obedient and transgressive, deindividualized and in a sanctuary of individualism, shackled and free. This figure was unlike any other we saw on the covers of *Discipline and Punis*h in that it might have found a way to be happy in its world. It might regard the future and engage with its viewers with a curious, playful eye. In this, the figure differs from most others who look out at us from the book covers, whether these are the agonized "flayed man" of Figure 1, the static, already-perfected Vitruvian Man of Figure 2, the somewhat shocked and smug watchers of Jesus and Mary, the admonitory prison guard of Figure 6, and the downright menacing, red-eyed Foucault of the Brazilian cover. Like the cover from Argentina, which shows an individual who may be graced by angels, the Netherlands cover suggests the possibility of resistance and hope, of fleeting moments when we are not "always-already" trapped in the gaze.

Conclusion

A cover is meant to attract readers but this visual contribution is also a representation of the text, one that, in turn, becomes part of it. Cover images foreground certain ideas and interpretations, shaping what it means to read a book. We have reflected upon a range of covers for Foucault's *Discipline and Punish*, a book that considers a wide swath of history and meaning surrounding not only the enactment of power through forms of state justice/injustice but the broader discipline of subjects as well. We have found ourselves drawn to images that tell multiple stories, reflect a breadth of contexts, and evoke divergent interpretations, and through examining such cover designs we found ourselves noticing new details of Foucault's arguments, and thinking through his observations with deepened engagement and complexity. The

visual, through a book cover, can thus offer a tremendous gift to our engagement with the ideas within a text: a slight shift in reading, a curious insight, or even a dramatic disruption of established interpretations.

Through exploring five themes, we have explored the possibilities of this gift in the cover images of *Discipline and Punish*. "Envisioning model men," for instance, has raised questions for us about ideals and what they represent, particularly in the realm of justice, what it means to seek to "know," and how ideals and norms (past and present) may both overlap and be distinct. This theme, alongside "To see is to measure," draws out the role of the objectifying sciences in disciplinary processes, a more subtle and (yet central) current in *Discipline and Punish* than descriptions of torture or prison regimentation. Examining the ruler, the hectic lines, and the illusion-laced prisonscape of Figures 3 through 5 highlighted for us how an obsession with measurement as the primary arbiter of truth, goodness and justice, could be bound up in a tension between rationality and irrationality – one that these visual depictions, side by side, made bare. "Making the ubiquitous visible" embraced images that recognized the breadth of scope of the arguments Foucault is making, and drew our attention to how an emphasis on calculable, normalized and productive individuals pervades not only prisons, but families, schools, and workplaces. "Torture as discipline and spectacle" inquired into how Estonian and Argentine images of sites of torture or tortured bodies spoke to Foucault's theorization that torture has been superseded by discipline. Finally, we examined how our very selves and Foucault himself are "Participating in the gaze."

These themes are glum. As we contemplate Foucault's work and its covers, possibilities for eluding the totality of the carceral complex seem scarce. But the cover designers sometimes do hint that resistance is always a part of the story. Across our themes, we sometimes see such hints made forcefully, in images such as the sacrilegious embedding of Mary and Jesus in the carceral complex, the angel wings that

grace a tortured body, or the playful visage of a masked character who occupies intersecting liminal spaces; possibly more idiosyncratically, we also read these hints in the lines of flight in the Piranesi prison illustration, and the angry eyes of Foucault, who seem to announce, "No more!" Of course, we are aware that within Foucault's work, possibilities for resistance, and more so, the instigation of social change, have been much debated. While some readers of Foucault's wider oeuvre maintain that a pervasive determinism and eradication of the subject forestall possibilities for "real" resistance (e.g., Hartsock 1990), others contend that by exposing and denaturalizing processes and discourses that constitute "truth" and our subjectivities, Foucault's analysis fosters critical insights and the potential for challenge and disruption (e.g., Allen 2000; Biesta 2008; McLaren 2002; McNay 1994).

Our intervention into this debate is a visual sociological one: to point out that Foucault's (1983) rather overlooked discussion of Magritte's painting, "This is not a pipe," has an optimistic tone that bolsters the second of these two positions. Foucault shows how Magritte's painting creates an "unavoidable snare" (22) for the reader-viewer, one that "aspires playfully" (21) to confound the act of naming with the object being named. For Foucault, it is through this mischievous transgression that the painting reveals something serious: that language and, arguably, discourse, despite seeming to name "reality," are unstable.[26] The resultant glee and inspiration are far removed from pessimism and despair.

Our final observation is that contemplating an image can inject critique of the text that it covers. The Indonesian

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[26] To see how the painting brought out Foucault's (1983) jouissance, consider the following passage, in which he conjures up an image of a confounded instructor:

> Negations multiply themselves, the voice is confused and choked. The baffled master lowers his extended pointer, turns his back to the board, regards the uproarious students, and does not realize that they laugh so long because above the blackboard and his stammered denials, a vapor has just risen, little by little taking shape and now creating, precisely and without doubt, a pipe. (Foucault 1983: 30).

cover's juxtaposition of Foucault's angst-ridden, distorted face with the perfected Vitruvian Man might conjure doubt about the authority of Foucault's arguments. Indeed, the image of Foucault shown there is a caricature: does the artist thus question Foucault's interpretation and actually mock him and his analysis? The context of covers may similarly open up critical questioning. For example, contemplating Figure 8 in relation to knowledge of Argentine history provoked us to reflect on the role of torture in the modern carceral complex. Finally, although images that implicate us remind us of our complicity in the very processes that Foucault describes, we may at the same time see ourselves as reflexive, critical readers. When the treadmill guard in Figure 6 looks out at us, he may not only be warning us to behave ourselves, but also asking, "What do you think of this – this form of punishment and these prisoners?" and even "What do you think of Foucault's analysis?"

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