

PSCI 4303A / 5303W
Governmentality and Politics

Seminar: Fridays 8.35 – 11.25am / Location: A 602 Loeb

Instructor:	Professor William Walters	Office Hours:	M 15:30-17:30 ; F 1130-1330
Office:	C673 Loeb	Email:	wwalters@ccs.carleton.ca
Telephone:	520 2600 ex. 2790		

Course Aims

Foucault is perhaps best known for his pathbreaking studies of modern regimes of madness, medicine, punishment, and sexuality. Yet in his later work he also wrote about the government of the state. While his studies in this field were cut short by his untimely death, researchers in many areas of the social sciences have since taken up his initial hypotheses and concepts. As a result there is today a considerable interdisciplinary literature concerning ‘governmentality’. This course will introduce students to these Foucauldian studies of government. It will pay special attention to the relevance of governmentality for political studies. Governmentality has enjoyed a much greater impact in fields like sociology and criminology than in political science. This is unfortunate since the governmentality literature offers a way to theorize contemporary political transformations which seem to confound certain more conventional political science approaches.

While this is a theoretically-oriented course, it is not an exercise in academic political theory. Most of Foucault’s research was related to concrete questions, specific discourses, and institutional complexes of power – prisons, clinics, systems of administration, etc. In a similar vein, governmentality stands apart from much contemporary social theory in its reluctance to privilege meta-concepts like ‘modernity’ or ‘globalization’. Instead, it has engaged in contextual and finely-grained empirical investigations of particular problem-sites.

Accordingly, besides introducing the governmentality literature, the aim of this course is to provide students with insights and concepts in order to pursue empirically-focused research strategies. The final two weeks of the course will take the form of mini-conferences where participants will present their work in progress. The themes for the conference panels will be based on students’ particular research interests.

Course requirements

1. One in-class presentation (10 mins) based on one of the set readings. Too often class presentations tend towards simply summarizing something the class should already know. To avoid this you are strongly encouraged to do one of the following. Either (a) compare the governmentality perspective in your reading with another with which you are familiar. E.g., for the week on ‘global governance’ you might think about how IR approaches frame the topic. Or (b) relate the reading to a concrete problem or theme. E.g., use one of the readings on fear and in/security to think about Canada’s implication in the ‘war on terrorism’. For this it would be good to refer to a specific news item, policy document or story. Students are especially encouraged to use visual material such as webcasts and slides – projection and computer equipment will be available if you give me notice (Weight: **10%**).
2. Preparation for and participation in weekly seminars (**10%**).

3. One short essay (**2000 words** including notes, but not including bibliography). Question: ‘What does the concept of “governmentality” bring to studies of state power?’ (**25%**) (**due in class March 3rd**)
4. Presentation (15 mins) of your work-in-progress at one of the mini-conferences during weeks 12 and 13 (**15%**)
5. Major research paper. There are several possibilities here. You could write a ‘theoretical’ paper (e.g., comparing governmentality to other research agendas); a critique of Foucault and governmentality; or a paper which uses certain Foucauldian concepts and insights (perhaps in conjunction with other concepts) to explore a particular issue (e.g., ‘illegal’ migration, social exclusion, terrorism). (**Word length: For graduate students: 5000 words; for undergraduates: 4000 words** including footnotes but not including bibliography) (**40%**) (leave in my departmental mailbox before 12 noon, **7 April**)
6. Late penalties: 1st to 6th day after the deadline = half grade deduction ; 7th to 13th = full grade. Etc.

Course Texts

A coursepack of selected readings will be made available in the bookshop. Required books (but not articles) will be placed on reserve in the library. You are strongly encouraged to buy the coursepack.

1. Introduction (Jan 6)

2. Method, Genealogy, Criticism (Jan 13)

- Foucault, M. 1991. 'Questions of method' in Miller, P. et al (eds) *The Foucault effect*. Chicago UP.
 Brass, P. 2000. 'Foucault steals political science', *Annual Review of Political Science* 3: 305-30. Library on-line.
 Dean, M. 1999. *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society*. Sage. Ch.1

Further reading

- Foucault, M. 1998. 'Nietzsche, genealogy, history' in J. Faubion (ed) *Essential works of Michel Foucault 1954-1984*. Vol. 2
 Brown, W. 2001. *Politics without history*. Princeton UP (chapter 5 on Foucault and Nietzsche).
 Veyne, P. 'Foucault revolutionizes history' in A. Davidson (ed.), *Foucault and his Interlocutors*. University of Chicago Press, 1997.

3. Power, Subjectivity and Resistance (Jan 20)

- Hindess, Barry. 1996 *Discourses of Power: From Hobbes to Foucault* (Blackwell) Ch. 5
 Cruikshank, Barbara. 1996. 'Revolutions within: self-government and self-esteem'. In Barry, A. et al (eds) *Foucault and Political Reason*.
 Foucault, M. 2000. "The Subject and Power." In *Michel Foucault. Power*, edited by J. Faubion. New York: New Press.

Further reading

- Foucault, M. "'Omnes et Singulatim": Toward a Critique of Political Reason." In *Michel Foucault. Power*, edited by J. Faubion. New York: New Press, 2000.
 Nyers, Peter. 2003. 'Abject Cosmopolitanism: The Politics of Protection in the Anti-Deportation Movement' *Third World Quarterly* 24(6): 1069-93
 Burchell, David. "The Attributes of Citizens." *Economy and Society* 24, no. 4 (1995): 540-58.
 Cruikshank, Barbara. *The Will to Empower: Democratic Citizens and Other Subjects*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999.
 Procacci, G. "Governmentality and Citizenship." In *The Blackwell Companion to Political Sociology*, edited by Kate Nash and Alan Scott. Oxford: Blackwell, 2001.
 Tully, James. "The agonic freedom of citizens." *Economy and Society* 28, no. 2 (1999): 161-82.
 Isin, Engin. 2002 *Being Political: Genealogies of Citizenship*. (U. Minnesota P)

4. Discipline, Panopticism and Control (Jan 27)

- Foucault, Michel. 1973. *Discipline and Punish* (Penguin). ('Panopticism': 195-203; 218-228).
 Elden, S. 2003. 'Plague, panopticon, police', *Surveillance & Society* 1(3): 240-253. At <http://www.surveillance-and-society.org/journalv1i3.htm>

Deleuze, Gilles. 1995. 'Postscript on Control Societies'. In *Negotiations 1972-1990*. New York: Columbia University Press. Available at <http://www.watsoninstitute.org/infopeace/vy2k/deleuze-societies.cfm>

Further reading

Gerth, H. and Mills, CW (eds) *From Max Weber: essays in sociology*, ch.10 (on discipline).

5. Governmentality (Feb 3)

Foucault, Michel. 1991. 'Governmentality' in G. Burchell et al (eds) *The Foucault Effect* (Harvester).

Brown, Wendy. 2003. 'Neo-liberalism and the end of liberal democracy'. *Theory & Event* 7(1). **On-line - library**

Re-read: Dean, Mitchell. *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society* (Sage). Ch. 1 ('Basic Concepts and Themes').

Further reading

Hindess, B. 1997 'Politics and Governmentality', *Economy and Society* 26(2): 257-72.

Rose, Nikolas. *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Gordon, C. 1991 'Governmental Rationality: An Introduction', in G. Burchell, C. Gordon and P. Miller (eds) *The Foucault effect*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Baker, Keith Michael. "A Foucauldian French Revolution?" In *Foucault and the Writing of History*, edited by Jan Goldstein. Oxford: Blackwell, 1994.

Dean, M. and Hindess, B. 1998 'Introduction: Government, Liberalism, Society', in M. Dean and B. Hindess (eds) *Governing Australia; Studies in Contemporary Rationalities of Government*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Walters, W. and Haahr, JH. 2005. 'Governmentality and political studies', *European Political Science* 4: 288-300.

6. Governing at a distance: liberalism, neo-liberalism, 'governance' (Feb 10)

Rose and Miller. 1992. 'Political power beyond the state; problematics of government', *British Journal of Sociology* 43(2): 173-205.

Pat O'Malley, 1996. 'Indigenous governance', *Economy and Society* 25(3): 310-326.

Barry, A. 1996. 'Lines of communication and spaces of rule' in A. Barry et al (eds) *Foucault and Political Reason* (UCL Press).

Further reading

Jessop, B. 2003. 'Governance and meta-governance' in Bang, HP (ed) *Governance as social and political communication*. Manchester UP.

Latour, B. 1986. 'Powers of association' in J.Law (ed) *Power, action and belief*.

7. New in/securities, sovereignties & states of emergency (Feb 17)

Agamben, Giorgio. 2000. *Means without End. Notes on Politics*. (U. Minnesota P) ('What is a Camp?')

Troyer, L. (2003) 'Counterterrorism: Sovereignty, Law, Subjectivity'. *Critical Asian Studies*, 35(2): 259-76. Library on-line.

Butler, Judith. 2004 *Precarious Life* (Verso) Ch. 3 ('Indefinite detention').

9/11 Public Discourse Project. 2005. Final Report on 9/11 Commission Recommendations. On line at http://www.9-11pdp.org/press/2005-12-05_report.pdf

Further reading

Waever, Ole. 1995. 'Securitization and desecuritization'. In R. Lipschutz (ed.) *On Security* (U. Minnesota Press).

Neocleous, Mark. 2000. 'Against Security'. *Radical Philosophy* #100: 7-15

Huysmans, Jeff. 1995. 'Migrants as a security issue: dangers of "secueritizing" societal issues', in R. Miles and D. Thranhardt (eds) *Migration and European Integration* (Pinter).

Burke, Anthony. 2002. 'Aporias of security', *Alternatives* 27(1): 1-27.

Walters, William. 2004. 'Secure borders, safe haven, domopolitics', *Citizenship Studies* 8(3).

Andreas, P. and T. Snyder. (eds) 2000. *The Wall around the West: State Borders and Immigration Controls in North America and Europe*.

Walters, William. "Deportation, Expulsion, and the International Police of Aliens." *Citizenship Studies* 6, no. 3 (2002): 265-92.

8. Reading week – no class (Feb 24)

9. Global Governmentality (Mar 3)

Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri. 2000. *Empire*, Ch.1.1

Fraser, Nancy. 2003. 'From discipline to flexibilization: rereading Foucault in the shadow of globalization'. *Constellations* 10(2). **Library on-line.**

Lemke, Thomas. 2003. 'Comment on Nancy Fraser'. *Constellations* 10(2). **Library on-line.**

Calavita, K. 2004. 'Spanish immigration law and the construction of difference: citizens and "illegals" on Europe's southern border' in Maurer et al (eds) *Globalization under Construction*. U Minnesota Press.

Further reading.

Dean, Mitchell. 2004. 'Nomos and the politics of world order', in W. Larner and W. Walters (eds) *Global Governmentality* (Routledge).

Barry, A. 2001. *Political Machines* (Athlone).

Dillon, M. 'Sovereignty and Governmentality'. *Alternatives* 20(3) 1995

Hindess, B. 2002 'Neo-Liberal Citizenship', *Citizenship Studies* 6(2).

Scott, David, 1995, "Colonial Governmentality", *Social Text* 5(3): 191-220.

Barry, Andrew. "The European Community and European Government: Harmonization, Mobility and Space." *Economy and Society* 22, no. 3 (1993): 314-26.

Agnew, John. *Geopolitics: Re-visioning World Politics*. London: Routledge, 1998.

Foucault, M. "Security, Territory and Population." In *Michel Foucault. Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth*, edited by P. Rabinow, 67-72. New York: New Press, 1997.

Larner, Wendy, and William Walters. "The Political Rationality of the "New Regionalism": Toward a Genealogy of the Region." *Theory & Society* 31 (2002): 391-432.

Larner, Wendy, and William Walters. 2004. 'Introduction' in W. Larner and W. Walters (eds) *Global Governmentality* (Routledge).

Beeson, M. and Jayasuriya, K. 1998 'The political rationalities of regionalism: APEC and the EU in comparative perspective', *Pacific Review* 11(3): 311-336.

Pagden, Anthony. "The Genesis of 'Governance' and Enlightenment Conceptions of the Cosmopolitan World Order." *International Social Science Journal*, no. 155 (1998): 7-15.

Cases and Issues

10. Social Movements, Activism and Protest (Mar 10)

re-read Foucault, 'Subject and power'.

Chatterjee, Partha. 2004. *The Politics of the Governed* (Columbia UP) Ch. 3.

EITHER Barry, A. 1999. "Demonstrations: Sites and Sights of Direct Action." *Economy & Society* 28, no. 1: 75-94 **OR** Routledge, P. 1997. 'The Imagining of resistance: Pollok free state and the practice of postmodern politics', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* (new series) Vol.22: 359-376. Library on-line.

11. The Politics of 'Anti-Illegal Immigration' (Mar 17)

Mezzadra, S. 2004. 'The right to escape'. *Ephemera* 4(3): 267-75. URL:

<http://www.ephemeraweb.org/index.htm>

Sharma, N. 2003. 'Travel agency: a critique of anti-trafficking campaigns', *Refuge* 21(3). On line at http://www.yorku.ca/crs/Refuge/refuge_-_volume_21,_issue_no__3.htm

Lowry, M. and Nyers, P. 2003. 'Roundtable report "no one is illegal": the fight for refugee and migrants rights in Canada', *Refuge* 21(3).

<http://www.yorku.ca/crs/Refuge/Abstracts%20and%20Articles/Vol%2021%20No%203/round.pdf>

Bigo, Didier. 2000. 'Security and immigration: toward a critique of the governmentality of unease'. *Alternatives* 27(1) – Supplement: 63-92.

12. Mini-conference I (Mar 24)

13. Mini-conference II (Mar 31)

* * *

Further Reading – General

The following are all readings which, in different ways, provide an introduction and critical assessment of Foucault's work. A massive volume of commentary about Foucault now exists spanning many disciplines. I have mostly confined the list to work that introduces and contextualizes, but also which addresses questions of politics, power and governmentality. All should be on reserve in the library or, if in journals, available as on-line articles.

Writing which does not assume a great deal of prior familiarity with his concepts and concerns is starred (*).

For on-line resources go to www.theology.ie/thinkers/foucault.htm which provides a gateway to a number of large archives.

Useful Essays and Interviews by Foucault

‘Questions of Method’ and ‘Politics and the Study of Discourse’ in G. Burchell et al (eds) *The Foucault Effect*

‘Truth and Power’, ‘The Subject and Power’, ‘Space, Knowledge and Power’ in J. Faubion (ed) *Power: Michel Foucault*

‘Two Lectures’, ‘Power and Strategies’, ‘Questions of Geography’, ‘Eye of Power’ in C. Gordon (ed.) *Power/Knowledge*.

Commentaries and Reviews by Others

Gordon, C. ‘Afterword’ in C. Gordon (ed.) *Power/Knowledge*.

Veyne, P. ‘Foucault revolutionizes history’ in A. Davidson (ed.), *Foucault and his Interlocutors*. University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Argues that whereas the social sciences often treat subjects as fixed and self-evident (“the poor”, “the workers”, “the welfare state”, etc), Foucault’s distinctive historical method examines the practices (e.g., confession, self-help, gladiatorship) through which we are made, and make ourselves as subjects.

Hoy, D.C. (ed.) *Foucault: A Critical Reader*.

Essays by many of Foucault’s heavyweight contemporaries like Chomsky, Said and Habermas. See the essay by Smart which is interesting for its comparison of Foucault and Gramsci, power and hegemony. Smart, B., Michel Foucault

Dreyfus, H. and P. Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*.

Kendall, G. and G. Wickham, *Using Foucault’s Methods*.

Written in a friendly and engaging style as a sort of “how to” manual for students interested in a Foucauldian approach to social analysis.

Dean, M. *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society*.

Probably the most wide-ranging attempt to survey the literature on governmentality. But moves well beyond survey by taking governmentality in new directions, eg. the chapter on “authoritarian governmentality”.

Dean, M. *Critical and Effective Histories*.

Reads Foucault as a historical sociologist and compares to the method and approach of Weber, Frankfurt School and Norbert Elias.

Lloyd, M. and A. Thacker (eds) *The Impact of Michel Foucault on the Social Sciences*.

Diamond, I. and L. Quinby (eds) *Feminism and Foucault*

Ramazanoglu, C. (ed) *Up against Foucault: Explorations of some tensions between Foucault and Feminism*

* Smart, B. *Michel Foucault*.

* McNay, L. *Foucault: A Critical Introduction*

*Brass, P., "Foucault steals political science", *Annual Review of Political Science* 3: 305-30 (2000).

Academic Accommodations

For Students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course are encouraged to contact the Paul Menton Centre (PMC) for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) to complete the necessary forms. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first in-class test or CUTV midterm exam**. This will allow for sufficient time to process your request. Please note the following deadlines for submitting completed forms to the PMC for formally scheduled exam accommodations: **November 7th, 2005** for fall and fall/winter term courses, and **March 10, 2006** for winter term courses.

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism: The Undergraduate Calendar defines plagiarism as: "to use and pass off as one's own idea or product, work of another without expressly giving credit to another." The Graduate Calendar states that plagiarism has occurred when a student either: (a) directly copies another's work without acknowledgment; or (b) closely paraphrases the equivalent of a short paragraph or more without acknowledgment; or (c) borrows, without acknowledgment, any ideas in a clear and recognizable form in such a way as to present them as the student's own thought, where such ideas, if they were the student's own would contribute to the merit of his or her own work. Instructors who suspect plagiarism are required to submit the paper and supporting documentation to the Departmental Chair who will refer the case to the Dean. It is not permitted to hand in the same assignment to two or more courses. The Department's Style Guide is available at: www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/styleguide.pdf

Oral Examination: At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at 4 p.m., stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, *subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean.*

Course Requirements: Students must fulfill all course requirements in order to achieve a passing grade. Failure to hand in any assignment will result in a grade of F. Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure – No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

Connect Email Accounts: The Department of Political Science strongly encourages students to sign up for a campus email account. Important course and University information will be distributed via the Connect email system. See <http://connect.carleton.ca> for instructions on how to set up your account.