



Police Order, Militarism, and “National Security”



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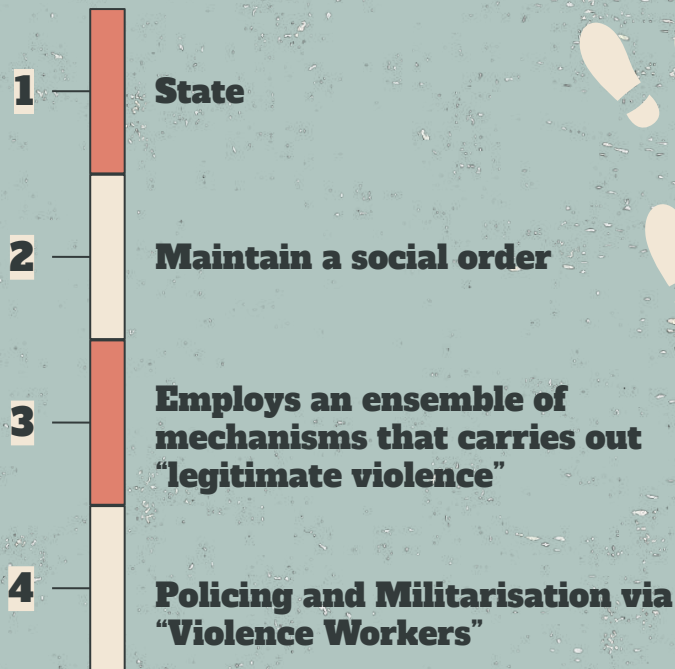
State & Violence Work

What is the relationship between the state, law, violence work, and people?





Conceptualisation of violence work



What is the State?

“Classically, the state is understood as a monopoly on violence, or the legitimate use of force over a given territory” (p. 409)

Why apply force?



State

Social Order

Mechanisms

Violence Work

What is this Social Order?



P. 414 - “the response to the current juncture is a transformational police that strategically exploits opportunities in order to wage a resistance against a **capitalist, white supremacist, and colonial system**”

Tahir implies:

The social order is informed by a capitalist, white supremacist, and colonial system

Who helps preserve this social order?

State	Social Order	Mechanisms	Violence Work
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Violence Work through the Police Order

“As violence work, policing exceeds the institution of the police” (p. 409)

Not just an institution by itself, but an
“**ensemble of mechanisms serving to preserve order**” (410)



State

Social Order

Mechanisms

Violence Work



Role of Violence Workers

Preserving Social Order

Regulation	Control	Punish	Manipulation	Privileges
Regulate our capacity to relate as communities, individuals, and political subjects (Think Biopower by Foucault)	Securitize sites, temporality, and bodies	Extension of the state to sanction groups/ individuals seen to violate “law and order”	Manipulate the visual field <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Racial profiling• Biased language	Demand and receive privileges

State

Social Order

Mechanisms

Violence Work

Anti-Blackness in Law

**Social Order: Capitalist, white supremacist,
and colonial system**

Stop & Frisk

Controversial police practice targeting and searching individuals in minority neighborhoods without probable cause.

Racial Profiling

Discriminatory law enforcement practice based on racial or ethnic characteristics rather than evidence

Disproportionate Violence

Systemic racism results in excessive force against black individuals.

Black Subjectivity: How do blacks construct their sense of self in social and political contexts shaped by racial oppression and violence?

State

Social Order

Mechanisms

Violence Work

02



Police & Military: “Inside” vs “Outside”

Sides of a Coin?

“There”/”Outside”

Militarised action

Against threats to
regional/global order

“Here”/”Inside”

Upholding law & order

Regulated violence (Police)

Protection against lawbreakers

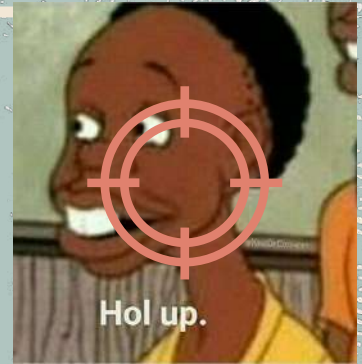
Justified violence

Police Order

Disproportionate violence against citizens

Persecution of minorities & ideological rivals

Entangled in constitutional & historical biases



Military Force

“Legit” enactors of state & political violence

Against “terrorists” & ideological rivals

Entangled in historical, social, cultural legacies



State, Force & Biopower

Velasquez-Potts: Control & torture of bodies to prevent political opposition

- On both “inside” & “outside”
- By both police & military

Foucault: Biopower

- Regulation of different populations by the state
- “Terrorists”, “Criminals”, “BLM Protesters”

“It is these moans, utterances, and gastric expulsions that reveal what the politics of care are really about in this carceral scene — the elimination of political opposition through the medicalized surveillance of the captive body.” (Tahir, p.413)



“Outside as “Inside”

Treating external states like internal territories

Exerting “right” to exert violence on outsiders as if they are internal citizens

Governing external with internal mandate



“Inside” as “Outside”

Treating state citizens like external threats

Homogenising internal resistance & external terrorism

Eg. BLM & Palestinians



**DIFFERENT PLACES,
SAME TACTICS**

BLM & PALESTINE



Discussion Questions

1. What kinds of social order do we see the Singapore Government trying to preserve? And how are they policed?
2. Concepts like ethnicity are deeply entangled with state policing and militarism. What other entanglements are there?
3. How do entanglements differ in a Singaporean context as opposed to somewhere else (eg. The US)?

03



Militarization & National Security

Why are our conceptions of
policing and security militarized?



 South China Morning Post



What is National Security?

- Anything, external or internal that threatens the state's dominance
- Conceptualised in a militaristic light with it extending not only to a nation's military activities, but those headed by civilians (e.g. Foreign policy)

National Security

Performed in the name of National security

- Suppressing local rioters
- Intelligence sharing agreements
- Military drills

Global consequences

- Results in the globalization of militarization
 - Increased global tensions
 - Proliferation of weapons globally





What are some national security threats?

01

Foreign powers

Activities by other foreign
militaries

02

Internal 'threats'

Communist movements ,
homosexuality in 1950s America

03

Social issues

Overpopulation and women's
fertility

Threat of women's fertility



- 1960s-1990s: Rapid increases in population size in developing countries
- Threatened economic stability of country and its existence
- Labelled as a national security issue and tackled with militarized approach

Consequences of militarized approach

Males highly involved

Men were primarily responsible for the crafting and execution of policies

Females targeted

Women of childbearing age primarily targeted

Women reduced to mere objects

Men left untouched despite their role in overpopulation

Female voices sidelined

Despite the policies targeting women, the opinions of women experts were sidelined

Little agency to influence decisions that impact them

1994 Cairo Conference



- Women advocates learned how to influence policy making
- Rights and concerns about women's bodies, health and education had to be respected
- Women were now active actors in designing policies that affected them
 - E.g. Socioeconomic, health, environmental policies
- Forced a paradigm shift in the population and development field

2 different paradigms

State centered security

- Militarized approach
- Interests of the state prioritized
- Treat people as pawns in securitization initiatives

Examples

- 'Population control', Military capabilities

Human centered security

- Humanitarian centered approach
- Needs of individuals prioritized
- Treat people as actors with rights

Examples

- Population as something to be developed/nurtured, tackling global warming, ensuring access to clean water

Which is a more valuable way to conceptualize security pursuits?

Takeaways

The framing of issues as threats to national security

- When issues are framed as a matter of national security:
 - Results in the exclusion and marginalization of women opinion/voices from the conversation
 - Leads to a militarized approach to the issue instead of a more human centered approach



Why are female voices excluded in national security conversations?

Who defines National Security?



- Enroe uses the International Studies Association (ISA) as an example of how women voices can influence the way national security is conceptualized
- Highlights the value that women voices/opinions play in national security conversations

ISA case study

Initially

ISA composed of mainly male political scientists and economists

Change

- More disciplines began to join
- Females in ISA began to advocate for other females to take part in ISA activities and conversations

Consequence

- Demasculinization of the ISA
- Female voices and opinions began to be heard and not marginalized
- ISA became “livelier, more open, more intellectually valuable” (p. 60)

Paradigm shift in understanding national security + international relations

Takeaways

Value of female voices

- Including female voices in the conversation provides a broader understanding of national security
- Allows us to better understand the gendered relations in national security and international politics that would otherwise have been missed

Femininity curiosity

Investigate and understand

Diverse women's relationship to:

- Men
- Nation/state
- To other women

Investigate and understand

Diverse men's relationship to:

- Different types of masculinity
 - How it affects women's lived experiences and the workings of politics

GOAL

To tap on these perspectives to envision a 'more realistic and less militarized understanding of what security means' (p. 62)



How can we employ feminist curiosity to embark on a demilitarized understanding of National Security?



04



Feminist curiosity towards National Security

Why are our conceptions of policing and security STILL militarized? Who are we missing out as a result?



**National
Security**

A Venn diagram consisting of two overlapping circles. The left circle is labeled 'National Security' and the right circle is labeled 'Masculinity'. The circles overlap in the center, creating a shared intersection area. The entire diagram is set against a light blue background with a white border.

**Masculin
- ity**

Who is best fit in this field?

National Security is a **serious** topic



Must be approached **rationally**

Not being emotional

- Able to confront unpleasant facts “**without blinking**” or show themselves to be “**soft**” (p.55)
- Ready to take **strong, decisive** and **threatening actions** (i.e wielding military might)

Who is best fit in this field?

National Security is a **serious** topic



Must be approached **rationally**



But the conceptions of ‘Rationality’
is **gendered**



1st Consequence: Exclusion of certain groups of people



Females

- Conventional understanding of **National Security** and **rationality**, which denigrated most forms of femininity
- Believed to be **prone to being “emotional”**, hence are not trusted to discuss on National Security
- Lack of female’s perspective on national security
 - E.g Militarized Wives & Military Wives

Military Wives: “No concern to national security?” “Naturally patriotic?”

**Heavily
socialised
and
controlled**



Compliant

- Sense of satisfaction and reward tied to governments and husband's expectations
- See themselves as genuine patriots if they do that
- Rewarded with social and economic gain too



Rebel

- Viewed as short of feminized marital ideal + threat to national security

1st Consequence: Exclusion of certain groups of people

Subordinated forms of Masculinity

- Conventional understanding of National Security **privileges** “manly” males and **marginalized** other sorts
- E.Gs. **Homosexuals**, Male **Refugees**, Male who **refuses** to pick up arms and fight for the country (p. 54)
- Perpetuates the dominant male voices and lose out on alternative understanding of National Security

2nd Consequence: Performing Masculinity

- Fueled by key player's anxieties and fear of being feminized
- Taking “hard stances” to curb their fear of losing their male credentials and shut out of future top-level discussions of national security
- E.g US president and Vietnam's war



US President and Vietnam's war



Context:

- President Johnson's decision to wage a war in Vietnam despite it being unwinnable and lacking public's support



Ellsberg's findings:

- Not due to his anti communist ideology or his electoral calculations
- But due to his fear of being feminized and losing his male credentials to see through a war

USA's 2003 invasion of Iraq



Why did Bush challenge the credibility of the highly masculinized UN team?

Context

- Bush administration made the to decision to invade Iraq due to concerns over WMDs
- UN inspectors had communicated that there was no evidence of this
 - UN team was highly masculinized consisting of males with technical expertise

Contest of masculinity and credibility

Perception of credibility

- Credibility is in the eyes of the beholder
- “Shaped by the workings of gender” (p. 65)

Negotiations seen as feminine

- American political culture valued shows of force
- Negotiations seen as ‘soft’, feminine, not in line with hegemonic masculinity

Leads to lost of credibility

- Inspector’s approach **failed to conform** to hegemonic masculinity
- Bush able to **discredit inspectors**, despite them being competent males
- Their opinions were **sidelined** in favor of military approach

Everyone is affected

Females

- Shut out of conversations
- Seen as less credible

'Subordinated' males

- Credibility is challenged

'Alpha' males

- Embodiment of hegemonic masculinity
- Forced to 'perform' masculinity or lose their seat at the table

Not just females! All are affected by our relationships with masculinity and femininity

Sweden's feminist approach to National Security (p.55)



Context

- “in early 2015, when Sweden’s new foreign minister, Margot Wallstrom, announced that Sweden would adopt a new, less militarized, approach to national security based on what she called a “feminist foreign policy””

Reactions: “Naive”, “Unrealistic”

Sweden's feminist approach to National Security (p.55)

- Strong political experience (>20 years of experience then)

1999-2004
Commissioner for Environment

1988-1991
Minister for Consumer Affairs, Women and Youth

1994-1996
Minister of Culture

1996-1998
Minister for Social Affairs

2004 -2010
first Vice-President of the European Commission

2010 -2012
UN Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict

2010- 2012
UN Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict

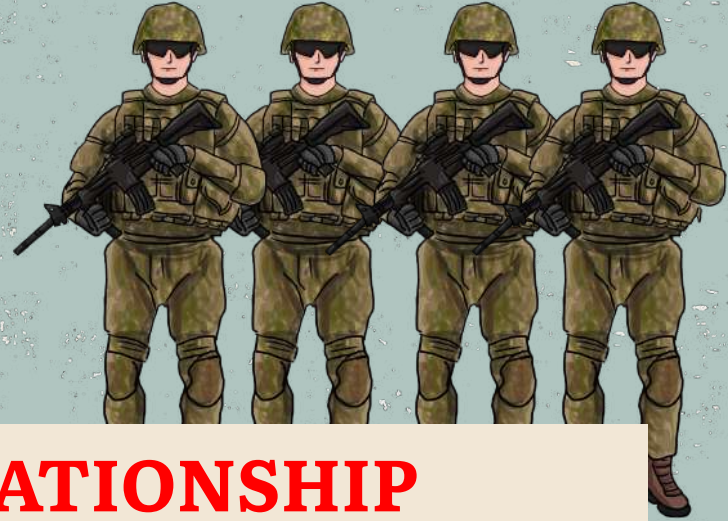
2014-2019
Swedish Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs

National security: Narrative 2

The Protected



The Protector



NATURAL RELATIONSHIP
It is a perpetual political assumption

National security: Narrative 2

The Protected



- Vulnerable + Not as smart i.e. not as “[strategic]” or as rational as the Protected)
- Feminised identity
- Natural habitat is the domestic sphere

The Protector



- Resourceful + Smart (i.e. rational and think strategically)
- Belongs to the sphere of life where they strategize

National security: Narrative 2

The Protected



- Vulnerable
i.e. not
as ratio
- Protect
- Feminis
- Natural
domest

The Protector



If they accept their role, protected can easily claim authority to speak for the Protected, and the Protected allows to be silenced

ful + Smart (i.e.
and think
ally)
to the sphere of
e they strategize



Thank You



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having diversity but is there actual transformation (tok

Discussion Questions

1. Do you think there is ever a chance for the understanding of national security to be demilitarized? If so, how the military into such an understanding?
2. Reading suggested that masculinity is associated with rationality? Is this necessarily true? (e.g. Hegemonic masculinity)
3. Does including females in conversations of national necessarily lead to be a more humanitarian approach to national security?