Security, Territory, Population

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Lecture 1: 11 January 1978

I)   Five proposals on F's treatment of power
   A) Not a theory of power, but just an investigation of mechanisms and sites of power
   B) Power mechanisms are related to production, family, sexuality, etc
   C) Studying power in this way
      1) Is not history, sociology, or economics
      2) But involves philosophy as "politics of truth"
         a) = knowledge effects of struggles in society
         b) [NB that these are no longer coded as "war" after analyses in "Society"]
   D) Ethical or practical dimension ("what is to be done")
      1) All theory involves an imperative
      2) Such imperatives are only aesthetic
      3) But praxis happens in a "field of real forces"
      4) And so cannot be merely willed by a speaking subject
      5) So all F can do is provide "tactical pointers":
         a) The commitment to struggle is presupposed
         b) "if you want to struggle, try this"
   E) F's categorical imperative: "never engage in polemics"
II)   What is "security"?
   A) Example of theft in legal system, disciplinary mechanism, security apparatus
      1) Legal system: binary distribution
      2) Disciplinary mechanisms:
         a) "third figure" arises: "culprit" as both inside / outside law
         b) Human sciences allow surveillance, diagnosis, treatment of individuals
      3) Security:
         a) Calculating probability within a series of events
         b) Calculation of cost of action
         c) Normalization and establishment of "bandwidth" of the acceptable.
   B) Historical entanglement of security with legal system and disciplinary mechanisms
      1) Older modalities of law and discipline include security aspects
      2) Security apparatuses do not foreclose continued existence of law and discipline
   C) What does change is the "system of correlation" of law, discipline, and security
      1) Studying this change is not studying history of "techniques" of, e.g., enclosure
      2) But studying history of "technologies," i.e., history of "correlations"
   D) Another example: disease

   1) Legal treatment of lepers

   2) Disciplinary treatment of plague

   3) Security treatment of smallpox (NB: here is where "population" appears)

  E) So F's question: is our "general economy of power" becoming a "domain of security"?

III) Forecast: four "general features" of security apparatuses (space, aleatory event, norm, population)

IV) Spaces of security

  A) A false start: different spatial extensions

   1) Sovereignty exercised on territory

   2) Discipline exercised on [pre-existing] individuals

   3) Security exercised on an entire population [of individuals]

  B) But this can't be; all three modes of power presuppose multiplicity

   1) Sovereignty exercised over a multiplicity of subjects

   2) Discipline manages a multiplicity by individualizing [rather than pre-supposing indiduals]

  C) Different treatments of space [of town] in three modes of power

   1) Le Maitre: sovereign problem of "capitalizing" a territory

   2) Town of Richelieu: disciplinary problem of controlling an artificial, enclosed space

   3) Study of 19th C Nantes: security problem of managing spaces of circulation

    a) Working with material givens

    b) Maximizing the positive and minimizing the risky and inconvenient

    c) Organizing "poly-functional" elements

    d) Opening onto a uncertain future

  D) Summary of security

   1) In terms of the series managed by probability estimates

    a) Series of mobile elements

    b) Series of events

    c) Series of "accumulating units"

   2) In terms of the "milieu" as that in which circulation occurs

    a) Security works with milieu as technical schema / pragmatic structure prior to concept

    b) Milieu = site of "conjunction of series of events" among

     i) Individuals

     ii) Populations

     iii) Quasi-natural urban events (i.e., what happens to humans when living in towns)

   3) So problem of sovereignty (to become problem of government) = exercise power at point of connection of physical elements and human nature as it appears in the milieu

Lecture 2: 18 January 1978

I) Security and the event: the example of "scarcity"

  A) Scarcity as the object of sovereign power: make laws regulating market

  B) The physiocratic edicts of 1754-64 show the move to security

II) Methodological remarks on the analysis of Abeille's text

  A) Not an archeological analysis for its knowledge production rules

  B) But a genealogy of technologies of power: its objectives, strategies, and program of action

III) De-moralization of the analysis: scarcity is not "evil"

A) Abeille's unit of analysis is the reality of grain, not just the market for grain
B) So security tries to connect with reality and in so doing "cancel out" the phenomenon of scarcity
C) Analysis of market also includes a normative element: what happens AND what should happen
D) Conditions for such an analysis-program
  1) Broaden the analysis on side of production, market, and protagonists
  2) Splitting the event of scarcity into two levels: "fundamental caesura"
    a) Level that is pertinent for government intervention: population
    b) Level that is only instrument for government action: series / multiplicity of individuals
  3) Population now object and subject (it is called upon to conduct itself in a certain way)
  4) The "people" are those individuals whose conduct exclude them from the population
    a) This looks like a breaking of the social contract
    b) But what's at stake is not obedience / disobedience of subject
IV) Comparison of security and discipline
  A) Scope
    1) Discipline is centripetal: it concentrates, focuses, encloses
    2) Security is centrifugal: it constantly widens its scope to include more circuits
  B) Control
    1) Discipline regulates everything
    2) Security "lets things happen" at level of neutral processes in order to attain good effects at level of population
  C) Mode of intervention
    1) Law focuses on prohibition:
      a) order is what remains
      b) (don't do what we tell you not to do)
    2) Discipline focuses on what must be done:
      a) what remains is prohibited
      b) (do only what you're told to do)
    3) Security responds at level of effective reality in order to regulate phenomena
  D) Levels of reality
    1) Law: the imaginary
    2) Discipline: complementary to reality
    3) Security: works within reality; gets components of reality to work together.
V) Liberalism = acting so that reality follows its own laws
  A) It's true that ideology of freedom is condition for development of capitalist economy; but is this what was aimed at?
  B) F nuances his famous statement in DP that discipline was guarantee for freedoms
    1) Instead we have to see freedom in context of transformations of technologies of power
    2) In other words, liberal freedom is "correlative of deployment of apparatuses of security"
    3) That is, the freedom F is after is freedom of circulation of both people and things
    4) Thus it's not personal political / economic freedom of people, but freedom of action implicit in notion of a "physics," indeed a "political physics"
    5) The problem is that the DP formulation creates opposition of freedom and power: freedom is ideological or political while [disciplinary] power is material and works on bodies. But we

have to see liberal freedom as a mode of power that works as conduct of conduct, as governmentality.

Lecture 3: 25 January 1978

I) Norms, normation, and normalization
   A) Law and norm (Kelsen)
       1) Of course legal systems enforce norms in some sense
       2) But that's not the sense in which F uses term "normalization," which works in margins of law
   B) Discipline and norms
       1) Again, there is a sense in which discipline deals with norms: this is *normation*
           a) Disciplinary analysis, classification, optimization, training all result in
           b) A division of normal from abnormal
       2) Thus discipline first posits an "optimal model" [a "norm" in the "normative sense"] and from that derives its division of normal and abnormal [i.e., "norm" in the "statistical sense"]
   C) Security and normalization: smallpox
       1) Factors that make smallpox a good example for studying security
           a) Widely endemic disease
           b) With strong, intense epidemic outbreaks
           c) Treatments of smallpox (variolization and vaccination) had four characteristics
               i)   Absolutely preventative (when they worked)
               ii) Almost total certainty of success (they almost always worked)
               iii) Could be extended to whole of population w/ little cost
               iv) Were inexplicable under any contemporary medical theory
                    (a) [since they were thus "empirical"]
                    (b) [their employment was neutral w/r/t medical power-knowledge]
                    (c) [so they couldn't get bogged down by "special interests" in med. Establishment]
           d) Because of these four characteristics, these treatments benefitted from
               i)   Statistical instruments being put to use regarding population
               ii) Integration with other security treatments of events (e.g., scarcity)
       2) Four new concepts come on line with security treatments: case, risk, danger, and crisis
           a) Case
               i)   Smallpox no longer seen as a "prevailing disease" (linked to region, way of life, etc.)
               ii) Rather, smallpox is a distribution of cases
                    (a) "individualizing the collective phenomenon of the disease"
                    (b) Or, "integrating individual phen. w/in collective field" in quantitative analysis
           b) Risk
           c) Danger
           d) Crisis
       3) Security and normalization of epidemics
           a) Establish normal rates in population (whereas discipline treated every patient)
           b) Then generate other rates for sub-populations (by age, region, etc.)
           c) Then try to bring most deviant rates in line with overall population norm; this action will of course affect the overall population normal rate

4) So, security works with the "interplay of differential normalities"
5) Conclusion:
   a) Discipline posits a "normative norm" first and then divides normal from abnormal
   b) Security establishes an overall statistical norm for population and then produces a "normative norm," so that death rate of subgroup should be made closer to overall norm

II) The town as provoking new problems for government so that security is the response
  A) Town was always an exception regarding territorial sovereignty
  B) Town brings the problem of circulation to the fore
  C) Town government in security is not about obedience of subjects, but about physical processes which are to be brought into acceptable limits by "self-cancellation"
  D) Pertinent level of government operation is the population
    1) Security government is different from the panopticon (limited space, works with sovereignty)
    2) Security government works with real mechanisms and focuses on the population

III) Population
  A) Sovereignty
    1) Negative of "depopulation"
    2) Seen as only the source of strength for the sovereign
  B) Discipline: transitional forms of cameralism and mercantilism
    1) Population involved in dynamic relation with state and sovereign
    2) As long as it is object of direct regulations, that is, disciplined
  C) Security:
    1) Physiocrats see population as set of processes to be managed, not as collection of subjects
    2) Naturalness of the population
      a) Dependent on a series of variables: climate, commerce, laws, customs, etc.
        i) It thus escapes sovereign will: it can't just be ordered about
        ii) But it can be transformed with good, rational, calculating techniques
      b) Contains "desire" as an invariant
        i) Pursuit of self-interest allows production of collective interest
        ii) Whereas sovereignty was ability to say "no" to any individual desire
        iii) The security government problem is how to say "yes"
      c) Produces constant phenomena at population level (e.g., suicide and accident rates)
    3) With this naturalness of population we see emergence of two new phenomena:
      a) "Human species": humans are now seen as integrated w/ biological world
      b) "Public": population seen under aspect of it is opinions
    4) "Government" is now a term in the series: "population / security / goverrnment"

IV) Population as "operator" of transformations in domains of knowledge (savoir) (cf. *Order of Things*)
  A) Three examples of this shift
    1) From analysis of wealth to political economy
      a) Distinction of producers and consumers now possible
      b) Malthus vs Marx
        i) Malthus: population as bio-economic problem
        ii) Marx: tries to get rid of population, but finds it in historical-political form of class
    2) From natural history to biology
      a) From identification of classificatory characteristics (enabling placement on table)

          b) To internal organization of organism

          c) And to the constitutive or regulatory relation of organism with the milieu (Lamarck)

          d) Darwin takes last, crucial step and puts population as mediating milieu and organism

      3) From general grammar to philology

   B. Conclusion: population is the "operator" here

      1) Allowing power / knowledge interplay

      2) And hence that the "man" of the human sciences is a "figure of population"

      3) Thus "man" is to population as subject of right is to the sovereign

Lecture 4: 1 February 1978

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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 16th C = a form of governing (careful attention)
            (2) Economy in 18th 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"