

POSITIVE DEVIANCE: A CLASSIFICATORY MODEL

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ABSTRACT

The topic of positive deviance is analyzed in relation to how various theorists have conceptualized this particular type of deviance. In addition, the divergent examples of positive deviance/deviants that have been cited in the literature are reviewed. Finally, a typology is developed that is based on those previously cited examples. The typology includes the following kinds of positive deviance: altruism, charisma, innovation, supra-conforming behavior, and innate characteristics. Another potential type—ex-deviants—is also suggested.

INTRODUCTION

Positive deviance has been variously defined in the literature. Additionally, divergent examples, ranging from extreme intelligence to accomplished athletes have been advanced as pertinent examples of positive deviance. While the actors and/or actions that have been mentioned in the literature do have in common that there has been a deviation in a positive direction, the diversity of the examples is great. Consequently, a classificatory model, developed from examples that have been cited in the literature on positive deviance is presented. The types (i.e., ideal types) include the following: altruism, charisma, innovation, supra-conforming behavior, and innate characteristics. The category of ex-deviants is also advanced.

POSITIVE DEVIANCE

Not specifically utilizing the term, Sorokin (1950) had by 1950 recognized the validity of the concept. Convinced that Western culture had entered a "declining sensate phase," Sorokin felt that a negative orientation permeated these societies. This stance also dominated the social sciences. According to Sorokin:

For decades Western social science has been cultivating...an ever-increasing study of crime and criminals; of insanity and the insane; of sex perversion and perverts; of hypocrisy and hypocrites...In contrast to this, Western social science has paid scant attention to positive types of human beings, their positive achievements, their heroic actions, and their positive relationships. The criminal has been "researched" incomparably more thoroughly than the saint or the altruist; the idiot has been studied much more carefully than the genius; perverts and failures have been investigated much more intensely than integrated persons or heroes. (1950)

Sorokin (1950) suggested that a more

thorough understanding of positive types of individuals was essential, especially in terms of the ability of humans to understand the negative.

Various conceptualizations of positive deviance have emerged during the last several decades. One important point is that, unlike the scholarly theorizing regarding deviance (negative deviance), in general, certain analysts (Best, Luckenbill 1982; Goode 1991; Sagarin 1985) contend that positive deviance does not exist. For example, in an acerbic denunciation, Sagarin (1985) contended that positive deviance is an oxymoron and should occupy no place in the study of deviance and Goode (1991) also proclaimed that the concept was not viable. Nevertheless, this opinion is not universally accepted.

Currently, existing literature in positive deviance is scant in comparison to the voluminous literature in negative deviance. However, social scientists have advanced the point of view that the concept of positive deviance is important, and furthermore, pertinent to the study of deviance, in general. According to Ben-Yehuda (1990), "...it will open new and exciting theoretical and empirical windows for research." Considering the multitude and the divergency of definitions and definitional approaches to the concept of deviance, it should not be surprising that there has also been a variety of definitions/definitional approaches offered for positive deviance. As such, these can be separated into the following categories: discussions of positive deviance that do not specifically use the terminology, definitions postulating a norm-violation perspective, definitions that utilize a labeling or societal reaction approach, and definitions that advocate a single or unique form of behavior only.

Certain theorists (Katz 1972; Lemert 1951; Liazos 1975; Sorokin 1950; Wilkins 1965) have recognized the validity of analyzing positive forms of behaviors within the general context of the study of deviance. Nevertheless,

they did not employ the term, positive deviance. For example, Wilkins (1965) wrote that some types of deviance are functional to society. Geniuses, reformers, and religious leaders are all examples of deviants, in addition, to those examples more often thought about, such as criminals. Wilkins (1965) suggested that deviance could be examined by utilizing the analogy of a continuous distribution which ranged from bad to good. Normal behaviors constitute the major portion of the continuum; at the negative end are acts such as serious crimes and at the good end are behaviors, such as those performed by saints. For example, regarding intelligence, most people fall into the middle part of the continuum, while there are a small number of those of very low intelligence (negative deviants) as well as a very small number of geniuses (positive deviants).

Perhaps, not always explicitly stating a preference of a specific paradigm, some theorists (Sorokin 1950; Wilkins 1965; Winslow 1970) have offered a view of positive deviance as that which violates norms, in that norms are exceeded. Similar to Wilkins (1965), Winslow (1970) noted that deviance can be constructed as a concept which is "relative to statistical norms." When deviance is conceptualized as approximating a normal curve, normative acts are in the middle of this curve. At one extreme end of the curve, beyond tolerance limits, are disapproved behaviors, such as mental illness and suicide. Positive deviance refers to approved deviation, beyond the tolerance limits, such as wealth, health, wisdom, virtue, and patriotism.

On the other hand, while not always stating their adoption of the paradigm, various theorists (Freedman, Doob 1968; Hawkins, Tiedeman 1975; Norland, Hepburn, Monette 1976; Scarpitti, McFarlane 1975; Steffensmeier, Terry 1975) have explained positive deviance from a labeling or societal reaction paradigmatic stance and in synthesis with a non-Marxist Conflict approach, so does Ben-Yehuda (1990). As an example, Freedman and Doob (1968) analyzed positive deviance from a psychological frame of reference, while for all intents and purposes proffering a labeling approach. From their point of view, deviance is an ephemeral characteristic which varies by situation. Differences are important. Various characteristics can be labeled deviant if others involved in a situation in which the individual is enmeshed do not share the same trait. As Freedman and

Doob wrote:

Gulliver was as deviant among the Brobdingnags when he was unimaginably small and weak then when he lived in Lilliput where he was fantastically big and powerful. The genius is as deviant as the idiot... It is perhaps remarkable that the term "exceptional" children is used to refer not only to the unusually intelligent, but also the mentally retarded, the physically handicapped, the emotionally disturbed and so on. (1968)

The reaction of others is significant since certain acts will require a major difference from the norm to be judged deviant while with other acts, only a small variation from the norm will result in a designation of deviance. Simply put, as Steffensmeier and Terry (1975) noted, "Deviance consists of differentially valued phenomena." Optimally desirable phenomena include great beauty or heroism as examples of positively valued behaviors.

As a final approach, some theorists (Ewald 1981; Buffalo, Rodgers 1971) have suggested that positive deviance refers to only a very specific type of action. Ewald advanced the idea of positive deviance as excessive conformity when he wrote:

Positive deviance is where the relationship to societal norms is not one of blatant violation but rather extension, intensification, or enhancement of social rules. In this case, the zealous pursuit or overcommitment to normative prescriptions is what earns the individual or group the label of deviant. The individual or group is essentially true to normative standards but simply goes "too far" in that plausible or actual results are judged inappropriate by the general culture. (1981)

In a nutshell, positive deviance has been conceptualized as follows: from a norm-violation stance, from a labeling perspective, and from the reference of describing only one type of act. Some integration can be achieved with the norm-violation and reactionist approaches. Therefore, positive deviance is defined as behavior that people label (publicly evaluate) in a superior sense. That labeling will typically occur because the behavior departs from that which is considered normative in the particular case.

EXAMPLES OF POSITIVE DEVIANCE

A myriad of behaviors and/or actions have been advanced as examples of positive deviance. Specifically, the following have been referred to as examples of positive deviance: Nobel Prize winners (Szasz 1970), the gifted (Huryn 1986), motion picture stars (Lemert 1951), superstar athletes (Scarpitti, McFarlane 1975), pro quarterbacks (Steffensmeier, Terry 1975), geniuses (Hawkins, Tiedeman 1975), exceptionally beautiful women (Lemert 1951), reformers (Wilkins 1965), altruists (Sorokin 1950), Congressional Medal of Honor winners (Steffensmeier, Terry 1975), religious leaders (Wilkins 1965), straight-A students (Hawkins, Tiedeman 1975), zealous weight lifters and runners (Ewald 1981), innovative/creative people, such as Freud or Darwin (Palmer 1990), and social idealists (Scarpitti, McFarlane 1975).

These behaviors and/or actions are similar to the extent that they are all examples of positive deviance. Consequently, people will label (publicly evaluate) the behaviors and/or actors in a superior manner. In essence, there is a departure from that which is deemed to be normative in a society. As a result of the behavior being non-normative, several potential consequences ensure the similarity of the divergent types of positive deviance. For example, positive deviants due to the fact that in essence they are as different from "normal" as negative deviants and perhaps threatening to the dominant social order, can at times, be originally labeled negative deviants (e.g., the French Impressionists, Galileo, civil rights leaders) by the powers that be. Also, even many types of positive deviance, that are for the most part viewed positively, often concomitantly, are subject in some respects to negative treatment. For example, inordinately intelligent individuals are considered positive deviants, according to Scarpitti and McFarlane (1975). Nevertheless, derogatory traits are often imputed to them. This process is intuitively obvious to the gifted child who is simultaneously termed gifted, yet perniciously assumed to be "geeky" or socially unacceptable to peers. In essence, various types of positive deviance share many attributes in common. Perhaps, positive deviants even have similarities to negative deviants that they do not share with non-deviants.

Nevertheless, a problem emerges due to the diversity of behaviors and/or actors that have been posited to be examples of positive

deviants. In reality, a Congressional Medal of Honor winner, a charismatic religious leader, and a beauty queen winner are actually quite disparate. Comparatively, the mentally ill, criminals, and the physically handicapped are also different. Consequently, to delve further into the nature of positive deviance, a typology of positive deviance would assist in the elucidation of positive deviance.

POSITIVE DEVIANCE: A CLASSIFICATORY MODEL

The following types of positive deviance are advanced: altruism, charisma, innovation, supra-conformity, and innate characteristics. This classificatory scheme was developed by examining and categorizing the examples provided in the existing literature on positive deviance. The typology may not yet be exhausted at this point; indeed, another potential type of positive deviant, the ex-deviant, is suggested. Additionally, other types of positive deviance could also be postulated at some further point. This model is composed of ideal types.

Altruism

The first form of positive deviance postulated is altruism. Sorokin (1950) specifically discussed altruists in general (including saints and good neighbors as examples), Scarpitti and McFarlane (1975) mentioned self-sacrificing heroes, and in a variation on that particular theme, Steffensmeier and Terry (1975) referred to Congressional Medal of Honor winners. Interestingly, while altruism has been primarily researched by psychologists in the modern era, Auguste Comte (1866) was the first social scientist to use and analyze the concept. Altruism involves an act undertaken voluntarily to assist another person or other people without any expectation of reward (Leeds 1963; Cialdini, Kerrick, Bauman 1982; Grusec 1981; Macaulay, Berkowitz 1970). As Sorokin so eloquently noted,

Genuine altruism is pure also in its motivation: altruistic actions are performed for their own sake, quite apart from any consideration of pleasures of utility. (1948)

Rosenhan (1970) has dichotomized altruism into normal altruism which includes acts such as donating small amounts of money and does not require much effort and autonomous altruism, which refers to actors, such as

abolitionists who did exert themselves and sacrifice themselves to a much greater degree. Autonomous altruism is more descriptive of positive deviance.

Charisma

Charisma is the second type of positive deviance. Sorokin (1950) discussed the historical examples of Gandhi and Jesus as examples, and Wilkins (1965) cited religious leaders in general as positive deviants. According to the seminal work of Weber (1947), the charismatic claim to legitimate authority (as opposed to rational-legal or traditional authority) is rooted in the devotion of followers to the believed (not necessarily tangible) extraordinary qualities of their leader and the authority is based on the willingness of the followers to obey their leader. More comprehensively, Weber wrote:

The term "charisma" will be applied to a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers of qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader...How the quality in question would be ultimately judged from any ethical, esthetic, or their such point of view is naturally entirely indifferent for purposes of definition. What is alone important is how the individual is actually regarded by those subject to charismatic authority by his "followers" or "disciples." (1947)

One important point that Weber (1947) made was that this quality can be attributed by followers to people perceived as having gifts in different areas, including, for example, intellectuals, shamans (magicians), war leaders, heroes, and prophets. Essentially, the charismatic relationship is composed of two important elements: a situation in which there is a following that wants to be led and a leader who has the capability to catalyze their needs and/or desires.

Innovation

Innovation is another form of positive deviance. As examples, Szasz (1970) discussed Nobel Prize winners, Palmer (1990) analyzed innovative/creative figures including Freud and

Darwin, and Wilkins (1965) suggested reformers. In essence, innovation (or invention) has been basically defined as the combining of already existing cultural elements in a novel manner, or the modifying of already existing cultural elements to produce a new one (Lenski, Lenski 1982; Linton 1936; Ogburn 1964; Rogers, Shoemaker 1971). Innovations cover a myriad of areas, as they range from the abstract to the pragmatic, and from art to technology. As Kallen (1964) notes, innovations are a fundamental factor of a society as innovations can occur in these crucial areas of culture: food, clothing, shelter, defense, disease prevention, production, recreation, religion, science, thought, literature, and art. Innovators, as positive deviants, profoundly impact the life of a culture. The willingness of a society to foster change, which is a condition present to a greater extent in modern societies, will relate to the acceptance of the innovator.

Supra-Conformity

A fourth kind of positive deviance is supra-conformity. Hawkins and Tiedemen (1975) pointed to straight-A students, Ewald (1981) analyzed zealous weight lifters and runners, and Scarpitti and McFarlane (1975) mentioned extreme moralists. Additionally, Buffalo and Rodgers (1971) and Ewald (1981) have utilized the concept of positive deviance to suggest only supra-conforming behavior. Supra-conformity is behavior that is at the level of the idealized within a culture. That is, as Gibbs noted,

Collective evaluations refer to what behavior *ought to be* in a society, whereas collective expectations denote what behavior *actually will be*. (1965)

In relation to the normative structure of a society, there is a tendency for the idealized version of the norms to be attained less often than the realized versions of the norm (Homans 1950; Johnson 1978; White 1961). In other words, norms operate at two levels—the ideal, which most people believe is better but few achieve and the realistic version, which most people can achieve. The negative deviant fails to abide by either level; the "normal" person operates at the realistic level, but does not achieve the idealized level; and the positive deviant is able to attain or behave at the idealized level. Cohen expressed this idea in the following manner when he noted that only

a small percentage of people can reach that which is idealized in a society:

The ideal is one thing, the practice another. In other words, persons may be variously socialized into the ideological traditions of their society so that the two—ideology and its achievement—are not simply the same thing from different perspectives, but are quite independently variable entities. (1966)

Thus, a supra-conformist demonstrates desire and ability to pursue, perhaps, even in quixotic style if necessary that which is idealized for a particular norm.

Innate Characteristics

Finally, innate characteristics constitute a fifth kind of positive deviance. Certain actions/actors, that are positive deviance, are at least partially rooted in innate characteristics. Examples that have been referred to as positive deviance include beautiful women (Hawkins, Tiedeman 1975; Lemert 1951), superstar athletes (Scarpitti, McFarlane 1975), and movie stars (Lemert 1951). The use of the terminology, innate characteristics, is actually not the best choice to describe this type of positive deviance. These traits (e.g., beauty, intelligence, talent) are innate to a certain, as to yet, unspecified extent, and to a certain, as to yet, unspecified extent, are modified by environmental conditions. In addition, these characteristics are culturally defined. For example, Rebecky and Daniel (1976) clearly note that intelligence is culturally defined and according to Morse, Reis, Gruzén, and Wolff (1974), attractiveness is culturally defined, as individuals from the same cultural background do tend to coincide in their assessment of what is physically attractive. As such, innate characteristics can be considered a fifth type of positive deviance. As Scarpitti and McFarlane noted,

Deviant attributes often are the products of one's biological inheritance, which accounts for such conditions as rare beauty, extraordinary intelligence, or dwarfism. (1975)

Another Potential Type: The Ex-Deviant

The potential for new types of positive deviance, not previously cited in the literature, certainly exists. For example, the ex-deviant might possibly be deemed a positive deviant. The previously stigmatized person, labeled in

a negative fashion, that manages to convert to a status of normative person is essentially a novel way to think of a positive deviant. According to Pfuhl and Henry, destigmatization

...refers to the processes used to negate or expunge a deviant identity and replace it with one that is essentially non-deviant or normal. (1993)

Subsumed as types of destigmatization are purification "...whereby one's defective self is replaced by a moral or 'normal' self, either by sacred or secular norms" and transcendence whereby the deviant manages "...to display a 'better' self rather than to eliminate the former self." An example of destigmatization is an ex-convict; an example of transcendence is an accomplished person with a physical disability. Purification essentially involves a destigmatization by which the person exits a stigmatized role. While the previous stigmatization might still taint the individual, society tends to positively evaluate the purification. As such, an ex-deviant might potentially be considered in relation to the concept of positive deviance.

More specifically, Ebaugh has defined the ex-role as,

The process of disengagement from a role that is central to one's self-identity and the reestablishment of an identity in a new role that takes into account one's ex-role. (1988)

As Ebaugh (1988) notes, certain ex-roles are in fact potentially stigmatizing as they are not generally culturally construed as positive role changes (e.g., ex-spouse, ex-nun). On the other hand, other role changes are societally constructed as positive in that the deviant has been rehabilitated to a more positive status (e.g., ex-alcoholic, ex-prostitute, ex-convict). Additionally, those role changes viewed as socially positive are deemed to be more within the control of individuals.

Crucially, the exiting process is a fairly difficult one, mediated by various factors. Ebaugh (1988) hypothesizes that the role exit is a fairly long-term process generally consisting of the following stages: first doubts, or doubting the previous role; seeking and evaluating alternatives to the role (including "conscious cuing, anticipatory socialization, role rehearsal, and shifting reference groups"); turning points; and establishing the ex-role. Even while the role exit from deviant to non-deviant is

positively evaluated and labeled, the person still often experiences the remnants of the stigmatization that typically accompanies the previous role. Thus, there is a tenuousness to exiting a role. Perhaps, the fragile and difficult path from deviant to ex-deviant produces the positive evaluation of the category of ex-deviant.

One of the most dramatic role changes is that of ex-convict. Irwin and Austin have outlined the extraordinary difficulty in the transformation of an incarcerated individual to an ex-convict who does not relapse, as follows:

During this period of supervision, many released inmates experience tremendous difficulties in adjusting to the outside world without being rearrested and returning to prison and jail. In general, most inmates are rearrested at least once after being released from prison. (1997)

Among the most critical factors in facilitating recidivism, or impeding rehabilitation, according to Irwin and Allen (1997) are the following: the trauma of reentering the world after being incarcerated in a total institution; the difficulty of attaining employment for the all too often undereducated and underskilled ex-convict; the intensive supervision and law enforcement mandate of parole agents; drug testing; intensive supervision programs; and electronic monitoring. While Irwin and Allen (1997) conclude that the majority of incarcerated individuals do intend to lead a conforming life after their release from prison, these difficult obstacles result in most inmates ending up dependent, drifting between conventionality and criminality, and dereliction. Some do make it.

How do the formerly incarcerated achieve the positively evaluated status of returning to conformity. Irwin and Allen conclude:

The usually do so only because of the random chance of securing a good job and a niche in some conventional social world by virtue of their own individual efforts to "straighten up" often with the help of their family, friends, or primary assistance organization. But even members of this group are likely to face periodic obstacles in being accepted as a fully citizen. (1997)

Shover (1983) has most extensively analyzed the successful passage, from the perspective of ex-convicts (in this case, ordinary property offenders). According to ex-convicts, two types of changes assisted the transition from the

negative status of convict to ex-convict: temporal changes and interpersonal changes. The temporal changes, perhaps congruent to a certain extent with the processes of adult maturation, included the following: an identity shift, in the confrontation with a past of unsuccessful criminality; a perception that their time had not been well spent and that time was not infinite; a lessening of youthful material goals; and a sense of tiredness at the thought of dealing with a criminal justice system that while not omnipotent, is certainly potent. Additionally, interpersonal contingencies primarily revolved around involvement with a significant relationship and secure employment. Essentially, these were the factors identified by one group of ex-deviants as the most pertinent in their advancing beyond their formerly negative status.

Thus, the ex-deviant transcends the stigmatization, that Goffman (1963) deemed so critical in shaping the individual. While the ex-deviant still may be tinged with a previous status, this particularly unique category is another potential type of positive deviance. Perhaps, other types will be outlined in the future.

CONCLUSION

One point should be noted. Various actions or actors probably transcend more than one category. As an example, Mother Theresa lived a life of altruism (rather than just having engaged in one dramatic altruistic incident), yet was also a supra-conformist, as she abided by the idealized norms of religious adherents, rather than just the expected behavioral norms. Additionally, while Martin Luther King was primarily a charismatic leader, he was innovative in that he combined cultural elements in a new way, by applying the techniques of nonviolent civil disobedience to the civil rights movement. At the same time, with his specifically exquisite oratorical skills, he also fits into the category of having been a possessor of innate characteristics. All in all, many actions and/or actors can be explained by more than one type. Nevertheless, the present typology seems the best way to begin the categorization of positive deviance, since as previously noted, each type can be considered an ideal type.

Hopefully, this typology will help to clarify the concept of positive deviance and facilitate the emergence of other questions and other issues, especially those issues that have been

suggested in relationship to deviance (negative deviance). For example, various theorists contrast major forms of deviance, with minor ones. Curra (1994) and Raybeck (1991) differentiate between soft deviance, or unique behaviors not consistent with social norms but not threatening to the social system, and hard deviance, or more serious and ominous forms of behavior. Along these same lines, Thio (1988) contrasts higher-consensus deviance with lower-consensus deviance, depending on the seriousness of the act and the degree of societal consensus in relationship to the perception of the act. In reference to examples of positive deviance that have been cited in the literature, most are probably soft deviance, in that the acts do not generally harm others and are not reacted to as serious. For example, altruists and straight-A students do not potentially harm others. In some cases, the predominant paradigms enconced in the social order are potentially challenged by such examples of positive deviants as innovators in any realm of the social order, from science to art to politics to religion, or by reformers. This phenomenon might address the issue of why certain positive deviants are not generally easily accepted in their time and place. Deviance is relative; many positive deviants also experience this relativity in that the initial reception to their actions is negative. In this sense, these types of positive deviants can potentially, at least, be deemed hard deviance, in the sense that the social order is challenged.

Another interesting issue is the following and also relates to the relativity of deviance. Are certain actions and/or actors (or categories of positive deviance) more likely to be positively labeled, negatively labeled, or neutrally labeled at first? Perhaps, since innovation can be more psychologically threatening to a culture, innovation is more often negatively labeled in the beginning. On the other hand, altruism, because it involves self-sacrifice, and is not usually potentially threatening to society, is more often positively evaluated at first. In addition, physical attractiveness as a form of innate characteristic, seems usually to result in an initial positive label and minimal negative treatment. According to Dion, Berscheid, and Walster (1972) "what is beautiful is good" since the attractive are the recipients of ubiquitous advantageous treatment, extending to various parts of their life.

Additionally, the notion of stigma, outlined by Goffman (1963), has been central to the

examination of deviance. The ambivalence toward positive deviance does raise the possibility that stigma is applicable in this case, also. The central reason is that positive deviants are also different. For example, as previously suggested, the entire social construction of the "geek" with its accompanying stereotypes, would suggest that straight-A students and/or the gifted are not entirely positively received. The sword is dual-edged in that while there is positive treatment, the stigmatization is also profound and quite potentially has a negative impact on individuals so categorized. The clownish, or not completely human construction of the geek (or nerd or dweeb or dork) is perhaps similar to the village idiot or the in-group deviant, as presented by Goffman (1963), a "mascot" not fully rejected and partially admired for academic acumen, yet not fully accepted. Positive deviants are different; due to their difference, the possibility of stigmatization is great.

Another useful way to think about deviance, that might also be pertinent to positive deviance, is the manner in which deviance is functional to society. Cohen (1966) has maintained that deviance can contribute to society in the following manner: opposing red tape and dealing with anomalies, serving as a safety valve, clarifying the rules, uniting a group in opposition to the deviant, uniting a group in support of the deviant, accentuating conformity, and performing as a warning sign to society. Along these same lines, perhaps, positive deviance also provides some of the same opportunities to benefit the social order. For example, reformers clearly provide a warning signal to society that the social order is in dire need of change. As another example, positive deviants accent conformity. As Cohen (1966) describes, "The good deed, as Shakespeare noted, shines brightest in a naughty world." Thus, as deviants (negative deviants) are a reference for the contrast between bad and good, so can positive deviants, ranging from straight-A students to altruists serve as a reference. Altruists also contrast with conforming behavior, serving as a guide for human potentiality. As such, positive deviance, like deviance also contributes to the social order of society.

The concept of positive deviance needs to be further expanded. Yet, it does appear that critical ideas related to deviance could also be applied to positive deviance. Additionally, this typology posits that there is more than one

type of positive deviance. Each type needs to be examined further—within a framework and within the parameters of positive deviance and of deviance theory—as a unique and as an important entity.

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