

Policing Families and Controlling the Young

Kerry Carrington

In the school it is usually teachers, in the family it is usually parents, and in the public arena it is usually law enforcement agencies who police the behaviour of children. This article examines what happens to families when for a variety of reasons they fail to fulfil their civic duty to police their children in socially acceptable ways.

Forms of governmentality have shifted from being modelled on the family to being exercised through the family. This shift was made possible by the emergence of new techniques of regulation; techniques which have sought to reorganise the family in ways which strengthen and enhance the quality of the population.¹ This is what Donzelot means by the policing of families. He understands policing not 'in the limiting repressive sense we give the term today',² although it can be, but rather in a broader sense to mean the administration of family life through the institution and dispersion of new family forms (i.e. the child-centred nuclear family) and values (i.e. of hygiene and education) commensurate with social objectives (i.e. healthier armies and more productive workers to enhance the prosperity and wealth of colonial powers). Thus the policing of modern family life has been achieved by and large through mechanisms which enlist family members as the instruments of government and the willing participants of philanthropic reforms and social policies, and generally not on mechanisms requiring direct coercion or force. In particular the policing of families would not have been possible without the active participation of women as agents for the diffusion of new social norms about hygiene and modern child rearing practices.³

Donzelot argues that the family is the product of both voluntary association, but also the product of various new techniques of regulation (i.e. medical, legal and educative processes in particular) which have transformed the nature of modern family into something quite different to what it used to be. Most significantly the modern family is child centred.⁴ The point is that such transformations would not have been possible without the policing of families — the wedding of family values to social norms, such as the desire for better infant health, educational success and material prosperity. Its policing is

1. J. Donzelot, *The Policing of Families*, New York, 1979, pp. 6–8.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

3. Donzelot explains: 'In working-class and bourgeois strata alike — albeit by quite different means and with different results — women were the main point of support for all the actions that were directed toward a reformulation of family life. For example, the woman was chosen by the medical and teaching professions to work in partnership with them in order to disseminate their principles, to win adherence to new norms, with the home.' (*Ibid.*, p. xxii).

4. P. Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, New York, 1962.

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