

Carleton University
Department of Political Science

Winter 2008

PSCI 4303A / 5303W / SOC 5407W
Governance, Power & Politics

Seminar: Mondays 8:35 – 11:25am / Location: C 665 Loeb

Instructor:	Professor William Walters	Office Hours:	M 11.30-12.30 ; Th 14.00 – 16.00
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Course Aims

Until quite recently Foucault was best known within political studies both as a theorist of discourse and for his pathbreaking historical 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 made a much greater impact on fields like sociology and criminology than 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 studies 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 governmentality studies, 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. Class presentations frequently end up 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 usually frame the topic. Or (b) relate the reading to a concrete problem or theme. E.g., use one of the readings on Crime and 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: “Keith Michael Baker asks what a Foucauldian French Revolution would look like (see coursepack)? Using Baker as a guide, how would you conceive a Foucauldian reading of the rise of a more contemporary event, such as the Welfare State or Homeland Security? What are some of the strengths and weaknesses of such an approach?” (25%) (due in class Feb. 25)
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 immigration, social exclusion, humanitarian intervention). (Word length: For graduate students: 5000 words; for undergraduates: 4000 words including footnotes but not including bibliography) (40%) (due in Political Science B640 Loeb drop box by 4 pm on 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.

Reading Ahead

Reading ahead of the beginning of the course is strongly advised, especially for students new to the theme. The following is a short list of recommended books and articles which do a good job of mapping the scene and addressing some of its problems.

Foucault, Michel. 2007. *Security, Territory, Population*, New York, Palgrave,

Dean, M. 1999. *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society*. Sage.

G. Burchell, C. Gordon and P. Miller (eds) *The Foucault effect*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

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

Barry, A. et al (eds) *Foucault and Political Reason*. UCL Press, 1996.

Rose, N., P. O’Malley and M. Valverde, “Governmentality”, *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 2(5): 1-22.

Themes and Readings

1. Introduction (Jan 7)

2. Method, Genealogy, Criticism (Jan 14)

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

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

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).

Colwell, C. 1997 'Deleuze and Foucault: Series, Event, Genealogy', *Theory & Event* 1(2).

3. Power, Subjectivity and Resistance (Jan 21)

Hindess, Barry. 1996 *Discourses of Power: From Hobbes to Foucault* (Blackwell) Ch. 5

Foucault, M. 2000. "The Subject and Power." In *Michel Foucault. Power*, edited by J. Faubion. New York: New Press.

Cruikshank, Barbara. 1996. 'Revolutions within: self-government and self-esteem'. In Barry, A. et al (eds) *Foucault and Political Reason*.

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 28)

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).

Deleuze, Gilles. 1988 *Foucault*. U. Minnesota Press, see the chapter on the 'new cartographer')

5. Governmentality I: Genealogies of the Modern State (Feb 4)

Foucault, Michel. 2007. *Security, Territory, Population*, New York, Palgrave, Chs. 1 & 4

Valverde, Mariana. 2007. 'Genealogies of European States', *Economy & Society* 36(1): 159-78.

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

Further reading

- 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.
- Elden, S. 2006. 'Rethinking Governmentality', *Political Geography*. 26: 29-33.
- Elden, S. 2007. 'Governmentality, Calculation, Territory', *Environment and Planning D*, 25: 1-19.

6. Governmentality II: Analytics of Government (Feb 11)

- 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.
- Inda, Jonathan. 2006. 'Practices of Enumeration' in his *Targeting Immigrants*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp.74-93

Further reading

- Dean, M. 1999. *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society*. Sage.
- Jessop, B. 2003. 'Governance and meta-governance' in Bang, HP (ed) *Governance as social and political communication*. Manchester UP.
- Larner, W. 2000. 'Neoliberalism: Policy, Ideology, Governmentality', *Studies in Political Economy* 63: 5-26.
- Latour, B. 1986. 'Powers of association' in J.Law (ed) *Power, action and belief*.
- 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.
- Walters, W. and Haahr, JH. 2005. 'Governmentality and political studies', *European Political Science* 4: 288-300.
- O'Malley, P., Weir, L. and Shearing, C. 1997 'Governmentality, Criticism, Politics', *Economy and Society* 26(4): 501-17.
- Frankel, Boris. "Confronting Neoliberal Regimes: The Post-Marxist Embrace of Populism and Realpolitik." *New Left Review* 226 (1997): 57-92.

7. Reading week - no class (Feb 18-22)**8. Sovereign Power (Feb 25)**

- Agamben, Giorgio. 2000. *Means without End. Notes on Politics*. (U. Minnesota P) ('What is a Camp?')
- Butler, Judith. 2004 *Precarious Life* (Verso) Ch. 3 ('Indefinite detention').
- Isin, Engin and Kim Rygiel. 2007. 'Abject Spaces: Frontiers, Zones, Camps' in Dauphinee and Masters (eds) *The Logics of Biopower and the War on Terror*, New York: Palgrave.

Further reading

- Hansen and Stepputat (eds) 2005 *Sovereign Bodies*, Princeton UP.
- Troyer, L. (2003) 'Counterterrorism: Sovereignty, Law, Subjectivity'. *Critical Asian Studies*, 35(2): 259-76. Library on-line.

- Edkins, J. et al (eds) 2004. *Sovereign Lives*, Routledge
- Dauphinee, E. and C. Masters (eds) 2007. *The Logics of Biopower and the War on Terror*. Palgrave.
- 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.

9. Global Governmentality (Mar 3)

- Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri. 2000. *Empire*, Ch.1.1
- Hindess, Barry. 2005. 'Citizenship and Empire', in Hansen and Stepputat (eds) *Sovereign Bodies*, Princeton UP.
- Duffield, Mark. 2001. 'Governing the Borderlands: Decoding the Power of Aid', *Disasters*, 25(4): 308-320..

Further reading.

- Ong, A and S. Collier (eds) 2005 *Global Assemblages*. Blackwell.
- 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.
- Hindess, Barry. "Citizenship in the International Management of Populations." *American Behavioral Scientist* 43, no. 9 (2000): 1486-97.
- 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 rationally 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, Civil Societies & Nongovernmental Politics (Mar 10)

re-read Foucault, 'Subject and power'.

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

Barry, A. 1999. "Demonstrations: Sites and Sights of Direct Action." *Economy & Society* 28, no. 1: 75-94 Library on-line.

Fassin, Didier. 2007 'Humanitarian Government' in Feher (ed) *Nongovernmental Politics*, New York: Zone.

11. Crime & Security (Mar 17)

Simon, Jonathan, 1997. 'Governing through Crime' in Friedman and Fisher (eds) *The Crime Conundrum*, Boulder: Westview, pp.171-89.

Aradau, Claudia. 2004. 'The Perverse Politics of Four-Letter Words: Risk and Pity in the Securitization of Human Trafficking', *Millennium* 33(2): 251-77

Amoore, Louise. 2006. 'Biometric Borders: Governing Mobilities in the War on Terror', *Political Geography*, 25: 336-351.

Further Reading

Salter, M. 2007 'Governmentalities of the Airport', *International Political Sociology* 1(1): 49-66.

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

Bigo, D. 2000 'When Two become One: Internal and External Securitizations in Europe', in M. Kelstrup and M. C. Williams (eds) *International Relations Theory and the Politics of European Integration*, London: Routledge.

Bonditti, P. 2004 'From Territorial Space to Networks: A Foucauldian Approach to the Implementation of Biometry', *Alternatives* 29(4): 465-482.

Huysmans, Jeff. 2006 *The Politics of Insecurity*, London: Routledge.

12. Mini-conference I (Mar 24)

13. Mini-conference II (Mar 31)

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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 deadline for submitting completed forms to the PMC for formally scheduled exam accommodations: **March 14th, 2008** for April examinations.

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: <http://www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/Essay%20Style%20Guide.html>

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. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the 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.