Powers of Freedom Reframing Political Thought

Powers of Freedom offers a compelling new approach to the analysis of political power which extends Foucault's hypotheses on governmentality in new and challenging ways. Drawing upon his own empirical research and that of many others, Nikolas Rose sets out the key characteristics of this approach to political power and analyses the government of conduct in new fields and in new ways, examining the fortunes of liberalism, the birth and death of the social, the governmental impact of neo-liberalism and the invention of community. He analyses the role of expertise, the politics of numbers, technologies of economic management and the political uses of space. He illuminates the relation of this approach to contemporary theories of 'risk society' and 'the sociology of governance'. Uniquely, he argues that freedom is not the opposite of government but one of its key inventions and most significant resources. He also seeks some rapprochement between analyses of government and the concerns of critical sociology, cultural studies and Marxism, to establish a basis for the critique of power and its exercise. The book will serve as an intelligent introduction to governmentality for students, and will also challenge scholars in political theory, sociology, social policy and cultural studies.

NIKOLAS ROSE is Professor of Sociology at Goldsmiths College, University of London. He has published widely on the history of the human sciences, especially psychology and psychiatry, and on the changing techniques and rationalities of power. He is currently researching the history of empirical social thought and writing a history of twentieth-century biological and genetic psychiatry. His previous books include *Inventing Our Selves* (1996), *Governing the Soul* (1990) and *The Psychological Complex* (1985), and, as editor, *Foucault and Political Reason* (1996).

Cambridge University Press 0521650755 - Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought Nikolas Rose Frontmatter More information

Powers of Freedom

Reframing Political Thought

Nikolas Rose



PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge, CB2 2RU, United Kingdom http://www.cup.cam.ac.uk

40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011–4211, USA http://www.cup.org 10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia

© Nikolas Rose 1999

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1999

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

Typeset in Monotype Plantin 10/12 pt [wv]

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress cataloguing in publication data

Rose, Nikolas S.

Powers of Freedom: reframing political thought / Nikolas Rose.
p. cm
'Portions of this book draw on published and unpublished papers' – Acknowledgements.
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN 0 521 65075 5 (hb) ISBN 0 521 65905 1
1. Political sociology. 2. Liberty. 3. Community. 4. Foucault.

Michel – Contributions in political science. I. Title. JA76.R645 1999

320'.01'1 – dc21 98–40306 CIP

ISBN 0 521 65075 5 hardback ISBN 0 521 65905 1 paperback Cambridge University Press 0521650755 - Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought Nikolas Rose Frontmatter More information

For Diana

Cambridge University Press 0521650755 - Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought Nikolas Rose Frontmatter More information

Contents

Acknowledgements	<i>page</i> ix
Introduction: reframing political thought	1
1 Governing	15
2 Freedom	61
3 The social	98
4 Advanced liberalism	137
5 Community	167
6 Numbers	197
7 Control	233
Conclusion: beyond government	274
Bibliography	285
Index	307

Acknowledgements

Portions of this book draw on published and unpublished papers.

I have developed arguments first presented in a number of articles co-written with Peter Miller, in particular N. Rose and P. Miller (1992), 'Political power beyond the state: problematics of government', *British Journal of Sociology* 43, 2: 172–205; P. Miller and N. Rose (1995a), 'Political thought and the limits of orthodoxy: a response to Curtis', *British Journal of Sociology* 46, 4: 590–7.

Chapter 1 incorporates arguments from 'Governing liberty, governing modern societies', Green College, University of British Columbia, September 1997.

Chapter 2 is a revised version of 'Towards a critical sociology of freedom', my inaugural lecture for the Chair of Sociology at Goldsmiths College, University of London, which was given in May 1992 (Rose 1992b): thanks in particular to Graham Burchell, Thomas Osborne and Peter Miller for discussion of the issues I raise here and to the participants at the Symposium in Ethics and the History of the Human Sciences, Groningen, November 1996, where this paper was discussed.

Chapter 3 develops arguments first presented in Rose (1996b), 'The death of the social?: re-figuring the territory of government', *Economy and Society* 25, 3: 327–56, and in papers delivered at a Symposium on the Displacement of Social Policies, in Jyväskylä, Finland, January 1997, and workshops on governmentality at the Stockholm Institute of Education, Stockholm, September 1996, and the University of Salzburg, December 1996.

Some of the material incorporated in chapter 4 was first presented in my George Lurcey Lecture and a related seminar at Amherst College in March 1993. Thanks to all who participated for stimulating criticism which was helped me clarify my arguments and to anonymous reviewers of the version published as Rose (1994a), 'Expertise and the government of conduct', *Studies in Law, Politics and Society* 14: 459–67.

Chapter 5 is based upon a keynote address (1997a) entitled 'Between authority and liberty: civil society, communitarianism, third sector', to

x Acknowledgements

the Annual Conference of the Finnish Social Policy Association in Helsinki in November 1997, and published in Finnish as 'Vallan ja vapauden välissä: hyveen hallinta vapaasa yhteiskunassa', *Janus* (Journal of the Finnish Society for Social Policy) 1998, 6, 1: 1–33. Thanks in particular to Barbara Cruikshank and Michael Shapiro for advice.

Chapter 6 is an extended version of Rose (1991), 'Governing by numbers: figuring out democracy', published in *Accounting*, *Organizations* and *Society* 16, 7: 673–92.

Chapter 7 draws on aspects of a number of the papers cited above, including the papers given at the University of Turku, the University of Stockholm, the University of Salzburg and the University of Jyväskylä in 1996 and 1997. It also incorporates arguments made in a paper delivered to The Future of Forensic Psychiatry, 23rd Cropwood Round Table Conference, University of Cambridge Institute of Criminology, March 1997 and an invited keynote address to Sainsbury Centre for Mental Health Summer School, Oxford University, July 1997. I developed some of these ideas further in a paper on law and control given to the research Institute for Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Sydney in April 1998, and in discussions with Stuart Scheingold and Jonathon Simon, and the other participants in a workshop on legal pluralism at the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies at the University of Washington in May 1998.

In my conclusion, I develop some thoughts from a symposium on new forms of governance, held at the University of Toronto in October 1996, and a seminar of the *History of the Present* Research Network, held in London in February 1997.

Thanks to the following for inviting me to give the presentations on which the book is based and for discussions and hospitality: Ruth Benschop, Trudy Dehue, Risto Eräsaari, Richard Ericson, Herbert Gottweiss, Sakari Hänninen, Kenneth Hultqvist, Patrick Joyce, Osmo Kivinnen, Paul Patton, Risto Rinne, Austin Sarat, Stuart Scheingold, Susan Silbey, Russell Smandych, Mariana Valverde and Robert van Krieken.

Thanks to Catherine Max, my original editor at Cambridge, for encouraging me to write this book, to Elizabeth Howard for seeing it through production and to Karen Anderson Howes for meticulous attention to the text which greatly improved the final product.

The ideas I present in this book have been worked out in collaboration with many others. My original work on 'governmentality' was undertaken in close collaboration with Peter Miller, and my ways of thinking about these issues are the outcome of that collective endeavour.

Acknowledgements

Over the years I have discussed these ideas with many members of the *History of the Present* Research Network, in our seminars in London and meetings elsewhere since 1989. I am truly grateful to my co-workers for this rare extended experience of supportive, critical and committed intellectual work on our present. However, I must stress that, whilst many of my ideas come out of this collective work, this book is in no sense a statement of a collective position. I am glad to say that, whilst there is a kind of thought community mobilized by shared dissatisfactions, and curiosities, there is no governmentality 'school'.

Special thanks to Andrew Barry, Vikki Bell, Graham Burchell, Barbara Cruikshank, Mitchell Dean, Barry Hindess, David Owen, Jonathon Simon, Kevin Stenson, Grahame Thompson and William Walters for sharing thoughts and papers with me. Thanks also to all my past and present graduate students for continually forcing me to think, in particular to Lisa Blackman and Martha Michaelidou for making me more aware of the role of popular discourses in governing – an issue I have touched on too rarely in what follows; to Karen Baistow for illuminating the role of behavioural techniques and problems of empowerment; and to Nick Thoburn for helping me understand something of the work of Gilles Deleuze.

In particular, I would like to express my appreciation for the friendship and critical support that I have enjoyed from Barry Hindess, Thomas Osborne, Pat O'Malley, Peter Miller and Mariana Valverde over may years, and especially to Tom and Mariana for their generous and insightful comments on the first draft of this book: this work would have been lonelier and poorer without their comradeship.