

"Governmentality" / *Power* 201-22 / DE2 635-57

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4<sup>th</sup> lecture of the 1977-78 course, *Sécurité, Territoire, Population*. This is a slightly misleading title, as we will learn, for the general theme of the course is the series, security, population, government.

- I. The question of art of governing in general comes into its own from 1550-1800
  - A. Multiple objects of governing
    - 1) Self
    - 2) Souls and conducts
    - 3) Children
    - 4) States
  - B. Two intersecting processes set the stage
    - 1) Political centralization: dissolution of feudalism leading to great nation-states
    - 2) Religious dispersion: Reformation and Counter-Reformation
- II. The polemic against Machiavelli
  - A. History of reception
    - 1) Machiavelli was at first honored (1532)
    - 2) And then later (1800)
      - a) French and American revolutions; Napoleon
      - b) Clausewitz and relations of politics and strategy
      - c) Problem of territorial unity of Italy and Germany
    - 3) But in the meantime, there was a long anti-Machiavelli tradition
  - B. Characteristics of the Prince according to the anti-Machiavellians
    - 1) Singular, exterior, transcendent relation to the principality
    - 2) Fragile and menaced relation
    - 3) Object of power: maintain / reinforce relation of Prince to his possessions
- III. The positive characteristics of the art of governing (from La Perrière)
  - A. Multiple governments:
    - 1) Household, children, souls, provinces, convents, religious orders, family
    - 2) Compare La Mothe Le Vayer:
      - a) Types of government and their respective sciences
        - (1) Government of self: science of morals
        - (2) Government of families: science of economy
        - (3) Government of the State: science of politics
      - b) Essential continuity of governing
        - (1) Ascending continuity: to govern State, prince must govern self
        - (2) Descending continuity: from State to families via the police
      - c) Introduce "economy" into governing: like attention of father to family
        - (1) Economy in 16<sup>th</sup> C = a form of governing (careful attention)
        - (2) Economy in 18<sup>th</sup> C = modern sense, a level of social reality
  - B. "Government is right disposition of things leading to a convenient end"
    - 1) Things:
      - a) Traditionally, sovereignty is exercised of territory and people

- b) Now, governing has to focus on a complex of men and things
      - (1) Metaphor of boat: the men, things and events of a voyage
      - (2) Frederic II: analysis of Russia and Holland
  - 2) Convenient end: finality of governing is well-being of the governed
    - a) Governing with an end of the common = self-reinforcing sovereignty
    - b) Governing with an end of well-being of each = multiple ends
  - 3) Method of governing: disposition of things rather than imposition of law
  - 4) Virtues of governing
    - a) Patience: no need for sword or anger
    - b) Wisdom: knowledge of things rather than divine / human laws
    - c) Diligence: governor must be at the service of the governed
- IV. Correlations with the real re: shift from sovereignty to governing
  - A. Crystallization of a "reason of State" grounded in reality of new states
    - 1) Development of territorial monarchies
    - 2) Development of knowledge about factors of the State
    - 3) Development of mercantilism and cameralism
  - B. Barriers
    - 1) Historical: wars, political turmoil, financial crises
    - 2) Institutional: focus on sovereignty crippled development of reason of State
      - a) Mercantilism: attempt at reason of State, but focused on sovereign power
      - b) Juridical contract theories show same crippling focus on sovereignty
    - 3) Model of the family was too strict, weak, inconsistent
  - C. Breakthrough: emergence of problem of the population
    - 1) Positive feedback loop: demographic, economic, agricultural expansion
    - 2) Isolation of "economy" as level of social reality: population / statistics
  - D. How does population enable breakthrough of art of governing?
    - 1) Population and family
      - a) Theoretical: replacement of family model by economic reality
      - b) Practical: integration of family into governing:
        - (1) Segment of population
        - (2) Instrument of intervention
    - 2) Population appears as goal of governing (improving the lot of the pop.)
    - 3) Managing population leads to development of "political economy"
- V. Governing a population supplements other forms of power (sovereignty / discipline)
  - A. Sovereignty / discipline / government series
    - 1) Focus on population
    - 2) Use security *dispositifs*
  - B. New series, still in place: government / population / political economy
- VI. New title for course: "history of governmentality"
  - A. Ensemble of institutions ... tactics for new form of power
    - 1) Target: population
    - 2) Knowledge: political economy
    - 3) Instrument: *dispositifs* of security
  - B. Tendency to put governing over sovereignty and discipline as form of power
  - C. "Governmentalization" of the State: the state is not historically monolithic

- D. Rough typology of forms of economy of power in the West
  - 1) Feudal state of justice and society of law
  - 2) Administrative state and society of rules and disciplines
  - 3) Governmental state focused on mass of population and society of security
- VII. Forecast: governmentalization of the State:
  - A. Born from pastoral power
  - B. Related to diplomatic-military technique (peace through balance of power)
  - C. Reliance on the "police"