

Carleton University
 Department of Political Science
<https://carleton.ca/polisci/>

Winter 2021

PSCI 4303B
Governmentality and Politics

Instructor: William Walters	Office Hours: after class or by appointment
Office: C673 Loeb	Email: william.walters@carleton.ca
Seminar: Mon. 8.30 – 11.30	Location: online via Zoom

Prerequisite(s): fourth-year standing

Communication: If you have questions about the course once it has started please post them in the forum called 'course questions' on CuLearn. Only email me directly if it is something that should not be shared with the class or is not useful for the class to know.

DELIVERY FORMAT

This online course is *blended*: it combines *synchronous* ('live' seminar discussions on Zoom) and *asynchronous* elements (e.g., recorded lectures, slides, images and videos). I anticipate the synchronous component to be no more than 90 mins per week.

COURSE THEMES AND OBJECTIVES

For many years Foucault was best known within political studies as a 'postmodern' theorist of discourse or perhaps for his path-breaking historical studies of modern regimes of madness, medicine, delinquency, and sexuality. Yet in his later work he also examined the government of the state and what he called the history of 'governmentality'. While his studies in this field were never fully worked up into monographs, researchers in many areas of the social sciences have since taken up his initial hypotheses and concepts, putting them to work in diverse problem fields. 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 focus mainly on the relevance of governmentality for political studies and world politics. If it is still the case that governmentality has made a much greater impact on fields like sociology and criminology than political science, then this is a little strange. The governmentality literature offers a way to theorize many aspects of contemporary political transformations that seem to confound more conventional political science approaches.

The course has three specific aims:

1. To introduce and situate the theme of governmentality within the context of Foucault's thought, as well as selected other theories of political power. We will read Foucault less as a political theorist and more with an interest in the methods he has crafted and their potential for political analysis.
2. To examine how governmentality has been taken up by scholars in interdisciplinary investigations of governance and political power.
3. To encourage students' skills of critical reading, comprehension, and communication. Students will develop these skills through writing short forum posts, engaging in seminar discussion and short essay-writing.

COURSE TEXTS

All required readings will be available either through the regular journal links in the library catalogue, or as PDFs on ARES (in which case reading is marked with [*]).

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

1. Readings, lectures and videos. Before class you are required to do the two readings for each week. In addition I will post on CuLearn a short recorded introductory lecture. On CuLearn you will also find links to relevant videos and news stories for some of the weeks. These will be posted at least 3 days in advance. Our 'live' discussions will engage with all these materials. We will also refer to posts students have made in the forum for the week (see below).
2. Seminar attendance and active participation (10%). You are expected to attend the weekly online seminars and actively participate in the discussions. Your grade will reflect your attendance and the quality of your engagement with the diverse course materials.
3. Weekly forum posts (15%). There will be hosted on CuLearn a lightly-moderated forum for each week's topic. Forums will be a way for the class to discuss and debate the readings and themes outside of our synchronous meetings. Your posts could take various forms: (a) questions and clarifications about particular readings (b) something you like about the reading and why (c) something you don't like and why (d) connections to other readings, events, current affairs etc. You will be graded on the quality of your overall contribution to the forums. You should make a **minimum of five** posts during the course. *There are three sections to the course; make sure to post at least once in each.*
4. Short Essays (25% each).
 - Essay #1. Write an essay that addresses EITHER: *What is genealogy?* OR: *What is a microphysics of power?* Your essay should include (a) an account of what Foucault means by this concept (b) an assessment of its implications for doing political studies. You should draw on a minimum of **three** of the further readings. **Due via CuLearn by 11.59pm, Feb 15.**
 - Essay #2. Write a critical review essay based on the required and the further readings for one week in Part III. You should draw on a minimum of **three** of the further readings. **Due via CuLearn by 11.59pm, March 29.**

- Essay #3. Write a critical review essay based on the required and the further readings for one week in Part III. You should draw on a minimum of **three** of the further readings. **Due via CuLearn by 11.59pm, April 19.**
- NOTE: students may request to write a research essay (4000 words) instead of Essays 2 and 3. The success of your request will depend on submitting a 300 word paper proposal setting out your project. This should be submitted by end of March 22.
- FORMAT AND STYLE. All essays should be **2000 words** (not including bibliography). You are strongly encouraged to use subheadings. Use a referencing style of your choice but be consistent. Use this format to name your file: Familyname_FirstnamePSCI4303Essay#1 etc.
- Late penalties: One half grade will be deducted for each day late. Hence, if your short essay #1 were submitted on Feb 16 instead of Feb 15, you would drop from, say, A to A-.

THEMES AND READINGS

1. Introduction (Jan 11)

Part I. IS THERE A 'FOUCAULDIAN APPROACH' TO POLITICAL STUDIES?

2. Foucault's methods I: genealogy (Jan 18)

Foucault, M. 1998. 'Nietzsche, genealogy, history' in J. Faubion (ed) *Essential works of Michel Foucault 1954-1984*. Vol. 2, 369-391.

May, T. 2005. 'Foucault Now?', *Foucault Studies* No. 3: 65-76.

Further reading

Veyne, P. 2010. *Foucault: His Thought, His Character*, Cambridge: Polity, 5-21.

Hacking, I. 2000. 'Kind making: the case of child abuse' in his *Social construction of what?* Harvard UP: 125-162.

Foucault, M. 1991. 'Questions of method' in Burchell et al (eds) *The Foucault effect*. Chicago UP. (NB only pp.73-82)

Walters, W. 2012. *Governmentality: Critical Encounters*, ch. 4.

Dean, M. 1999/2010. *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society*. Sage, 40-48.

3. Foucault's methods II: microphysics and power-knowledge (Jan 25)

Foucault, M. 1990. *The History of Sexuality*. Volume 1. New York: Vintage, 92-102 ('Method').

Foucault, M. 1977. *Discipline and Punish* (trans. A. Sheridan), London: Penguin, 24-31; 195-203.

Further reading

Foucault, M. 1980. 'Two lectures' (Read 'Lecture 2, 14 January 1976) in *Power/Knowledge* (ed. C. Gordon), New York: Pantheon, 92-108.

Orford, A. 2012. 'In praise of description', *Leiden Journal of International Law* 25: 609-625.

- Scheurich, J.J. et al 2005 'Foucault's methodologies: Archaeology and Genealogy' in N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (eds) *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*.
- Baker, Keith Michael. 1994. "A Foucauldian French Revolution?" In *Foucault and the Writing of History*, edited by Jan Goldstein. Oxford: Blackwell, 1994.*
- Kendall, G. and G. Wickham. 1994. *Using Foucault's Methods*.

4. Genealogies of the modern state (Feb 1)

- Foucault, M. 2008 *The Birth of Biopolitics*. New York: Palgrave, 1-8; 75-81.
- Valverde, M. 2007. 'Genealogies of European States', *Economy & Society* 36(1): 159-78.

Further reading

- Golder, B. 2007 'Foucault and the Genealogy of Pastoral Power', *Radical Philosophy* 10(2): 157-176.
- Lemke, T. 2001. "'The Birth of Biopolitics": Michel Foucault's Lecture at the Collège de France on Neo-Liberal Governmentality', *Economy and Society* 30(2): 190-207.
- Bröckling, U, Krasmann, S and Lemke, T. 2011. 'From Foucault's Lectures at the Collège de France to Studies of Governmentality', in Bröckling et al (eds) *Governmentality: Current Issues and Future Challenges*, New York: Routledge, 1-33 [skim read].*
- G. Burchell, C. Gordon and P. Miller (eds) *The Foucault effect*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, esp. Gordon's chapter.
- Mitchell, T. 1998. 'Fixing the Economy', *Cultural Studies* 12 (1): 82-101.

5. Foucault and political science (Feb 8)

- Lemke, T. 2007 'An Indigestible Meal? Governmentality and State Theory', *Distinktion: Scandinavian Journal of Social Theory* 15: 43-64.
- Bacchi, C. 2012. 'Why study problematizations? Making politics visible', *Open Journal of Political Science* 2(1): 1-8.
- Neal, A. 2009. 'Rethinking Foucault in International Relations: Promiscuity and Unfaithfulness', *Global Society* 23(4): 539-543.

Further reading

- Brown, W. 2006. 'Power after Foucault', in J. Dryzek et al (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory*, Oxford UP, 65-84.
- Mitchell, T. 2006. 'Society, Economy, and the State Effect' in Sharma, A. and Gupta, A. (eds) *The Anthropology of the State: A Reader*, Oxford: Blackwell, 169-186.
- Brass, P. 2000. 'Foucault steals political science', *Annual Review of Political Science* 3: 305-30;
- Jessop B. 2006. 'From micro-powers to governmentality: Foucault's work on statehood, state formation, statecraft and state power'. *Political Geography* 26(1): 34-40.
- Rosenow, D. 2009. 'Decentering Global Power: The Merits of a Foucauldian Approach to International Relations', *Global Society* 23(4): 497-517.
- Selby, J. 2007. 'Engaging Foucault: Discourse, Liberal Governance and the Limits of Foucauldian IR', *International Relations* 21(3): 324-345.
- Walters, W. and J.H. Haahr. 2005. 'Governmentality and Political Studies', *European Political Science*, 4(3): 288-300.

6. Winter Break (Feb 15)

Part II. GOVERNMENTALITY STUDIES

7. Problematics of government: Liberalism, welfarism, advanced liberalism (Feb 22)

- Rose, N. and P. Miller. 1992. 'Political power beyond the state; problematics of government', *British Journal of Sociology* 43(2): 173-205.
- Knafo, S. et al. 2019. 'The managerial lineages of neoliberalism', *New Political Economy* 24(2): 235-251.

Further reading

- Rose, N. 1996. 'The Death of the Social: Refiguring the Territory of Government', *Economy & Society* 25(3): 327-356.
- Elden, S. 2006. 'Rethinking Governmentality', *Political Geography*. 26: 29-33.
- Jaeger, Hans-Martin. 2013. 'Governmentality's (Missing) International Dimension and the Promiscuity of German Neoliberalism', *Journal of International Relations and Development* 16: 25-54.
- Dean, M. 1999/2010. On 'analytics of government' in his *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society*. Sage, pp.20-27.
- Rose, Nikolas. *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Larner, Wendy. 2000. 'Neoliberalism: Policy, Ideology, Governmentality', *Studies in Political Economy* 63: 5-26.
- Bevir, M. (2010) 'Rethinking governmentality: towards genealogies of governance', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 13: 423-41.
- O'Malley, P., Weir, L. and Shearing, C. 1997 'Governmentality, Criticism, Politics', *Economy and Society* 26(4): 501-17.
- Allen, A. and Goddard, R. 2014. 'The domestication of Foucault: Government, Critique, War', *History of the Human Sciences* 27(5): 26-53
- Collier, S. 2009 'Topologies of Power: Foucault's Analysis of Political Government beyond "Governmentality"', *Theory, Culture and Society* 26: 78-108.
- Joseph, J. 2010. 'The Limits of Governmentality: Social Theory and the International', *European Journal of International Relations* 16(2): 223-246.
- Curtis, B. 1995 'Taking the State Back Out: Rose and Miller on Political Power', *British Journal of Sociology* 46(4): 575-89.
- Rose, N., P. O'Malley and M. Valverde, 2006. "Governmentality", *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 2(5): 1-22.
- Walters, W. 2012. *Governmentality: Critical encounters*, Ch. 2.
- Bilge, S. 2013. 'Reading the racial subtext of the Québécois accommodation controversy: An analytics of racialized governmentality', *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* 40(1): 157-181.
- D'Aoust, A.-M. 2013. 'In the Name of Love: Marriage Migration, Governmentality, and Technologies of Love', *International Political Sociology* 7(3): 258-274.

8. Pastoral power (Mar 1)

- Welch, M. 2010. 'Pastoral power as penal resistance: Foucault and the Groupe d'Information sur les Prisons', *Punishment and Society* 12(1): 47-63.

Blake, L. 1999. 'Pastoral power, governmentality and cultures of order in nineteenth-century British Columbia', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 24: 79-93.

Further reading

Curtis, B. 'Pastoral power, sovereignty and class: Church, tithe and Simony in Quebec', *Critical Research on Religion* 5(2): 151-169.

Fassin, Didier. 2007 'Humanitarian Government' in M. Feher (ed) *Nongovernmental Politics*, New York: Zone Books, 149-160.

Golder, B. 2007 'Foucault and the Genealogy of Pastoral Power', *Radical Philosophy* 10(2): 157-176.

Biebricher, T. 2011. 'Faith-based initiatives and pastoral power', *Economy and Society* 40(3): 399-420.

Walters, W. 2011. 'Foucault and Frontiers: Notes on the Birth of the Humanitarian Border', in U. Bröckling, S. Krassman and T. Lemke (eds) *Governmentality: Current Issues and Future Challenges*, London: Routledge, 138-64.

9. Biopolitics and biopower (Mar 8)

Foucault, M. 1980. *The history of sexuality, volume 1*. New York: Pantheon, 135-145 (on 'right of death and power over life').

Rose, N. and C. Novas. 2005. 'Biological citizenship' in A. Ong and S. Collier (eds) *Global assemblages*, New York: Wiley, 439-463.

Further reading

Hannah, M. et al, 2020. 'Thinking through Covid-19 responses with Foucault – an initial survey'. <https://antipodeonline.org/2020/05/05/thinking-through-covid-19-responses-with-foucault/>

Rabinow, P. and N. Rose 2006. 'Biopower today', *BioSocieties* 1: 195-217.

Macey, D. 2009. 'Rethinking biopolitics, race and war in the wake of Foucault', *Theory, Culture & Society* 26(6): 186-205.

Kelly, M. 2004. 'Racism, nationalism and biopolitics: Foucault's Society must be defended.' *Contretemps* 4: 57-70.

Dean, M. 2002. 'Powers of Life and Death Beyond Governmentality', *Cultural Values* 6(1/2): 119-138.

10. Colonial and postcolonial government (Mar 15)

Matsunaga, J. 2020. 'The red tape of reparations: settler governmentality of truth telling and compensation for Indian residential schools', *Settler Colonial Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2201473X.2020.1811591>

Turner, J. 2015. 'The family migration visa in the history of marriage restrictions: Postcolonial relations and the UK border', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 17: 623-643.

Further reading

Roy, S. 2017. 'Enacting/disrupting the will to empower: Feminist governance of "child marriage" in Eastern India', *Signs* 42(4): 867-891.

Stoler, A. 2003. 'Colonial archives and the arts of governance', *Archival Science* 2: 87-109.

- Howell, A. and M. Richter-Montpetit. 2019. 'Racism in Foucauldian security studies: Biopolitics, liberal war and the whitewashing of colonial and racial violence', *International Political Sociology* 13(1): 2-19.
- Duffield, Mark. 2006. 'Racism, Migration and Development: The Foundations of Planetary Order', *Progress in Development Studies* 6(1): 68-79.
- Legg, S. 2007. 'Beyond the European Province: Foucault and postcolonialism', in J Crampton and S. Elden (eds) *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Scott, David, 1995, "Colonial Governmentality", *Social Text* 5(3): 191-220.
- Hindess, Barry. 2002. 'Neoliberal citizenship', *Citizenship Studies* 6(2): 127-143.
- Moffette, D. and Walters, W. 2018. 'Flickering Presence: Theorizing Race and Racism in the Governmentality of Borders and Migration', *Studies in Social Justice*. 12(1): 92-110.

11. Data-fication (Mar 22)

- Isin, E. and E. Ruppert. 2020. 'The birth of sensory power' *Big Data and Society*. DOI: 10.1177/2053951720969208, 1-15.
- Crampton, J. 2015. 'Collect it all: National security, Big Data, and governance', *GeoJournal* 80(4): 519-531.

Further reading

- Roberts, S. and S. Elbe. 2017. 'Catching the flu: syndromic surveillance, algorithmic governmentality, and global health security', *Security Dialogue* 48(1): 46-62.
- Cohen, J. 2018. 'The biopolitical public domain: The legal construction of the surveillance economy', *Philosophy and Technology* 31: 213-233.
- Aradau, C. and T. Blanke, 2017. 'Politics of prediction: security and the time/space of governmentality in the age of big data', *Security Dialogue* 20(3): 373-391.
- Introna, L. 2016. 'Algorithms, governance, and governmentality: On governing academic writing', *Science, Technology and Human Values* 41(1): 17-49.

Part III. GENEALOGIES OF POLITICAL LIFE

12. Counter conduct and fearless speech (Mar 29)

- Death, C. 2010. 'Counter-conducts: A Foucauldian Analytics of Protest', *Social Movement Studies* 9(3): 235-251.
- Walters, W. 2014. '*Parrhēsia* Today: Drone Strikes, Fearless Speech, and the Contentious Politics of Security', *Global Society* 28(3): 277-299.

13. New arts of government? (Apr 5)

- Rose, N. 2017. 'Still "like birds on the wire"? Freedom after neoliberalism', *Economy and Society* 46(3-4): 303-323.
- Ferguson, N. 2011. 'Toward a left art of government: From 'Foucauldian critique' to Foucauldian politics', *History of the Human Sciences* 24(4): 38-49.

Further reading for weeks 12 and 13:

- Brown, Wendy. 2003. 'Neo-liberalism and the end of liberal democracy'. *Theory & Event* 7(1).
- Barry, A. 1999. 'Demonstrations: sites and sights of direct action', *Economy and society* 28(1): 75-94.

- Walters, W. 2004. 'Secure Borders, Safe Haven, Domopolitics', *Citizenship Studies* 8(3): 237-260.
- Chatterjee, P. 2004 *The Politics of the Governed*, New York: Columbia University Press, Ch. 3 ('politics of the governed').
- Barrett, J. 2002. 'Counter-conduct and its intra-modern limits', *Global Society* 34(2): 260-284.
- Gordon, C. 2013. 'Governmentality and the genealogy of politics', *Educacao e Pesquisa* (Education and Research, Sao Paulo) 39(4): 1049-1063.
http://www.scielo.br/pdf/ep/v39n4/en_15.pdf
- Asdal, K. 2008. 'On Politics and the Little Tools of Democracy: A Down-to-Earth Approach', *Distinktion* No. 16: 11-26
- Gane, M. 2018. 'The new Foucault effect', *Cultural Politics* 14(1): 109-127.

14. Wrap up and conclusions (Apr 12)

Accommodations during COVID

Due to COVID, instructors will not request or require a doctor's note when students seek accommodation for missed term work or exams due to illness. Instead, students will be asked to complete the self-declaration form available here: https://carleton.ca/registrar/wp-content/uploads/COVID-19_Self-declaration.pdf

Academic Accommodations

Pregnancy

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Religious obligation

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Students with Disabilities

If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made.

Survivors of Sexual Violence

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and is survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual

Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support

Student Activities

Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist.

<https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: students.carleton.ca/course-outline

Plagiarism

The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

More information on the University’s Academic Integrity Policy can be found at: <https://carleton.ca/registrar/academic-integrity/>

Intellectual property

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

