

Social and Political Rationalities of ‘Lean Policy’

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Introduction

In mid-1990s the Canadian criminal justice policy makers found themselves in a difficult position regarding the sharp growth in the offender population nationwide. The Minister of Finance indicated that the budget allocated for corrections is insufficient to cope with the growing number of inmates. Adding to this problem, the Ministry of Solicitor General predicted that by 2004, under the then sentencing laws; Canada’s inmate population will grow 50 percent.¹

This prediction coupled with budgetary restraints encouraged the Department of Justice to design a strategic plan to reduce traditional incarceration rate by embracing an alternative – community corrections programs. First, this policy was a response to the evolving fiscal conservatism and lean production policies of 1990s. Second, it was also an attempt to rehabilitate and correct low-risk offenders in partnership with community supervision. The latter relies on a new form of “social”² as a technology of neo-liberal governance to enhance the community responsibility in the administration of justice as a preventive measure and a rehabilitative model; and the former focuses on waste reduction and efficiency as tenets of lean production in the administration of the criminal justice.

The shift from traditional incarceration to boarder community corrections programs for low-risk offenders was part of a larger lean policy scheme that took effect

in 1980s and 90s focused on spending reductions and responsiblizing individuals – an integral part of neo-liberal governance. The lean production scheme emerged after twenty-five year period in economic growth, following the Second World War, which provided support for government spending on social programs within the broad welfare state policies until late 1970s.³

This study attempts to locate the social, political and economic rationalities of lean policy through combining lean production literature and a Foucaultian governmentality analysis. Further, it will connect the institutionalization of community corrections to wider neo-liberal lean production policies as the market based model for constructing responsible subjects by focusing on “neo-liberal governance” and its internal principle of “maximum economy” that has normalized the market conditions of lean production as a model for reconfiguring the conduct of “population.”

Connecting Governmentality and Lean Production

There is no doubt that the market as a reality and political economy as a theory of this reality have played important role in the operational logic of liberal governance and the advancement of its critique.⁴ Within the governmentalized state framework, Foucault uncover that “maximum economy” is the internal logic of liberal capitalist political economy, and political economy is the technical instrumental knowledge of the governmentalized liberal state. The apparatus of security as the visible machinery of the liberal societies and the population is the subject and the object of government. As the instrumental knowledge of the governmentalized state, and the internal principle of maximum economy – lean production is the development of liberal government; because,

while it provides the neo-liberal government to manage the market economy, it generates a set of conditions to keep “government” in check by probing into the limits of governance. In this context, liberal governance:

...resonates with the principle: one always governs too much – or, at any rate one always must suspect that one governs too much. Governmentality should inquire not just as to the best (or least costly) means of achieving its effects but also concerning the possibility and even the lawfulness of its scheme for achieving its effects.⁵

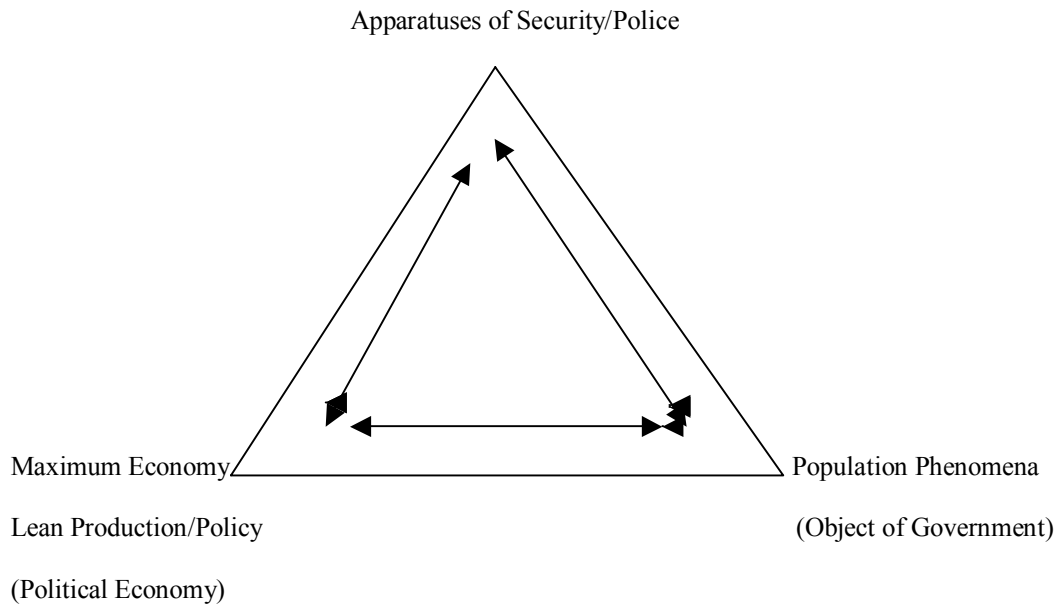
This quizzical attitude within liberal governmental practices questions the reasons and boundaries of governance by asking: how much is too much or too little to govern? What are the least costly ways of governance, and why to govern? These set of questions expose liberal governmental practices to critique and to the justification of rule. Within the liberal rationalities of rule, we find two concurrent practices. One is a regulative practice, and, the other is regulated while it also regulates. An instance of these concurrent practices within liberalism is that the market regulates governmental activities or the governments regulate market economic activities and by doing so each regulate or reconfigure itself.

The operational logic of liberal governance in relation to lean production policies can be understood from a Foucaultian governmentality perspective by drawing upon a triangular relationship among the “population” as the object and the subject of government, “political economy” as the technique and knowledge base for governing the population and “security apparatuses” as the machinery of control over the population.⁶ Thus, liberal governance operates under the conditions of governmentalized state by

concerning itself with the health, wealth, security and the management of the population with the knowledge base in political economy and the technical expertise of the police as the apparatus of security. Foucault outlines the periodization and the characteristics of what he calls the “history of governmentality” or the “art of government” by problematizing the state in two ways. First, the perception that the state is “...immediate, affective, and tragic, is the lyricism of the cold monster we see confronting us.”⁷ The second view is a reductionist understanding of the state, according to Foucault, this view reduces the state to “...the development of productive forces and the reproduction of the relations of production.”⁸

While Foucault criticizes the reductionist view of the state, he develops his analysis of governmentality from this “reductionist approach;”⁹ because governmentality, he claims is an approach that maintains the location of power – rule is not solely vested within a singular body, as has been perceived to be the state; rather it is dispersed among the apparatuses of the state (government) and other non governmental bodies. Second, he criticizes the reductionist approach on the account that the development of the state cannot be reduced to the history of the “productive forces and the reproduction of the relations of production.”¹⁰ In this, on one hand he disapproves of Marx’s understanding of the state, and on the other hand, it helps Foucault to claim that in the governmentalized state power relations, truth claims and knowledges are generated by various apparatuses of government to normalize rule – power through a range of disciplinary practices and technologies of internalization. Thus, the “state of government” is “...grounded in its population, [...] and has resort to the instrumentality of economic knowledge, would correspond to a society controlled by apparatus of security.”¹¹

Diagram 1: The Operational Logic of Liberal Governance



The above triangle¹² shows the logic that the liberal governance operates on the grounds of apparatuses of security – agency, political economy – instrumental knowledge, and population – object and subject of government. Our analysis of the lean production of government (state) is centred and starts on the left side of this operational triangle. We have started with the instrumental knowledge of government – political economy – because the concern and the focus of lean production has been on the ways in which the principle of maximum economy within the instrumental knowledge of neo-liberal government shapes and configures social policy, reformulates the subject (population) in conjunction with its security apparatuses. This claim should not be understood as that the principle of maximum economy within political economy is a dominant and an only source of reconfiguration of the subject. Rather in this instance the

principle of maximum economy – lean production has made possible reconfiguring and reshaping the ways in which the population conduct their day-to-day lives.

This governmental framework does not claim that there is a hierarchy; and a fixed source of policy in liberal societies situated within the principle of maximum economy; rather it shows the relationship between the three pillars of liberal governance which are principally connected to each other in generating practices of governance. Each creates a space or restrains the other; thus, none of these three pillars has the autonomy or the independence in deciding how much is too much or too little to govern, the least costly ways of governance, what to govern, the possible ways in which one can question the lawfulness of specific areas of governance and why to govern. Precisely, the three have an intersubjective relationship.

Thus, governmental practices in this context are not top-down processes, rather they emerge under complex conditions, which could materialize within any of the pillars: “security apparatuses,” “political economy” and, or “population” which bind the society together. This indicates a complex web of internal and external relation between the governing bodies and the governed;¹³ it denotes the governed also influence governance by constraining upon its rules and practices, thus the governed also govern in some way.

The social – society in this context, is dispersed into groups, communities and localities. The actuarial concept of “population” presupposes aggregates sorted out by statistical knowledge and accounting. The social cohesion is much ruptured and divided along different aggregates such as class, gender, ethnicity, race and religion; laws, regulations, security codes and market – consumer norms, only bind them. The aggregate, “population” is far less defined in terms of traditional conception of

membership – citizenship - and their day-to-day activities are far more preoccupied with the economic maximization.

The liberal governments have internalized maximum economy as “a method of rationalizing the exercise of government, a rationalization that obeys – and this is its specificity – the internal rule of maximum economy.”¹⁴ Guided by the internal rule of maximum economy, the population has been an object the subject of the liberal government since the 19th century by attending to its problems on the “health, birthrate, sanitation, justice, wealth [resource distribution – emphasis added].”¹⁵ While liberalism attends to the problem of the population, on its principle of maximum economy and cost-reduction, it “breaks with that ‘reasons of the state’ which, since the end of the nineteenth century, had sought, in the existence and strengthening of the state, the end capable both of justifying a growing governmentality of regulating its development.”¹⁶

This break not to be observed as a binary opposition within liberal practices of government, but to be examined as that the principle of maximization is engaged in the regulation, deregulation, efficiency and cost-benefit analysis of liberal governance. The lean production that has developed out of the principle of maximum economy is the manifestation of the advancement of liberal governance. This mode of analysis helps us to put into perspective the shift towards lean production of the community corrections, which first started with the restructuring of the welfare state system.

A number of social policy scholars have characterized the lean production orientation an assault on the welfare state. It started with the “New Right”¹⁷ and the neo-liberal policies of restructuring the welfare system that emerged in late 1970s and 1980s in Australia, Britain, Canada, the United States and elsewhere in Europe.¹⁸ The lean

production policies provided for the materialization of “lean government,”¹⁹ which is concerned with efficiency, cost-reduction, elimination of waste, commodification of “need,” individual and community responsabilization in the government of the “self” and the “other.”

Early in 1970s “the auspices of social control within liberal welfare states were jolted by the successful assaults of diverse neo-liberal, public choice, free market, neo-conservative political programmes.”²⁰ This was intensified in 1980s, during the Thatcher and Regan years, the New Right played a significant role by questioning the rationale of “need,” the key principle of welfare state, on both economic and ideological grounds. They argued that the growing costs of the welfare programs were sustainable in the long term and hazardous to private wealth creation.²¹

This new perspective was not only an attempt to legitimize the least costly means of governing the welfare state system; it was also a reappraisal of the concept of “need” and Keynesian mass production model. This reassessment brought two key changes: the commodification of welfare programs and the costing of “need” as a redefinition of “need” in order to exclude sections of the population from welfare provision. The commodification of the welfare programs led the conservative and later the neo-liberal governments “to roll back social welfare provisions, cut taxation, cut back state functions, privatize and corporatize public services, revise taxation schemes.”²²

Rose provides that the restructuring of the welfare state was an active plan to construct active citizenship, and that this underpins contemporary governmental forms regardless of political spectrum or political ideology.²³ This is the characteristic of “advanced liberal” societies in which the techniques of government are conducted

through the promotion of individual responsibility. By leaving the individual to take charge of their health and well being, lean production policy governs the population on the basis of disciplinary measures. This requires active citizen participation in his or her community. Further, the neo-liberal practices engaged in the construction of a type of autonomy and choice making different from our traditional conception of autonomy. This observation signifies the emergence of new techniques for shaping the conduct of individuals through their freedoms “as consumers of goods, as subjects of therapeutic practices of organizing the autonomous self, as political actors who demand to be governed as autonomous agents.”²⁴

This type of autonomy is not possible through a linear relationship between the citizen and the government. Rather, autonomy is now assessed in terms of “active” membership in particular communities, which said to have been constructed locally, which enable autonomy as an intersubjective transparency, self-presence and self-reliance. The concept of active membership connects the individual independence and self-reliance. These communities are, however, reinventing their relations based on specific kind of knowledge which is “injected into the deliberations of authority” knowledge created by the experts of community operating from within the apparently political discourses of communitarian civil society and third sector.

Sears points out that the restructuring of the welfare system effectively took place in Canada late in 1980s and 1990s. Accordingly, the reorganization of the welfare state produced a new governmental framework: “lean production of the government.” This change motivated by increasing evidence of the inefficiency of large-scale public services and the low impact of such provision on both need and inequality.²⁵ The welfare state

model was confronted by a type of social policy that was looking for legitimation not through a mass solidarity that the Keynesian production model was striving to achieve; rather its principle rationality was the reduction of spending and the elimination of waste that acted as a subordinate support for improving economic competitiveness, responsabilizing individuals, maintaining public order and reducing crime rate.

The lean production studies have largely focused on labour relation, flexible worker, industry and welfare restructuring.²⁶ While Sears also follows this practice, he introduces a boarder investigative framework that maps a number of spheres that lean production has reshaped ranging from the formulation of a responsible subject and commodification of the body by defining the ways in which the lean state operates. He also proposes for a struggle against this production model.²⁷ His exploration of lean production combined with governmentality will provide a fruitful analysis of the lean policy phenomenon specifically in relation to the political economy of governmental policy analysis. In his account, lean production can be theorized into six central themes: “waste,” the “flexible worker,” “lean production methods, the “ethos of lean production,” “gender relation and lean imagery of the body” and “law and order agenda.”²⁸

The elimination of “waste” is central to the rationality of lean production. As Sears points out “Lean production is a set of management strategies to intensify work by eliminating waste.”²⁹ This set of management strategies attempt to download responsibility to the individual workers and move away from the Fordist mass production system that the broad welfare state established. The elimination of waste links three main strategies of lean policy together: flexible workforce, responsabilization and efficiency. The philosophy behind this strategy is “the elimination of various buffers built into mass

production system to protect it against breakdown in the whole interconnected process of production.”³⁰

The techniques of waste control in business operation and their analysis are linked to the mentality, practices and the lawfulness of business rules. Here the management asks: do we govern too little or too much? Can we govern more or less to eliminate waste? Do we govern efficiently, and why to govern? Thus the lean policy formulates specific plans to limit worker expectations regarding work security, work condition and wages. The attitude that generates these strategies is fundamentally linked to liberal quizzical approach, which is reflexive in its drive to maximize economy and reduce spending. It is important to keep in mind that the “waste” framework generates the process of commodification that trivializes “need” in favour of cost-benefit analysis. In this context, “need” gets attention only when maximum economy faces the danger of being sidelined by moral and normative programs.

Further the lean production of the state dominates the non – public sector by allowing “the state to use its own labour force as a model for new forms of industrial relations.”³¹ This has important implications for the flexible workforce; by attempting to get rid of “waste” the lean state uses various technologies such as electronic fingerprinting to identify social assistance recipients, electronic monitoring in correctional services to reduce costs, eliminate duplication and waste. The lean state does not only draw on cheaper labour but also on “pools of unpaid labour, such as domestic work by women.”³² For example, the introduction of volunteerism and philanthropy to the work infrastructure of state services has played an important role in the expansion of lean production approach. The rationale behind volunteerism is skill

building not only to improve the quality of the workforce, but also to foster company loyalty and appeal to boost morale, job satisfaction, productivity and attracting new employees.

The social policy of the lean state is to deregulate fulltime permanent worker by promoting flexible worker. The flexible worker in this context is temporary, seasonal, contract worker...etc. This worker category has fundamentally influenced the young workforce. For example, even those with a college degree compete for permanent and fulltime careers. They are left with fewer career choices and move from job to job or work multiple part time jobs for long time before they get offered a fulltime permanent position – this is called “flexibility.”³³ This new logic is enshrined in the decline of social safety net and commodifying “need” under the lean policy model.

The methods of lean production have reframed the welfare state from service to product. The rationale of policy decisions changed from moral, which assume the provision of service to the needy, to economic production model. This move involves traditional utilitarian vision that asks: what is for and what it contributes to? Does the society or the majority benefit from it? A cost-benefit analysis of lean policy asks: how much it costs? Do the benefits exceed the costs? These mentalities, attitudes and practices re-define public welfare as a market, and welfare provision as a commodity rather than service. The lean production policy is the by-product of the market philosophy and it is concerned with the costs of reproduction, contrary to the welfare state that under “social minima” provided the needy population with “certain standards of health, education and discipline, specified level of income and housing.”³⁴

The lean production ethos reproduces gender relations by redefining the body image as a cultural phenomenon and devaluing dependence. Sears argues that the idea of “self-reliance has been turned specifically against women, particularly those receiving social assistance.”³⁵ In this context, the lean ethos of body culture leaves individual woman with more responsibilities in taking care of her-self and body image. This highly amplifies women’s task to meet the expectation standards. It increases the burden of the single mothers specifically those women receiving social assistance. Thus, the ethos of the “lean image” of the body culture values the image of the fit body, and the lean body in this context becomes a commodity of culture and socialization.

While the ethos of the “lean people” focuses on a range of new moral regulations, the most relevant for the context of this analysis is the individual responsiblization. This form of ethos prioritizes the individual to “maintain her or himself at the peak levels of fitness and generally organize her or his life around lean principles, avoiding waste and dependence.”³⁶ Further, the ethos of the lean person “revolves around market discipline” where the agenda is to use the market as a “source of discipline rather than freedom.”³⁷ This is ironic, because on one hand lean production policy devalues dependence, promotes choice making and responsiblization, on the other hand, it limits freedom of choice by imposing market disciplines and consumerism. If the individual does not accept the type of freedom and choice making embraced by market consumerism; an individual will be both categorized deviant and find her-self or him-self constrained rather than freed. Thus, the self-reliance ethos of neo-liberalism is optimistically constructed as the carrier of freedom, autonomy and choice making. Only if an individual

embraces his or her responsibility and freedom of choice making through market disciplines, he or she has more freedom.

Table 1: The Operational Logic of Lean Production

Spheres of Intrusion and Activity	Production Goals	The Driving Principle	The Target, Object
Workforce, labor, public and private	Flexible worker, seasonal, contract...etc	Maximum economy is the driving force	The population is the target in its entirety
Welfare state	Commodification of services		
Body, image	Lean image, fit body, healthy		
The administration of criminal justice	Community corrections, restorative justice		
Ethics, ethos of the social structure	Responsibilization, active citizenship, taking care of oneself		

The Rationalities of Community Corrections

A governmental analysis of the rationalities of community corrections requires the application of the three pillars of the governmentalized state; it cannot be realized only by engaging in the mentalities and technologies of rule analysis, which most of the

governmental literature has taken as their point of study. It needs to focus on the triangular relationship between the three pillars of governmentality.

In our discussion we have argued that the institutionalization of community corrections has been triggered by the political economy of criminal justice management. “Community corrections” refers to two types of criminal sanctions, probation and parole. Although community corrections also include halfway houses and residential centres that have been in place in Canada for decades, it comprises other newly implemented programs for managing low-risk offenders serving their sentences in the community.³⁸ Under the autopsies of welfare state restructuring, Stenson views as a “retreat from universalism (of the mass production model) in favour of narrowly targeted policies could be seen as involving a criminalization of social policy, directed towards perceivably poor and crime-prone population and neighbourhoods.”³⁹

The increase in crime rate and budgetary concerns provided the Canadian the policy makers with two choices: “crime control and punishment” or combining “crime prevention, tough treatment of serious offenders and greater use of community sanctions for low-risk offenders.”⁴⁰ They chose the latter. This strategy aimed to achieve three goals. First, the least costly maintenance of corrections; second, stressing on the community partnership; and last, it claimed the humanization of corrections in comparison to the traditional lock-up corrections system.

This was to contain – reduce the increasing rate of the inmate population and the associated costs. In 1998, the Solicitor General of Canada, in the 128th Congress of Corrections in Detroit, put the costing concerns into perspective while comparing

traditional corrections system with the community corrections costs. He stated that in Canada, the traditional corrections system is expensive for our taxpayers to maintain, because “the average annual cost of keeping an offender in a federal penitentiary is \$50,000. This is compared to \$33,000 for community correctional services and \$9,000 for a paroled inmate. This figure rises to \$100,000 to keep a young offender in secure custody in the provincial system.”⁴¹ Promoting the new policy, Federal and Provincial corrections, and minister of justice issued a report titled *Corrections Population Growth* in which they made a number of recommendations for the new Sentencing Reform, Bill C-41. Among others, four of these recommendations are relevant to our purposes.

First “Incarceration should, in most cases, be used only when public safety so requires, and alternatives to incarceration should be sought if safe and more effective community sanctions are available.”⁴² The Criminal Justice Association of Canada proposed an amendment to the Corrections and Conditional Release Act on May 15 2004 that includes a suggestion for the implementation of more community programs for offenders in the community. Based on the Auditor General of Canada report, there are not enough programs for offenders in the community. Further, the proposal argues that many of the “release programs” are too overburdened and under-funded to function effectively.

Second, “Increase in the use of diversion programs. Used for juvenile offenders since the mid 1980s, diversion of low-risk adult offenders was permitted by changes to Criminal Code of Canada, effective September 1996”⁴³. In the 1997 Diversion Programs for Adult Report, Nuffield points out four policy implications of diversion programs, two of these implications are relevant to the subject of this discussion. First, diversion programs must target offenders who are truly at risk for deeper penetration into the

criminal justice system. Otherwise, net widening is the result with no cost savings. Second, despite the limited literature, the few programs that carefully selected low-risk groups for enhanced community-based services suggest that adult diversion programs can successfully divert offenders from prison.

While we did not find reports on the cost-saving of diversion programs in Canada, but for example, juvenile and adult diversion programs saved Ohio State half a million dollars compare to the traditional system that did not have diversion programs—with high recidivism rate. In Ohio the Extension Juvenile Diversion programs have reached more than 500 youth since 1986. Only three percent of the participants have been known to return to the juvenile court system compared to an average recidivism rate of 50% due to this decrease in recidivism.⁴⁴

The last two recommendations made in the *Corrections Population Growth* report are the ‘Release of Low-risk Offenders’ and finally the use of restorative justice approach that focuses on harm to victims and the community, and offender accountability, particularly for youthful and Aboriginal offenders.⁴⁵ These two recommendations suggest exploring the restorative justice approaches to focus on harm to victims and the community, and offender accountability; particularly for youth and Aboriginal offenders are well acknowledged in the criminological literature⁴⁶ as the primary purposes of the move toward community corrections. The coring is that the restorative justice approach may result in reverse harm to the community and the victims, similar to reverse discrimination in the affirmative action programs.

There has been much attention paid to this aspect of the criminal justice reform since early 1990s. However, the impact of lean policy—maximum economy on the

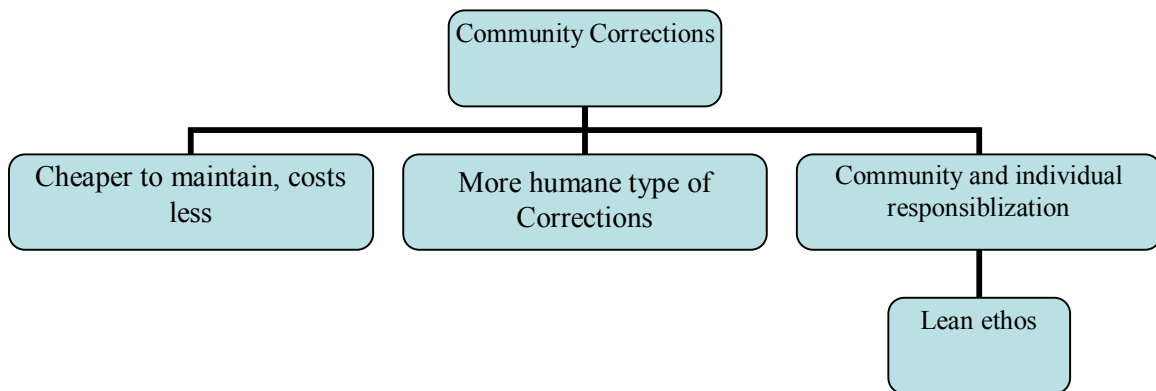
criminal justice system is the question that this paper attempts to tackle. The genesis of the lean production policy of criminal justice can be found in the neoclassical arguments on crime control and crime prevention. For example, in the mid-1960s, when crime rates were rising rapidly, in the United States, an appointed presidential commission called upon criminologists, sociologists and economists to the guide public officials on the possible appropriate recommendations. Neither the criminologists nor the sociologists' recommendations were perceived well enough to make the headlines; rather the economists' advice was more credible. They provided suggestions on the basis of the conventional neoclassical model which "Assume that offenders are responsible persons who respond to incentives just like people who engage more exclusively in legitimate activities; raise the cost of committing crimes by increasing the likelihood and severity of punishment, and the supply of crime committed should decline"⁴⁷.

Forst argues that this new neoclassical economic model can be seen insufficient on sociological ethical moral grounds;⁴⁸ however, we can clearly see that the lean production policy of crime prevention and community corrections is the development of this neoclassical approach. The neoclassical model is based on the economic costs of criminal behavior that attaches the lean policy to responsabilization of the individual offenders, and more sever punishment for the high-risk offenders. These approaches can be noted in the recommendations made for sentencing reform laws, as indicated above.

The following diagram sketches the social and political rationalities of community corrections from the perspective of governmental lean policy. It categorizes the three broad main aims of community corrections. While each goal of the lean production policy can be the subject of specific research projects, here we are concerned with

providing a theoretical framework to allow us to read community corrections in relation to the lean policy scheme regarding this corrections model.

Diagram 2: Community Corrections



What is community? The term “community” finds its roots in the communitarian political philosophy that could be traced back to Hegel. In the Hegelian approach “community” is a component of the nation-state in which the members are striving towards the fulfillment of the materiality of the history and their collective identity.⁴⁹ Tackling this question from a socio-political prospective, according to Walters the concept “community” with a communitarian roots in 1990s came back to fashion both in the United States and the United Kingdom as a “third way” approach between the state and “technocracy.”⁵⁰ In the context of community policing policy discourse, Stanson argues that ‘community’ “denotes the desire to foster close human links within troubled and fragmented populations, within alienating and fragmented bureaucracies and between bureaucratic agencies of collective security and external social groups.”⁵¹ Further, he

indicates “community” is also a rhetorical solidarity device that assumes cohesion and the sense of bondedness or social cohesion.

The concept “community” is elusive enough that an entire paper could tackle its meaning. However, for our purposes, the discussion of community corrections, “community” is a space outside the traditional penitentiary—prison, where the offenders serve their probation or conditional sentences. This space “community” could be halfway houses, residential centers for the released with conditional list of ‘dos and don’ts’ for the offenders defined by their probationary, parole officers or a judge.

More specifically, it is in these spaces that community corrections take place where offenders serve their sentences not in traditional provincial or federal penitentiaries. These sentences often include participation in programs that are designed to consider both the safety of the local residents as well as the treatment needs of the offender, which is also called alternative to prison. Sanctions developed within the community corrections are alternatives to sentences that remove the offender from his or her family, job, and neighborhood. One of the underlying themes of community corrections is that justice is an active process in which the offender must participate in this process.

The Correctional Services of Canada like any other governmental organization has priorities and strategies. One of their “primary goals is to balance incarceration and community-based corrections.”⁵² Accordingly, the goal is to increase the ration of community based corrections including the offenders on conditional release. One of the main reasons for this policy is that it costs the government much less resources for an offender to be placed in a community based program than the traditional penitentiary.

Thus, the supporters of community corrections draw their argument partially from the economic neoclassical approach to crime that is possible to responsabilize the individual offenders; and that the low-risk offenders can be valuable and contributing members of the community despite of their criminal conviction.

When the move towards community corrections was materializing in 1990s *Corrections Today* run articles and reports entitled the *Canadian Offenders Help those in Need*. For example, in Montreal, Clayton reports that “The offenders work with a network of community resource providers in the city, such as senior citizen homes, centers for those with disabilities and AIDS houses. They perform variety of tasks, including cleaning, maintenance and administrative work...They work a 30-40 hour week, and most are not paid.”⁵³⁵⁴

The issue is whether they are paid or paid less. It is the policy of these programs not to pay the offenders or pay them less than a regular employee gets paid for the same job. Moreover, while they work for no-pay or less pay, they also cost less money for the correctional services than those offenders who are locked up in a penitentiary. We have examined a number of reports of this kind, and it is interesting to note that none has mentioned the types of crimes those offenders have committed and the degree of the danger they may pose to the community in which they work.

In a similar promotional manner a report that is titled a *Canadian Officer Strives to Help Offenders Reenter the Community* gives an account of a probationary officer’s experience that humanizes the community corrections approach. The officer in question is Maxwell who has started a career in corrections in 1974, she is the executive director of a halfway house - Mission Institution – that helps the reintegration of the offenders

into the community, manages the temporary absences, facilitates cultural and social leisure groups for Lifers, New Horizon and Alcoholic Anonymous. The cultural and social leisure programs are mostly operated on volunteers from outside the facility to help the inmates develop social skills that most of them lack.⁵⁵ Both the leisure and the temporary absences programs are strategies to achieve lean policy production of criminal justice.

Responsibilization as a technology of lean production of community corrections is a practice that is anticipated to come from both the community and the individual offenders. This responsibilization process attempts to create a lean ethos that is rudimentary in sustaining the lean production of criminal justice system. The responsibilization technique attempts to reformulate the basic beliefs and practices of the individuals and groups. It endeavors to create self-dependency, relatively autonomous economic and financial monetary social orders by promoting that the individual should care for her or himself. Further, where a deeper observation is exercised, it becomes apparent that the shift, which has been defined as lean policy in this paper “like the economy and the sphere of social and other institutions of civil society, is a product of government, of political rationalities, programs, strategies and technologies of rule.”⁵⁶

The responsibilization process is supported by the localization of responsibilities – where “individuals, firms, organizations, localities, schools, parents, hospitals, housing estates must take on themselves – as ‘partners’ – a portion of the responsibility for resolving these issue – whether this be by permanent retraining for worker, or neighbourhood watch for the community.”⁵⁷ Roes argue that this move entails “responsibilization” and “autonomization” embedded in the rationalities and the

justifications of the new practices of the “advanced liberal democracies,” which we have interpreted as sharing the responsibilities in return for more autonomy and governance by less direct governance.

As indicated, the neoclassical economic approach for crime control and prevention is helpful to understand the move towards the lean policy in criminal justice. In the neoclassical model, punishment is the cost that a society attaches to an offender as a consequence for an offender committing a crime. The way corrections programs are developed and operated cannot be understood without social, economic and political contextualization. The current dominant correctional policy in the Canadian is community corrections. This can be clearly observed in the governmental economic and social policy trends that have made ample efforts to achieve the restructuring of correctional services towards community corrections actively since early 1990s as the tenet of the restructuring of the welfare state system.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I propose two recommendations. The first is a proposal to reconstitute governmentality by paying more attention to the political economy of the governmental programs. This enriches governmentality analysis and possibly will rescue it from the conservative tone that has taken recently. Second, the success of community corrections programs is largely measured by offender recidivism and the decline in crime rate; we need to reconsider the victims and the community interests.

A governmentality reading of the shift to the lean administration of criminal justice cannot be understood only by the analysis of mentalities of rule, rather we need to

reconnect governmentality to economic analysis as the internal principle that liberalism obeys. This attempt draws from Foucault's work on bio-politics and population and governmentality that introduce political economy - maximum economy, population phenomenon and security apparatuses as the hallmark of liberal rationalities of rule.⁵⁸ While this approach does not reject the current governmentality literature on the governance of crime, it is necessary to revisit Foucault and reconnect governmentality analysis to political economy not only in terms of mentality of rule, rather in an active fashion that provides substance and materiality to the analysis of government.

For example, Rose and Miller⁵⁹ reject that the shift from mass production welfare state can be understood and explained by the neo-Marist approach that sees economic analysis as useful ways to understand this shift. Their approach to the government of economic life is pays less attention to the ways in which the relations of production and reproductions can be a useful in the analysis of the government of economic life. As we have observed that political economy is one of the pillars of the governmentality, so we can claim that we do not need to focus all of our attention on the political economy of a project; rather political economy in the sense of relation of production and reproduction is a vital component of governmental analysis. While this paper does not take a neo-Marxist approach, it has demonstrated that political economy in the sense of relations of production and reproduction is not alien to governmental analysis.

We find it fruitful to reintroduce economic analysis as one of the main pillars of Foucault's governmental analysis; because it is fundamentality problematic, if the governmentality analysis does not consider the analysis of the principle of maximum economy while engaging in the programmatic analysis of governmental activities.

An overwhelming governmental literature has excluded the engagement with the political economy; rather focused on state agencies, communities, groups and neighborhoods as the decisive contributors to the crime preventions and community policing. We do not reject focusing on these entities in the analysis of governmental practices, rather as we have shown in the first diagram that “governance is an attempt to control or manage an object or a phenomenon”⁶⁰ fundamentally operates in relation to the principle of maximum economy and the population.

Thus there is a need to reconnect governmentality framework with its principle of maximum economy. Without re-embedding the principle of maximum economy into governmental analysis, governmentality framework will remain to be viewed as conservative approach that focuses only on the mentality of rule. O’Malley has made a genuine attempt to reconnect governmentality analysis to its genealogical roots to enable it to critique.⁶¹ There is also a need to reconnect governmentality with the principle of maximum economy that Foucault argued to be the internal rule that liberalism obeys.

Further, this paper is in agreement with the governmentality analysis that argues the “social” in traditional sense has declined, and that the state is no longer the central domineering power; rather its powers are more localized and dispersed among various apparatuses of governments. In the administration of the criminal justice, there are various community corrections programs focus on the community’s role indicate the emergence of new type of “social.”

Second, it is important that the success or failure of community corrections programs to be observed not only with respect to offender recidivism; rather, we need to examine it in relation to victims’ interests and possible harms done to the community. For example,

conditional release and parole form key aspects of new community corrections programs, in which recidivism is not considered from a boarder perspective but from a readmission standpoint. According to Goff “In general, recidivism is the readmission, because of a violation, of an offender to an institution.”⁶²

This standard should be questioned, because recidivism is the point when a re-offender who has a prior criminal record commits a crime. The problem starts right here, when the police are unable to identify a re-offence thereby unable to measure recidivism, thus the success or failure cannot be assessed. It is important to measure the community corrections programs in terms of various relational proximities of the released offender to the community that he/she associates with, the victim and those who come into contact with him/her.

In the Solicitor General *Correctional and Conditional Release* report issued in December 2003, it has clearly indicated that crime rates have decreased since 1991⁶³. According to the statistics shown in the report, the overall crime rate has drastically decreased since late 1990s, specifically, after more measures were taken towards community corrections. The decrease in crime rates is the justification for success of the community corrections programs argued by the Solicitor General. We partly accept this justification, because we believe that it necessary to assess the success of community corrections programs in relations to explicit discussion of the victims and local’s satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the community programs.

Endnotes

¹ David Daubney, “Striking a Balance: A Strategy to Encourage Community Corrections in Canada,” *Corrections Today* 46/February (2002).

² The traditional notion of the ‘social’ in the governmentality literature is viewed to be on the verge of decline or already diminished.

³ Alan Sears, “The ‘Lean’ State and Capitalist Restructuring,” *Studies in Political Economy*, Summer (1999).

⁴ Michel Foucault, “The Birth of Biopolitics” in Paul Rabinow (eds.), *Ethics: Truth and Subjectivity, Essential Works of Foucault, Volume 1* (New York: The New Press, 1994), pp. 73-79.

⁵ Ibid, p. 74. Foucault does not use “neo-liberalism” however; this usage of neo-liberalism is the descendant of the liberal political philosophy that Foucault points out.

⁶ Michel Foucault, “Governmentality,” in Paul Rabinow (eds.), *Power: Essential Works of Foucault, Volume 3* (New York: The New Press, 2000), pp. 201-222.

⁷ Ibid, p. 220.

⁸ Ibid, p. 220.

⁹ Ibid, p. 220. Reductionist approach, in this context, is the explanation of the phenomena of governmentality by examining the process of governmentalization at the lower or basic level. It does not mean over simplification; rather it is an approach to analyze the complex governmentalization process at multiple levels with attention is given to the multiple sources of power and control over the population.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 220.

¹¹ Ibid, p. 221.

¹² Unfortunately Foucault did not pay much attention to the political economy which he recognized as the instrumental knowledge of the governmentalized state. Rather he focused much of his work on the ways in which governmental institutions chiefly the apparatuses of security used a number of approaches to govern the population. Thus, most of his research was centered on normalization and internalization of truth claims in the governance of the population. This paper attempts to reconnect political economy to governmentality analysis, which Foucault initiated but did not provide a thorough analysis for it.

¹³ Michel Foucault, “The Birth of Biopolitics,” . . . , p. 74.

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 74.

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 74.

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 74.

¹⁷ Regardless of their political platform on certain issues, the conservative political parties are bound by the constitutional programs of the government. Most of the constitutions in the west are liberal democratic, which utterly have liberal philosophical grounding such as: freedom of expression, mobility rights, tolerance towards race, religions, sexual practice, gender rights...etc. These practices are fundamentally liberal values. Thus, our reference to “New Right” only means conservative political parties of Regan and Thatcher and others. For example, it was under the Mulroney conservative government that free trade with the United States was signed in late 1980s. Free Trade with the U.S. has been on liberal platform for sometime. Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier favored the freed trade with the U.S., the conservatives used it against him and it caused him lose the 1912 election.

¹⁸ John Clark and Janet E. Newman, *The Managerial State: Power, Politics and Ideology in the Remaking of Social Welfare* (London: Sage, 1997); Nicholas Deakin, *The Politics of Welfare* (London: Methuen Press, 1987); Nicholas Deakin and Robert Page, *The Costs of Welfare* (London: Avebury, 1993); Michael Lavalette and Alan Pratt (eds.), *Social Policy: A Conceptual and Theoretical Introduction* (London: Sage, 2002); Alan Sears, “The ‘Lean’ State and Capitalist Restructuring,” *Studies in Political Economy*, Summer (1999), pp. 91-113; George Pavlich, “Transforming Images: Society, Law and Critique” in Gary Wickham and George Pavlich (eds.), *Rethinking Law, Society and Governance* (Organ: Hart Publishing, 2001).

¹⁹ This paper recognizes that the term “lean government” is more useful than “lean state” in the context of recent developments. However, the term “lean state” comes from traditional studies of the political economy that focus on the state power in the determination and allocation of resources among the population: class, gender, race, ethnicity...etc as the units of analysis. We embrace, instead the term “lean government” because it is more compatible with recent developments and governmentality framework under which the state perceived to be decentered. While, some of the literature this paper has mobilized does not fall within governmentality framework, but deploys “lean state;” The lean production policies are under both models are based on the laissez-fair economic logic.

²⁰ George Pavlich, “Transforming Images: Society, Law and Critique,” in Gary Wickham and George Pavlich (eds.), *Rethinking Law, Society and Governance* (Organ: Hart Publishing, 2001), p. 2. Pavlich points out that the emergence of welfare restructuring programmes started in 1970s, which got much

attention during the Regan and Thatcher governments in 1980s led the restructuring of the welfare state system.

²¹ John Clarke, *The Managerial State: Power, Politics and Ideology in the Remaking of the Social Welfare* (London: Sage, 1997).

²² George Pavlich, "Transforming Images: Society, Law and . . .," p.2.

²³ Nikolas Rose, "Governing Advanced liberal Democracies," in Andrew Barry, Thomas Osborn and Nikolas Rose (eds.), *Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, Neo-liberalism, and Rationalities of Governance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

²⁴ Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

²⁵ Alan Sear, "The 'Lean' State and Capitalist. . .," pp. 91-113.

²⁶ Thomas A. Kochan, Russell D. Lansbury and John P. Macduffie (eds.), *After Lean Production: Evolving Employment Practices in the World Auto Industry* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1997); Stewart Clegg and Gill Palmer (eds.), *The Politics of Management Knowledge* (London: Sage, 1996); Bob Jessop, Klaus Nielsen, Hans Kastendiek and Ove K. Pederson (eds.), *The Politics of Flexibility: Restructuring State Industry in Britain, Germany and Scandinavia* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1991).

²⁷ Alan Sear, "The 'Lean' State and Capitalist. . .," pp. 91-113.

²⁸ Ibid, pp. 91-113.

²⁹ Ibid, p. 91.

³⁰ Ibid, p. 97.

³¹ Ibid, p. 101.

³² Ibid, p. 102.

³³ Ibid, p. 97.

³⁴ Ibid, p. 92.

³⁵ Ibid, p. 106.

³⁶ Ibid, pp.102-103.

³⁷ Ibid, p. 103.

³⁸ Joan Petersila (eds.), *Community Corrections: Probation, Parole and Intermediate Sanctions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

³⁹ Kevin Stenson, "Reconstructing the Government of Crime," in Gary Wickham and George Pavlich (eds.), *Rethinking Law, Society and Governance* (Organ: Hart Publishing, 2001), p. 94.

⁴⁰ David Daubney, "Striking a Balance. . .," p. 47.

⁴¹ Andy Scott, "Canada's Vision of Effective Corrections," *Corrections Today* 60/7 (1998), p.1.

⁴² David Daubney, "Striking Balance. . .," p. 47.

⁴³ Ibid, p. 47.

⁴⁴ Susan L. Clayton, L. "Canadian Offenders Help Those in Need," (1998),

http://proxy.library.Carleton.ca:7481/hww/results/results_single.jhtml?nn=61, p. 1.

See Cummings, Sue and Richard W. Clark (1993) "Juvenile Diversion Programs."

⁴⁵ David Daubney, "Striking Balance. . .," p. 47.

⁴⁶ Howard Zehr, "A Restorative Lens," in C. Boydell and I. Connidis (eds.), *The Canadian Criminal Justice System* (Canada: Rinehar and Wiston Press, 1988); Harry Blagg, "A Just Measure of Shame?: Aboriginal Youth and Conferencing Australia," *British Journal of Criminology* 37/4 (1970); Rober B. Cormier, "Restorative Justice: Directions and Principle – Developments," *Solicitor General Canada*, (2002)

<http://www.sgc.gc.ca>.

⁴⁷ Brian Forst, "Socio-Economics, Crime, and Justice," in Brian Forst (eds.), *The Socio-Economics of Crime and Justice* (New York: Sharp Press, 1993), p. 4.

⁴⁸ Ibid, at 4-7.

⁴⁹ George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel *Lectures on the Philosophy of History: Introduction, Reason in History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975); George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel *The Phenomenology of Spirit Reader: Critical and Interpretive Essays*, (New York: State University of New York Press, 1998).

⁵⁰ William Walters, "Governing Unemployment: Transforming the 'Social'" in Gary Wickham and George Pavlich (eds.), *Rethinking the Law, Society and Governance: Foucault's Bequest* (Oregon: Hart Publishing, 2001).

⁵¹ Kevin Stenson, "Community Policing as a Governmental Technology," *Economy and Society* 22/3 (1993), p. 1.

⁵² Brendan Reynolds "Innovative Alternatives: The Canadian Experience," in *Community Correction: Correctional Issues: American Correctional Association Staff* (Maryland: ACA Press, 1996), p. 82.

⁵³ Gregory L. Pickett, "Canadian Officer Strives to Help Offenders Reenter the Community," (1995), http://proxy.library.carleton.ca:17481/hww/results/results_single.jhtml?nn=68

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Kevin Stenson, "Reconstructing the Government..." p. 93.

⁵⁷ Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 175.

⁵⁸ Michel Foucault, "The Birth of Biopolitics" in Paul Rabinow (eds.), *Ethics: Truth and Subjectivity, Essential Works of Foucault, Volume 1* (New York: The New Press, 1994), pp. 73-79.; Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," in Paul Rabinow (eds.), *Power: Essential Works of Foucault, Volume 3* (New York: The New Press, 2000), pp. 201-222.

⁵⁹ Nikolas Rose and Peter Miller, "Governing Economic Life," *Economy and Society* 19/1 (1990), pp. 1-31.

⁶⁰ Alan Hunt and Gary Wickham, "Governance and its Principles," in Alan Hunt and Gary Wickham's *Foucault and the Law: Towards a Sociology of Law as Governance* (London: Pluto Press, 1994). 1994.

⁶¹ Pat O'Malley, Lorna Weir and Clifford Shearing, "Governmentality, Criticism, Politics," *Economy and Society* 26/4 (1997), pp. 501-517.

⁶² Colin Goff, *Criminal Justice in Canada* (Canada: Thompson Nelson, 2004); Karim Hasan Abdullah, *A Communicative Agonistic Theory of Governance*, (Carleton University: MA Thesis, 2002).

⁶³ Solicitor General Canada, "Correctional and Conditional Release Report," http://www.psepc-sppcc.gc.ca/publications/cprrections/Stats2003_pdf (2003).