# Becoming Montenegrin: biopower, police reform and human rights

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The paper forms a Foucauldian analysis of police reforms in Montenegro. Drawing on interviews with police officers at all ranks in 2004, undertaken as reform was commencing, and on interviews undertaken in 2010, after Montenegro's independence, the paper explores the biopolitics of liberalisation. The paper aims to demonstrate norms of internal security liberalisation that operate beyond a legal understanding of state power. It illustrates the operation of a rule of police that produces norms conducive to the governance of a dynamic market state. It argues that the rule of police subsists within but also subverts the rule of law and the human rights approach to democratic development.

## Conclusion

A law enforcement institution that is competent to exercise biopower needs to be one that is aware of the utility of the humanitarian values of liberalism. It needs to be open to operating amongst an assemblage of policing agencies and civil society actors whose relational power is exercised at a distance for the betterment of a population. It requires an appreciation of the limits imposed by the rule of law and an understanding of the events which render these limits temporarily surmountable. The underlying strategy of liberal policing is that the police must not act on a society. It must act from a society. Policing needs to embed itself as a norm of that society. Ultimately, liberal internal security reform efforts aim for law enforcement officials to merely manage the freedom of a society which actively monitors itself. The emphasis on reform in the Balkans throughout the 1990s was on improving police internal and external relations, providing police with more up-do-date technology, educating police on the utility of the rule of law to state security imperatives and training police management on more cost effective methods of securing freedom. The argument in this paper is not to denigrate human rights or the rule of law. It is to suggest that the emphasis on the rule of law on police reform to a great extent overestimates its regulatory power. Human rights, this paper argues, is one of the many tools reached for by police when a specific job is to be accomplished. It is a method of defining limits, building legitimacy and trust, demonstrating compliance with international standards of professionalism and of gaining greater access to society. It is a part of the process of normalising police-community relations, which in post-conflict regions is a biopolitical prerogative.

In a state that is defined in terms of it being a multi-ethnic, multi-faith, politically divided entity, such as Montenegro, building a competent police force with a capacity to cooperate and share reliable information with international security agencies was accorded the highest priority. Democratic policing was constructed around modern national security institutions which improved the capacity of the state to gather knowledge, undertake planning, surveillance and intervene when reasonably necessary. Human rights were ostensibly embedded in new police discourse and outsourced to various state and non-state monitoring agencies established to make police accountable. These agencies have not shown that the rule of law which underwrites their power is potent enough to alter the deeply embedded national security prerogatives that animate Montenegro's accession to the EU. As a result, change has been technical rather than principled, focusing on everyday security in all areas of life rather than on the deepening of a democratic order. It is difficult to find evidence that reforms have enhanced the legitimacy of the Montenegrin police beyond its traditional support base. They have however made the Montenegrin police a far more disciplined and biopolitically competent security force.

# 'I'm a proud Israeli': Homonationalism, belonging and the insecurity of the Jewish-Israeli body national

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## Abstract

The section 'gay rights in Israel', part of the gaytlvguide.com website promoting gay life and culture in Israel, narrates Israel as '... one of the world's most progressive countries in terms of equality for sexual minorities... by far the most tolerant Middle Eastern country towards homosexuals'. The ways in which Israel has been positioning its spatio-cultural exceptionality and the rise in LGBT discourses of national inclusion in Israel and beyond has already been identified by Jasbir Puar as 'homonationalism'. This article, however, asks how. Namely, how do homonational discourses come to produce and hail queer populations as national loyal subjects? I suggest that, to better understand the hailing power of homonational discourses in Israel and beyond, theories of national-civilisational belonging, affect and interpellation must be reassessed and the insecurity at the heart of the national-civilisational edifice interrogated. To do so, the article draws on Lacanian psychoanalytical tools as I look into the Israel Defense Forces' (IDF's) approach towards LGBT recruits as well as the rise in LGBT campaigning on the political right.

**Keywords**: homonationalism; Israel/Palestine; LGBT; fantasy; interpellation
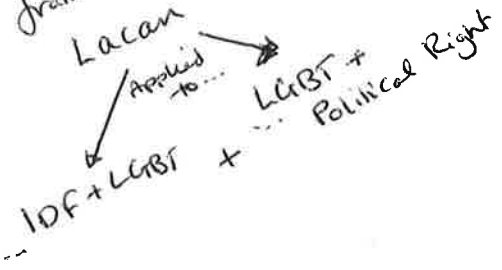
## Conclusion

This article has engaged with Puar's analytic of homonationalism through the Israel/Palestine case, demonstrating how a psychoanalytical reading of homonationalism can further elucidate how the national-civilisational narrative is able to appeal and hail its (queer) populations and thus how it further complements the Foucauldian framework of 'biopolitics' and Deleuzian 'assemblage' that Puar (2007) deploys. Focusing on changes in the IDF's approach to LGBT soldiers and officers and on the rise of LGBT awareness among the Israeli political right, I have suggested that homonationalism entails an affective power of interpellation, a radical libidinal investment (Laclau, 2006). By drawing on Lacanian psychoanalysis and discourse analysis, I have argued that national and civilisational narratives are powerful forms of affective belonging, since they offer an ambiguous, endless and failure-based utopian future (Edelman, 1998, 2004). In other words, they are fantasmatic (Edkins, 2003; Glynos and Howarth, 2007; Stavrakakis and Chrysoloras, 2006; Žižek, 2008). Therefore, fantasies always already include within their discursive coordinates their own failure, their explanation for why national congruency, fullness and security have not yet arrived. This is manifested in the obstacle, the Other 'blamed for the blocked identity' (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985, p. 125; Glynos and Howarth, 2007, p. 147).

In current homonational narratives in Israeli society, the Other has shifted. Today, the state and the Zionist national edifice offer Israeli Jews the ability to 'I'm a proud Israeli' 2018 Macmillan Publishers Ltd., part of Springer Nature. 1088-0763 Psychoanalysis, Culture & Society be 'Proud'. In other words, they offer a space to live one's life as openly gay and as a loyal nationalist – to celebrate gay culture and gay rights within and through the national prism and thus become part of the collective practices of enjoyment (e.g. serving in the IDF as a gay soldier/officer, supporting the rightwing ideology of settlement building). The threat, indeed the Enemy-Other, is no longer located in homosexuality as that which is disallowed by the state or society's symbolic order, but in that which wishes to hurt and destroy the State of Israel: the Palestinian/Arab/Muslim enemy. This is where we see introjection in action, the invocation of insecurity and a shared fate – what Freud (1921/ 2001) defined as the 'common quality' (p. 108) – that all Jewish-Israelis face. This is an interesting move since it further illustrates how national fantasies require a certain 'foreign' element, but not as that by which they produce their own identity – the known 'us vs. them' dichotomy – but as that which provides the conditions of possibility for the partial enjoyment of the national civilisational edifice through the queering of the Other.

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# The dance of militarisation: a feminist security studies take on 'the political'

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Intrigued about a political puzzle of militarisation, the argument presented here is built on three anchoring concepts that, combined, demonstrate what a feminist security studies take on 'the political' can offer: it involves a focus on the everyday as the site where the political puzzle is found; 'dance' is used as a methodological metaphor to explain what the political puzzle of militarisation is; and 'family' is the gendered analytical concept used to show how Remembrance events are normalising militarisation as the character of society. More specifically, the first section disentangles 'the political' theoretically by negotiating ontological tensions between 'emancipation' and poststructuralist epistemology. It ends with a poststructuralist feminist analytical focus on 'the political' as bodies in the everyday. The second section explores 'the political' methodologically through the idea of militarisation as a choreographed security practice in the mediatised every day. A nuanced way to explore the normalising process of militarisation is presented, conceptualised as dance due to the centrality of subtle movements, bodies and emotions. The third section illustrates the dance of militarisation empirically with an analysis of a choreographed political performance of a 2013 Remembrance event in the United Kingdom. Here, the notion of 'family' is used to unmake common sense and to make feminist sense of the hidden politics of militarisation. The article argues that feminist security studies 'enter' the political differently and, thus, performs critical security studies in a way that opens up a space to move beyond the dominant narrative of our discipline. It concludes with a call for letting our political puzzles, rather than the academic field, guide our research design as a way to ensure a more creative engagement with our disciplinary future.

**Keywords:** feminist security studies; militarisation; remembrance; militarism; everyday politics

My thinking about 'the political' starts with a personal puzzle: On 5 November, 2013 Sven-Göran Eriksson – the former coach of the England football team – is a guest on BBC One's Breakfast television show. Sven – as the Brits like to call him – is promoting his biography but the reason this brief moment caught my attention and subsequently sparked an interest in militarisation is, firstly, that Sven is, just like me, Swedish. We both come from a cultural background that in 2014 celebrated '200 years without war', that prides itself on its 'neutral', 'alliance-free' and peace-loving history no matter how questionable such statements are. Secondly, Eriksson is a football coach; a role that one would think has got nothing to do with the Armed Forces or even the study of global politics. But, the interview happens to take place during Remembrance Week and he is sitting on the BBC sofa wearing a poppy, the pin that is sold and bought as part of the Remembrance events in the UK. As a Swede, or perhaps

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# A feminist security studies take on 'the political'

With this article I hope to have shown how feminist security studies guides me to refigure 'the political' in critical security studies; how, and where, 'the political' informs security and vice-versa. In the introduction, I explained how a personal puzzle framed an interest in the political puzzle of militarisation. In the first section, I traced 'the political' theoretically by negotiating ontological tensions between poststructuralist theorising and emancipatory critical security studies on the one hand and between poststructuralism and emancipatory feminism on the other. I argued that feminist theorising opens up for an alternative way into security studies, based in an analytical focus on 'the political' as bodies in the everyday. In the second section, I presented a nuanced understanding of militarisation as a security practice in the mediatised everyday as an example of a feminist security studies take on 'the political'. I developed my thinking through the methodological metaphor of dance to explain the subtle process of militarisation. I argued that unless we pay attention to what is happening beyond the most visibly militarized context, beyond the display of weaponry, soldiers and armed forces, we will miss an important dimension to the logics of militarisation. We will miss how the dance of militarisation is performed. In the third section, I illustrated the dance of militarisation empirically with an analysis of a choreographed political performance of Remembrance. I used the notion of 'family' as an anchoring concept to unmake common sense and to make feminist sense of the hidden politics of militarisation.
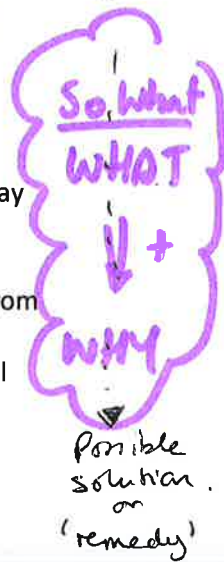
By asking feminist questions about political puzzles of bodies and 'security' in the everyday, by engaging with and destabilizing gendered power relations, feminist security studies 'enter' 'the political' differently. This is how feminist security studies performs critical security studies in a way that opens up a space to re-imagine 'the political' and to offer 'alternative security futures' and 'remedies', to use Mustapha's words. This is why it is crucial to keep not just adding a feminist perspective to security studies but to actually do and produce the discipline of security studies from a feminist perspective. Learning from feminist theorising by letting political puzzles guide the research design, rather than the academic field, we might ensure theoretical and methodological creativity in a way Critical Studies on Security 165 that leads to that the future of critical security studies is heading in new and exciting directions, beyond the limited mappings in Schools and theoretical perspectives, beyond the dominant narrative of our discipline.

## Notes
1. The Copenhagen School of critical security studies constitutes the second generation.
2. See Shepherd (2012, 2015), and Stern and Wibben's (2015) virtual collection in Security
Dialogue for more detailed overviews of 'feminist security studies' and how gender matter in global politics.
3. I use the Oxford English Dictionary as a reference to get at the popular, common, understandings of these terms.

**Original Article**

# Understanding receptivity to informal supportive cancer care in regional and rural Australia: a Heideggerian analysis

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**Understanding receptivity to informal supportive cancer care in regional and rural Australia: a Heideggerian analysis**

The concept of receptivity is a new way of understanding the personal and social factors that affect a person living with and beyond cancer, and how these factors influence access to formal supportive care service provision and planning. This article contributes to new knowledge through applying the concept of receptivity to informal supportive cancer care in regional Australia. Literature indicates that a cancer diagnosis is a life-changing experience, particularly in regional communities, where survival rates are lower and there are significant barriers to accessing services. Heideggerian phenomenology informed the design of the study and allowed for a rich and nuanced understanding of participants lived experiences of informal supportive cancer care. These experiences were captured using in-depth interviews, which were subsequently thematically analysed. Nineteen participants were recruited from across regional Victoria, Australia. Participants self-reported a range of stages and types of cancer. Significantly, findings revealed that most participants were not referred to, and did not seek, formal supportive care. Instead, they were receptive to informal supportive care. Understanding receptivity and the role of anxiety and fear of death has implications for partners, family, community members, as well as professionals working with people with living with and beyond cancer.

*Keywords:* supportive care, cancer, phenomenology, psychology, survivorhood.

## INTRODUCTION

A cancer diagnosis is a significant life-changing experience that affects physical and mental health (Pascal &

Endacott 2010; Butow *et al.* 2012; McGrath 2013). Anxiety, depression, grief and considerable distress commonly occur throughout the diagnostic and treatment phases. The emotional challenges persist post-diagnosis, and shape the future identity of those living with and beyond cancer (Little *et al.* 2002; Little & Sayers 2004). Sense of self and life priorities change, leading to existential and ethical dilemmas, including a heightened sense of meaning-making and questioning the purposes of one's existence (Pascal & Endacott 2010).

The empirical literature also documents the complex supportive care needs of people living with and beyond

World, or, conversely it can decrease openness, through increasing fear and turning vulnerability into helplessness.

At the core of this anxiety is the fear of non-existence, that is, the fear of death (Little & Sayers 2004). This fear is experienced by the person with the cancer diagnosis, but also by their friends and loved ones. Traditionally Western cultures do not openly discuss death, grief and loss. Although this is slowly changing, for people with cancer this remains a personal and social difficulty.

The concept of Being-towards-Death is an acceptance that death is an unavoidable and basic truth of human existence (Heidegger 1927/2000). Mortality awareness is not enough; one needs mortality salience (Little & Sayers 2004). Being-towards-death is a concept inclusive of any attitudes one might have about one's own death (Inwood 1999). The aphoristic truth that we all die one day is simplistic; that I will die, and with me all my relationships and possibilities is harder to bear. A cancer diagnosis is not sufficient to create an awareness of death; acceptance of the fact of death is difficult, but necessary (Pascal 2006). What is also needed is an understanding of the meaning of one's death. We acknowledge that Being-towards-death can be a frightening process, and not a destination in itself. Rather, it is a continuous, cyclic process of accepting both death, and one's fear of death. Given the complexity and ambiguity of how people come to terms with life before and after a cancer diagnosis, we suggest that Being-towards-Death could enhance receptivity to both give and receive informal support.

## CONCLUSION

The existing body of psychosocial cancer research literature highlights the life-changing and persistent unmet needs of people living with and beyond cancer. These unmet needs are exacerbated by rural and regional contexts with regard to structural and practical constraints (Drury & Inma 2009; Burris & Andrykowski 2010; White *et al.* 2011, 2012). The development of measures of QOL, and psychosocial practice guidelines, have not readily translated to implementation of psychosocial supportive care services (National Breast Cancer Centre & National Cancer Control Initiative 2003; Turnbull Macdonald *et al.* 2012), or comprehending what people with cancer actually want or need (Fann *et al.* 2012). McGrath's (2013, p. 46) concept of receptivity

goes beyond needs and guidelines, recommending a 'shift from the service-provider centric view of supportive care to one of consumer-centric reasons for engagement'.

Our findings concur with McGrath (2013), highlighting that most participants in our study were not referred to formal supportive care services, nor did they necessarily seek them out. This is partly accounted for due to geographic location and service constraints, as previously outlined. However, we also found that participants did not wish to avail themselves of formal support (should it have been offered or available), although they were sometimes receptive to informal supportive care. In part, this lack of receptivity to formal psychosocial supportive care was a desire to maintain a non-stigmatised 'normality'; and an identity-preserving independence, perhaps mixed with anxiety about Being-towards-Death. Understood in such complexity, professionals could benefit from seeing beyond such independence, to the anxiety and need beneath the surface. Rather, independence is not mere non-compliance, nor resistance, to psychosocial supportive care, but rather a desire to maintain a non-stigmatised identity. Understanding the psychosocial complexity of the individual, and their receptivity to supportive care, ensures 'useful and authentic insights about the dynamics of engagement' (McGrath 2013, p. 46).

Taken together, McGrath's (2013) concept of receptivity and Heidegger (1927/2000) theory make a valuable contribution to knowledge. McGrath (2013) cautions that naming the concept of receptivity is only a first step, and more research is required. Our contribution to this new area of knowledge is to use Heideggerian theory to explore the personal and social aspects of receptivity to informal psychosocial supportive care, thereby expanding the theoretical agenda. We conclude that receptivity to informal care, and alleviating unmet needs, could in part be achieved through acceptance of anxiety as a natural consequence of a cancer diagnosis and not a pathologised mental illness, nor a form of resistance. Embracing anxiety can assist the person with cancer, their family, friends and community to accept uncertainty and Being-towards-death as transformative and identity enhancing. Thus, a Heideggerian analysis can assist professionals to reframe narratives of 'denial', 'positivity', 'resistance' and 'non-compliance' as undisclosed vulnerability of people living with and beyond cancer.