

- **Introduction**
 - proliferation of the word "risk"
 - Google Ngram
 - visualisation from a large corpus of books
 - 5.2 million books scanned
 - proliferation of risks
 - instead of producing security impression of insecurity
 - where do I speak from?
 - historian
 - specialist of the history psychiatry in the 20th century
 - inside the humanities: strong interest to see how risks and which risks become public problems
 - how risks are constructed, prioritized and supported
 - historical approach
 - which functions the concept of "risk" had over time
 - EXAMPLE
 - what were its different meanings
 - EXAMPLE
 - Presentation Outline
 - History of the notion of risk
 - Notion of risk to manage the self
- **History of the concept of risk**
 - taking two examples
 - insurance
 - concept of "risk" appears in Modern Times
 - around the first reflections on insurances from the 14th century on
 - *rescum* Latin word (to cut)
 - sailors who venture into unknown waters
 - from the 17th century mathematical discoveries
 - formalize the calculation of the assessment of likely gains and potential losses
 - statistics
 - the word "statistics" comes from Staatskunde – science of government
 - in France *science morale*
 - it is a governmentality device
 - at this moment risk had neither a positive nor a negative meaning
 - In today everyday language the term 'risk' is understood as a synonym for danger or peril
 - in insurance the term designates (...) a specific mode of treatment of certain events capable of happening to a group of individuals
 - development of this discourse of insurance in a context of rising capitalism
 - internationalisation of the markets
 - predicting events in a globalised world
 - creating a rationality presented as outside of any moral judgement
 - its calculation is objective and scientific
 - put aside any cultural or socio-political definition
 - [English word "risk" appears only in the 19th century]

- at the basis for the construction of the welfare state
 - from the late 19th century on
 - such as the French law on workplace accidents in 1898
 - society as a whole bears the risks of industrialization
 - thereafter, especially after 1945 expansion of the pooling of risks associated with old age, incapacity, unemployment, illness ...
 - change in this area in the last twenty years
 - collective support → individualization of risk management
- epidemiology
 - experiencing significant development from the 1950s and 1960s
 - is part of a larger story that begins in the 18th century
 - people are classified as a "population" that needs intervention
 - therefore construction of a new knowledge about these populations developed by demographers, lawyers, sociologists, psychiatrists, statisticians ...
 - collecting data on aggregated populations begins with the first census
 - two important moments
 - from the 19th century on
 - locating geographic areas and social structures considered as "dangerous"
 - example: mapping the cholera
 - from that moment on, two ways to generate medical knowledge
 - experimental method on patients
 - diachronic analysis of population
 - from the 1960s on
 - especially with studies linking cigarettes to cancer
 - and vascular diseases
 - importance of cholesterol
 - development of the concept of "risk factors"
 - risk factors are correlational no longer causal
 - ==> Importance of individual behaviour and individual responsibility
 - each individual must work on himself to reduce these risk factors
- late 20th century
 - conceptualizing the dangers as "risk" has brought a new way of thinking
 - produced by men
 - potentially "controllable"
 - notion of risk is very future-oriented and faith that the future can be predicted
 - probability / statistics / risk justifies the actions we take today for the future
 - the formulation of the "risk" runs in parallel with the development of professional "experts of the truth"
 - reorientation of social policies more broadly, not only affects psychiatry
 - systematic risk prevention
 - cardiovascular diseases
 - cancers
 - Risk has become the new concept to explain negative events
 - replaced older models as sin
 - "Risk" has replaced "danger" because it was considered
 - more scientific

- less negative
 - "Dangerous classes" of the 19th century
 - based on social status
 - construction of a neoliberal subject
 - individual becomes manager of his self
 - risk management helps to make choices
 - action is no longer directed to the population as a whole but to the autonomous individual
- **The concept of risk to manage the "self"**
 - how the notion of "risk" arrived in "total institutions"
 - my examples come from where psychiatry and prison meet
 - context
 - Double criticism
 - criticism of the "total institution" (Goffman) - anti-psychiatry
 - prison, psychiatry
 - confinement
 - ==> get internees out of the institution
 - critique of psychiatric knowledge
 - which would not scientific
 - criticism is driven by the outside but also from inside the field
 - ==> important legitimacy crisis
 - risk
 - trying to answer the multiple doubts that become structural from 1960s by numbers
 - all risk programs are engaged in a process of producing fairly complex figures
 - standardization and objectification as devices to create transparency
 - and in prison
 - talk about the need to protect prisoners
 - risk discourse
 - willingness to re-legitimize the institution
 - by differentiation of penalties
 - as in other areas the concept of risk is experiencing significant diffusion from the 1980s in psychiatry
 - DSM-1968 II of the word did not appear at all
 - DSM-IV 1994 the word risk appears 154
 - replaces the concept of "dangerousness"
 - now called a "pseudoscientific construction"
 - dangerousness a term used primarily by forensic psychiatrists,
 - risk by several occupational groups involved in mental health
 - "Risk" implies new techniques
 - deviance from the norm
 - this deviation has now a particular legitimation because statistically proven
 - not established by confronting experts but through so-called consensus-meetings
 - the word has been "naturalized" ie it seems obvious today
 - few of the other speakers will probably question the notion of risk in their talks
 - risk management in prison: three new directions (Nikolas Rose)

- not a legal construct but administrative decision
- no binary distinction, but rather reflect a continuum
 - beyond "guilty" >< not guilty "interned"> <"not detained" or "dangerous"> <"not-dangerous"
 - Minimal risk → maximum risk → but still risk
- never completely stabilized → need for continuous monitoring and regularly updating
 - this control is not limited to the place of confinement
 - extension of the field of battle outside the walls into the community
 - never completely free because never completely risk-free
- change the function of psychiatry
 - no longer only a function of care
 - but an expertise
 - therefore psychiatry moves to prevention, a function that allows differential population management
 - management of individuals but not necessarily therapeutic intervention
 - rather prevention of crime than rehabilitation of a person
 - concept of risk is not located in the clinical language of diagnosis but in the language of the evaluation of probabilities
- psychiatric work changes
 - no longer a face to face encounter
 - discussion groups
 - a lot of new professions
 - wider evolution in psychiatry
 - still central for assessment but not necessarily for monitoring
- professional become responsible when releasing a prisoner
 - new way of writing
 - Construction of new devices for counting, for management
 - financially expensive
 - time consuming
 - ==> Price to pay to transform the risk figures; only a knowledge put into numbers is considered as a true knowledge
 - that enables the production of knowledge that is legitimate and that legitimize policies
 - acting such as that in the future the action is defensible in court but also to other experts
 - legal logic enters the normativity of medical practices
- **Conclusion**
 - creates the illusion of certainty in an uncertain world
 - the concept of probability is used to manage the individual
 - probability predicts how many people are dying but not who is dying
 - Statistics: a tool for managing populations but is used today to manage individuals
 - causal inversion by Beck
 - definition Beck: not-yet-occurred-vents motivates action '
 - past determine present → future determines present
 - reappearance of the notion of the "monster"
 - risk exists as such may not be completely banned
 - we are no longer in a therapeutic approach or rehabilitation
 - the aim is not to standardize but to manage this "risk"

- one who is in an inherently other category
- bibliography
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