Reading 1: "Governmentality" In *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality.*


**Summary**

Foucault argues that the term 'Governmentality' should be coined to analyze government and power in a state. He attempted to outline a literature review of how past works have perceived the 'art of government' (p.90), and identified the similarities of their works: The question of defining the particular form of governing which can be applied to the state as a whole (p.91). Subsequently, this article examines the expansion of the term from the 18th century onward, and the reasons behind it. Lastly, he emphasized on the importance of sovereignty as an essential concept in the field of political science, even as the concept of art of government is no longer derived from the former term.

**Governmentality as a concept in 16th and 17th century:**

Machiavelli’s *The Prince.* Authors who translated these texts deviated from the theological and religious roots, and developed the concept of the art of government to focus on the state actor as a rational being. (p.89) What Foucault suggests is that Machiavelli’s text is essentially a treatise about the prince’s (or actor’s) ability to keep his principality. This text suggests 2 steps to analyze the art of government: To identify dangers, and to develop the art of manipulating relations of force that will allow the actor to ensure the protection of his principality, understood as the link that binds him to his territory and his subjects. (p.90)

Guillaume de La Perrière’s *Miroirs Politique.* This text focuses on different modes of governance internally within the society (family, organizations, etc.), as compared to *The Prince* that perceives the art of government solely on the prince (i.e actor) and his state. (p.91) Perrière suggests in this literature that the art of government should be concerned with the introduction of economy – correct manner of managing individuals, goods and wealth within the family, and of making the family fortunes prosper – and how to apply this meticulous attention and dedication on the family into the management of the state similarly. (p.92)

**Derestruction of Governmentality after the 18th century:**

The concept of the art of government became derestricted due to the emerging perspective of the term ‘population’. Prior to the emergence of population, it was impossible to conceive the art of government except on the model of the family. (p.99)

Population came to appear above all else as the ultimate end of government. (p.100) This is because whatever the government governs, it is all in some sense immanent to the population, such as wealth and welfare. (p.100) Population now represents the end of government, rather than the power of sovereignty.

Population should be observed fervently by the government, in order to be able to govern effectively in a rational and conscious manner. (p.100)

**Sovereignty as a concept now:**

Unlike the 16th and 17th centuries, sovereignty as a political science concept is no longer closely associated with the art of government. However, this does not mean that this concept is no longer needed: in contrast, the problem of sovereignty is more acute than ever. (p.101)

Foucault suggests that we need to see things not in terms of the replacement of sovereignty by a disciplinary society by a society of government. Instead, we need to recognize that in reality one has a sovereignty-discipline-government. (p.102)

**Terms:**

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<tr>
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<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Machiavellianism</td>
<td>The employment of cunning and duplicity in statecraft or in general conduct.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anti-Machiavellianism</td>
<td>An 18th Century essay written by Frederick the Great (King of Prussia). It consists of a chapter-by-chapter rebuttal of Machiavelli’s <em>The Prince,</em> and Machiavellianism in general.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mercantilism</td>
<td>An economic theory and practice dominant in Europe from the 16th to 18th century. It promoted governmental regulation of a nation's economy for the purpose of augmenting state power at the expense of rival national powers. Mercantilism includes a national economic policy aimed at accumulating monetary reserves through a positive balance of trade, especially of finished goods. Historically, such policies frequently led to war and also motivated colonial expansion.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reason of state</td>
<td>In general, it refers to the idea that the well-being and stability of the state is paramount, and all of the government's actions should be directed to this end. This includes actions which would be considered illegal or immoral under ordinary circumstances.</td>
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Questions to consider:

How do we define the term ‘Governmentality’? Is there a difference between ‘Governmentality’ and ‘art of government’?

What is this upwards and downwards continuity Foucault speaks of in the art of government? (p.91 – 92)

Why is the 'reason of state' an obstacle to the development of the art of government as a concept? (p.97 – 98)

How do we outline the change in Governmentality as a concept from the 16th century to the 18th century?


Summary

This article examines the relationship between the postwar Japanese state and its citizens through the idea of propagating self responsibility for citizens to respond to both internal and external risks. (p.93) Both internal and external risks emerged from globalization and the pressure on Japan to adopt a more proactive military role by the international community. (p.94 - 95) External risk is the war in Iraq and internal risk refers to risk in the employment market (p. 94 - 95) Risks taken by the government if they are instrumental to national policy. (p.123) People must be of economic and political value for the state instead of being a financial burden for the state (p.123)

Nature of the Postwar Japanese state:

Hook and Takeda suggests that the postwar state creates a double standard for the state (p 98) Also, “Abnormality” persist in state’s relations with its citizens, due to the lack of ability of the state to enforce their authority on the population to make sacrifices on behalf of the state. At the same time, the citizens are also often unwilling to shoulder their “rightful duties” as citizens. (p.100)

In security policy (specifically referring to Article 9: Japan cannot possess land, sea and air forces), it limits Japan’s right to use military forces, and at the same time the state lacks ability to call on citizens to self sacrifice and unwillingness of citizens to undertake civic responsibilities. In Social policy (specifically referring to Article 25: Citizen is provided with social security by the state), the state fails to secure living rights for citizens and providing actual social security. (p.101)

The Seisanryoku riron (production power theory) links social policy to production and reproduction of labor force, and the author suggests that social security welfare is only a means to secure productivity rather than protect citizens’ rights. This is because social welfare policies are in place, but needy citizens are excluded from the labour market. (p.102)

Transition in the postwar state:

In this section, the author notes a transition in the state’s response to new challenges and attempts to “normalize” the state. Limited social provision continued as Japan’s welfare system is under review and restructuring. (p.106) While the old system passed on internal risk to the family and the individual (p.107), the new system attempted to push for the “productive self”: A subjectivity to govern oneself as a productive and autonomous citizen of the state (p. 107)

The Changing Discourse of Self Responsibility
In another perspective, Maruyama Masao suggests that it is the nature of the Japanese state that makes Japanese citizens hard to be responsible for themselves. (p.108) This is because the state has control of all aspects of society due to institutional elements of the state not being thoroughly objectified (p.108). Thus, Japanese citizens find it difficult to be responsible for themselves and the state, when the state is controlling the citizen's desire in the first place. This section criticizes the state's departure in understanding of the failure of Japanese citizens to be self responsible and self governing. (p.108) It is because the state's exercise of responsibility changing to adopt an international stance, rather than their own constitutional stance. Therefore, there is a discrepancy between what is the actual situation and the constitution of a normal state. (p.109) During the 1990s-2000s economic stagnation, individuals were encouraged to be economically responsible eg. reorganization of pension system (p.109) Furthermore, increase in Cross border movements made governments hard to keep track of it's people's safety, thus self responsibility was encouraged. (p.110)

**External Risk: Self Responsibility as Border Crossing**

Self responsibility is enforced by the state as a cultural value. In the case of external risk, the example of the kidnappings of hostages re-enforces this value. Hostages themselves were vilified as having “anti-Japanese” elements because they fail to exercise self responsibility that was defined by the government. (p.110-114)

**Internal Risk: Self Responsibility as Free choice**

Self responsibility in the employment market by the government's definition meant that citizens having to enroll into the lifetime employment system. Hence, irregular work such as part time jobs were considered to be irresponsible. (p.115) Hook and Takeda thus argue that risk portrayed as unavoidable for people, effecting people in their inability to move up the ranks in society. (p.117) In the case of freeters who undertake irregular work, the state perceived them economically as “non performing loans” that will be a financial burden. Thus, they are costly for social security and are excluded from society. (p.117)

**Definition of terms:**

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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Risk</td>
<td>probabilities of physical harm due to given technological or other processes.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Internal pacification</td>
<td>A term coined by Anthony Giddens, explaining the means of exercising violence. It refers to the replacement of brute physical force by military with administrative powers, govern economic, social and political spheres.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seisanryoku riron (Production power theory)</td>
<td>Links social policy to production and reproduction of labor force (How risk is used in governing, risk is an object of state governing)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Welfare state</td>
<td>A social system in which a government is responsible for the economic and social welfare of its citizens and has policies to provide free health care, money for people without jobs, etc. Also refers to a country that has such a system.</td>
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<td>&quot;Productive self&quot;</td>
<td>Type of subjectivity to govern oneself as a productive and autonomous member of the state.</td>
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<td>Hobbesian &quot;war of all against all&quot;</td>
<td>People choose to willingly enter a social contract with a state. By doing so, they enter a mutual agreement in which the state will protect the goods (e.g wealth) of their people, in exchange for their liberties (freedom).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Neoliberal globalization</td>
<td>This term advocates the idea that Neoliberalism is an economic ideology centered around the values of a global economy: free market, free trade &amp; the unrestricted flow of capital. They advocate minimal government spending, taxation, regulations &amp; direct economic involvement. (Chacha) All these ideas are then spread around the world.</td>
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**Questions to consider:**

How do we define a normal state? (p.103)

Is the idea of self responsibility a neoliberalist ideology used by the state or does it have a different meaning according to the Japanese state? (p.103; on family)

What do you think were the motivations behind Japan’s actions in managing external risks? (eg. Why did Japan give financial support but not military support for the troops to fight in the Gulf War?) (p.104)

How does the government manage and control the people? (p.110-119)

Compare Japan with Singapore. In what ways are they similar and different?
Summary

Takeda argues how neoliberal political and economic reforms affect the daily life of Japanese families and married women. (p.154) He groups these reforms under Richard Senette's Old Webarian thesis which states that for a capitalist economy, it requires a certain culture that sets a normative framework of behavior to function in the New Economy. (p.153) He states that the New Culture of Capitalism (in the workplace productivity and consumption) is only temporary. (p.153) Again, he highlights the separation of citizens into an us vs. them category using Bauman's theory of Big Brother's discipline. (p.153) This leads to a redefinition of class, especially for the lower class who not just lack income but is associated with lack of skills, low consumption and being single. (p.165) Overall, despite neoliberalist economic reforms empowering people to be autonomous and independent, social disparity still exist. (p.165) Finally, Takeda notes that neoliberalist economic reforms seem to encourage more resistance than acceptance. (p.165)

Why structural reform? A discursive strategy for the Lost Decades

John Dunn coined the term "political paralysis" due to Japan's experience of economic downturns and the East Asian financial crisis. (p.153) The idea of sustainability for the East Asian Model as a result of these crises came under fire. Therefore, there is a need for reform because Japan's economy had become outdated. The presence of a dependency culture took shape in the form of the seniority wage system under the management system. Structural reform went underway with citizens being encouraged to be more proactive instead of reactive. (p.156)

Structural Reform of everyday family lives: government discourse of the familial

In the White paper, Finance and Economic Minister Takenaka identified family structural problems that have emerged with change in attitudes towards family. (p.158) This was due to changes in working style and attitudes towards child rearing (p.158) For example, laws regulations and measures were introduced to relieve working parents of burdens both physically and mentally (p.159) However, conditions prevalent in the Japanese society such as widening class disparity and increasing anxiety among people have seen to spur citizens to initiate autonomous change. (p.159) Deregulation undertaken by the government, argued by Takeda is limited to helping only a specific group of people. (p.160)

Productive subjectivity for dealing with everyday risk

The consequence of the government's neoliberalist policies is that the family becomes the absorber of risks: socially and economically. (p.161) Takeda raises the example of the three generation family policy where housewives required to take care of the elderly. Expectations are placed on the family and women to be initiative and competent to make decisions. (p.163) "Bio-politics", a strategy used by the government placed reliance on Japanese housewives who in turn provide the government with a good quality labor force. (p.163) However, there are also positive measures taken by the government to help improve women's position in society such as the adult worker model to improve gender equality (p.164) Nevertheless, these measures may create a double burden for women with neoliberalization and state feminists calling for reforms. There is no need for an arrangement of Panopticon method of governing as citizens are expected to be autonomous and independent. Hence, marginalization may occur if individuals do not align to the normative framework the government sets. (p.165) Takeda also cites Schoppa, another scholar that disproves government measures to support families as not comprehensive. They are geared more to encourage elite working women rather commitment to marriage and child rearing. (p.166) Structural neoliberalistic reforms hence work against women but helps the economy. (p.166)

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<td>&quot;Graduated sovereignty&quot;</td>
<td>Set in the context of transitioning economic structure that affected state-citizen relationship (coined by Aihwa Ong)</td>
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<td>New Economy</td>
<td>A concept that promotes entrepreneurship and competition based on market principles. - Context: Structural reforms undertaken by the government (kozokaikaku) policy to political economy</td>
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<td>Autonomous reforms</td>
<td>Reforms initiated by the citizens themselves, such as self protection measures.</td>
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<td>Panopticon</td>
<td>Circular prison with cells arranged around a central well, from which prisoners could at all times be observed. Applying it into everyday context, Panopticon suggests the omnipotent state, where its citizens are constantly under surveillance.</td>
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Questions to consider:

Why did the Japanese national economy became outdated? (p.155)
Do all these measures undertaken by the government sufficiently address the structural problem? (p.158)

Are there other groups of people in the society face similar risks to women and families?

Supplementary Reading 1: "Managing Spiritual Life and Material Well-being" In *Molding Japanese Minds: the state in everyday life.*


[DOWNLOAD HERE]

In this chapter, Gaaron attempts to analyze the degree of state control over the Japanese citizens. He outlines these apparatuses of control as the following: revival of religion (State Shinto), ideology, law enforcement, restriction of social welfare action and exerting of "force" (such as means testing). These apparatuses of control are further enhanced by the use of official and media campaigns so as to "shape popular beliefs" among the people that led to social stigma of public assistance. Following the terrorist attacks in the Tokyo Subway (1995 March), it has further legitimized state action in regulating religious organizations. Gaaron also focused on the state's self-creation of an "aging society crisis" in order to encourage self-responsibility in its citizens to take care of the elderly.

Supplementary Reading 2: Securing Fish for the Nation: Food Security and Governmentality in Japan


[DOWNLOAD HERE]

*Note: All credits of the summary below goes to the abstract provided by the original reading.*

Concerns about supplies of food have been a feature of Japanese politics since Japan started modernising in the second half of the 1800s. It has remained a prominent political issue even after Japan cemented its status as a wealthy country in the 1980s, with the Japanese Government continuing to protect domestic food production from international competition. Protectionism is a curious policy for a country so dependent on world trade, including for food. Protectionist practices have led to entrenched interests in some sections of government and industry. Protectionist ideas are used in nationalist arguments against food imports. The protection of domestic food production, however, resonates positively well beyond the groups that benefit economically from protection and those that indulge in chauvinist notions about the dangers of "foreign" food. The issue, therefore, is broader than interest-group capture or xenophobia. We find it is deeply embedded in Japanese policies relating to food domestically and internationally, and goes beyond government policy as such, involving ways of thinking about protection of national culture, and social and environmental responsibility. Michel Foucault's notion of governmentality helps to explain this approach to food security, accounting for the balancing act between free trade and protection as well as the pervasiveness of this rationality beyond government as such.