1. Introductory notes:

Exploring blurring boundaries between the military and the police.

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In our contemporary, late modern society, several authors have pointed out the blurring boundaries between different actors within the control and security domain that includes such organisations as the administrative authorities, special inspection services, municipalities, the police, intelligence services, the army, private security services and non-governmental-organisations (see for example Bayley & Shearing, 2001; Bigo, 2005; Loader, 2002; Lutterbeck, 2005). The blurring military and police roles are just one piece of ‘the play’ in this ‘theatre’ called security. The increased importance of military-style police forces and the use of military-style technology and equipment, the deployment of police officers in peace and related stability operations and the military involvement in domestic issues (controlling the border in the USA, for example, or maintaining law and order in Canada and Italy) are just a few forms which such blurred boundaries can assume.

These ‘blurred boundaries’ are based on the assumption that some institutions adopt a larger amount of tasks, while the range of duties and tasks of others are shrinking. As a result, several tasks and activities are overlapping traditional boundaries and objectives. Simultaneously, agencies increase or decrease in importance. The blurring of boundaries can therefore be interpreted in two ways, as either complementary or competitive. The aim of this book is simply to further explore the blurring boundaries.
between the military and the police from different perspectives without having the pretension of being exhaustive in any way.

The idea for this book emerged from the working group on ‘blurring military and police roles’, active since 2008, within the European Research Group on Military and Society\(^1\). The complex relationship between the military and the police, and the observation that police researchers were and are quite often insulated from military researchers, were at the heart of this initiative. As in any discipline, these researchers have their own conferences and journals and most but not all of them remain safe and warm inside their own habitat. This comfort zone might be considered an outcome of some disciplinary institutionalisation. Still, there are important and urgent issues to be addressed by both professional groups. First, both represent institutional strongholds in a continuously changing society. While both institutions are still central components in the power structure of any state, the architecture of the security landscape is changing profoundly. Moreover, the relationship between the military and the police emerges on the today’s political and academic agenda, as these institutions face common security challenges as well as budgetary clampdowns.

The way this book project was realised is mainly the reason why there was no pre-set and guiding outline for the book at the start of this project. The editors gathered together contributions in order to explore some of the challenges and issues related to the blurring boundaries between the military and the police. As there are many interesting perspectives on this issue (historical, institutional, operational, …), the book reflects an at random compilation of these. In 2009 some of these papers were presented at the bi-annual conference of the Inter-University Seminar on Armed forces and Society in Chicago and/or at the conference of the European Research Group on the Military and Society in Stockholm.

As an appetiser for this book, we will now briefly outline its ten chapters. They are presented in two parts each consisting of five chapters and wrapped-up with some concluding reflections on the blurring boundaries between the military and the police.

\(^1\) [www.ergomas.ch](http://www.ergomas.ch)
The first part of this book sketches some of the current challenges related to the blurring boundaries. It offers conceptualisation and historical contextualisation of this process.

In Chapter 2 ‘Police and Military: two worlds apart? Current Challenges in the Process of Constabularisation of the Armed Forces and Militarisation of the Civilian Police’ Marleen Easton, professor at University College Ghent (Belgium), and René Moelker, associate professor at the Defence Academy of The Netherlands, sketch two main processes central to the blurring of military and police roles. In their opinion, the blurring of military and police roles generates new challenges for both institutions. On the one hand, the constabularisation of the armed forces renders the military more suitable for domestic security tasks. On the other hand, the capacity of police forces increases, and so does the use of military tactics, organisational concepts and equipment for operating successfully in violent environments. The tasks and functions of the two security organisations are increasingly overlapping and they seem to become collaborators in a merging security market.

This chapter focuses on the causes of the blurring of military and policing roles and examines the mechanisms that result in a certain convergence. Easton and Moelker put some of the current questions on the table such as: What are the societal, organisational and operational challenges that the two organisations are confronted with? Which operational problems is the military facing in deployments? Is there a paradox between community policing and military policing? Do we want the police to militarise or should the armed forces have a more distinct role in national domestic security? Should the military’s involvement in national security prevent a further militarisation of the police or should a further militarisation of the police stop an increasing military interest in public security? The objective of this chapter is to sketch and categorise some of the current challenges in the process of constabularisation of the armed forces and militarisation of the civilian police.

In Chapter 3 on ‘Blending through international deployment’, David Last, Associate Professor of Politics in the Royal Military College of Canada, addresses police and military roles in peacekeeping and stabilisation operations. Last argues that police, paramilitary and military functions have emerged historically to meet the needs of states, and the way in which they are blurring reflects the political economy of international
intervention within states. As forces have evolved towards an extraterritorial missionary mandate they begin to take on new combinations of roles that blend military and constabulary or policing roles. Last opens his chapter by exploring the etymology and comparative history of police and military functions, and then explores the blending of these roles through the application of military and police forces in the international community, first in the imperial era, then under United Nations Mandates, and finally in the current century’s coalition stabilisation operations. Imperial policing and coalition operations with limited consent tend to share more characteristics with coercive military and paramilitary operations, even when police are deployed with a mentoring and training role. Last concludes his chapter with observations about consent, legitimacy, and the public good.

In Chapter 4 on ‘Civilised Coercion, Militarised Law and Order: security in Colonial South Asia and the Blue in Green Global Order’ Beatrice Jauregui, research fellow at Emmanuel College at the University of Cambridge and visiting fellow at the Center for the Advanced Study of India at the University of Pennsylvania, adds a political anthropological perspective to the central topic of this book. Her assumption is that the police and the military have co-developed in both theory and practice as the primary institutional means of coercion providing security and order within and among states, as the nation-state has become the standard unit of governance. While an idealised distinction between these modes of security remains globally hegemonic, an historical philosophical analysis shows us that in fact, they are always already muddled. Moreover, the line allegedly distinguishing police and military institutions is not only ‘blurry’ but also manipulable. Jauregui demonstrates this first via discussion of the development in the West of a concept of ‘civilised’ security. Her analysis then proceeds to explain how this concept of civilised security—or, more to the point, civil forms of coercion—played out in practice in various European colonies, and specifically in the British Raj in South Asia. It observes how colonial administrators fought long and hard about how best to organise a police force that would somehow simultaneously resemble and be distinct from the military; and most importantly how a militarised security apparatus was legitimised by labelling it a civil police. The insights gained from this historical analysis of the co-development of police and military institutions in colonial South Asia are then
applied to contemporary issues of policing in India as well as problems of transnational policing and policing of ‘transitional democracies’ across the globe. Jauregui ultimately concludes that we must denaturalise and ‘historicise’ our assumptions about the moral ascendancy of ‘the civil’ discussions of providing security and order, especially with regard to state coercion.

In Chapter 5, Jelle Janssens, academic assistant at the Department of Criminal law and Criminology at Ghent University in Belgium, does not examine the nature of the blurring boundaries but questions why the boundaries between the military and the police are blurring and he analyses the underlying rationalities. As the provision of public security has generally been recognised as a key element in peace and related stability operations, the problem facing the international community is who is to be made responsible for that security during the transition towards a peaceful and stable society. When no effective or acceptable local security arrangements are in place (as was the case in, for example, Kosovo, Timor-Leste, Afghanistan and Iraq), the international community will be called upon to provide public security. In contemporary operations, numerous actors (such as the international civilian police, gendarmerie forces, private security companies, custom agents and the military) are involved in the provision of that security. Whereas each more or less has a well-defined role in their home countries, they are now summoned to be as flexible as possible. This flexibility is needed because contemporary peace operations address a broad range of security areas (such as border, police, defence, intelligence, prison and justice reform), but lack the sufficient number of qualified personnel to do it. Janssens’s contribution is dedicated to the blurring of boundaries between security providers in these operations. He answers the question why the boundaries are blurring and refers to rationalities tracing back to policy decisions, assumptions and ideological dogmas and to more pragmatic solutions to personnel shortages.

In Chapter 6 on ‘Striving for symmetry: Constabularisation, security and security complexes’ Michiel de Weger, researcher on ‘Policing by the Military’ at the Defence Academy in the Netherlands, seeks to answer why constabularisation has happened and whether it will continue. He does this by focusing on the relationship between changing security conditions and changing security organisations. Although much has been written
on the constabularisation of the military, little conceptual clarity has been created about the fundamental change taking place in Western defence forces. De Weger identifies six definitions of constabularisation and concludes in all of these that a transformation has indeed taken place. As constabularisation of the military tends to be a Western, recent and armed forces oriented concept, De Weger proposes a universal, timeless model which encompasses the entire national security complex, linking security changes and security organisations.

The second part of this book contains five chapters that cover the implications of blurring boundaries, and the challenges accompanying this process. These topics are illustrated by descriptions of cases.

In Chapter 7 Peter Neuteboom, Director of the National Staff to the Dutch Prosecutors Service, asks the question whether a constabulary force is a viable solution to close the security gap. The swift restoration and provision of public order and security in the early stages of a crisis management operation is crucial for its long-term success. Very often these operations are confronted with a deficit of international or indigenous police forces. Such deficit creates a security gap which can only be filled by international forces deployed in the mission area. Regularly, these forces are not trained and equipped to perform these police-like duties. The concept of constabulary force is often presented to be a viable solution to this problem. Although there is no agreed definition of a constabulary force, there are roughly three different models to discern. First there is the expeditionary force which is based upon Janowitz’ classic constabulary concept. A second model is the hybrid military which is a mixture of the police and military organisation. The third is the gendarmerie-based constabulary, a military force with a police background and expertise. Neuteboom raises the questions of whether these models offer a viable solution to the closure of security gaps, of which of the three models is the best alternative, and whether there should be a mixture of the three.

René Moelker, Netherlands Defence Academy, is adding a cultural touch to the central issue of this book with his contribution on ‘Cultures converging upon constabularisation’. In Chapter 8 he compares cultural differences between the police and the armed forces, but also the communalities are taken into account. His objective is to
determine whether the armed forces are hampered in their performance because the characteristics of soldiering have come to resemble police work more and more. He also questions whether they require a policing mind-set and likewise cultural make-up. According to Moelker, perhaps the two organisations can benefit from a more hybrid culture that encompasses elements of both cultures. In his opinion the parameter of proximity is decisive in the changes that pertain to the armed forces. In some cases the police need to be able to escalate its use of violence and adopt a more military approach. For Moelker, acquiring cultural competences will necessarily lead to changes in education and training.

Chapter 9 adds an organisational psychological analysis to the main theme of this book. Wendy Broesder, researcher at the Royal Netherlands Military Academy, Ad Vogelaar, professor at the Netherlands Defence Academy, Martin Euwema, professor at the University of Leuven, and Tessa op den Buijs, assistant professor at the Netherlands Defence Academy, present the peacekeeping warrior as a theoretical model.

After both world wars and the end of the Cold War the role of the military shifted significantly from ‘war operations’ towards ‘Operations Other Than War’ [OOTW]. The role of the military in these operations, here defined as the ‘peacekeeper role’, certainly differs from the traditional ‘warrior role’. After 9/11, the military role seems to have changed again. Especially in the USA, an ‘all soldiers should be warriors’ appeal and a ‘Warrior-Ethos’ have become the dominant military attitude. Contemporary missions, however, demonstrate the need for both warriors and peacekeepers. Not only do these roles demand different approaches and attitudes, they are, at least partly, contradictory and changing over time and through experience. Although research does support the idea that tensions may result from the combination of these two roles, the origins and consequences of these tensions have not yet been studied. In this chapter Broesder, Vogelaar, Euwema and Op den Buijs present a theoretical frame, the Peacekeeping Warrior Model. This model proposes (a) that role strain occurs when a soldier’s role identification differs from the tasks executed during deployment, or when the two roles or two types of tasks conflict; (b) that this role strain affects attitudinal, emotional and behavioural outcomes; (c) that unit characteristics, in particular cohesion and morale, moderate the relationship between role strain and individual outcomes.
In Chapter 10 Suzanne Huiberts, lecturer at the Netherlands Defence Academy, discusses police reform and ownership in Bosnia and Herzegovina by focusing on the concept of ownership. The European Union Police Mission, established in 2003, addresses the issues of local institution and capacity building, in which sustainability and local ownership are promoted. Imposed police reform measures are difficult to maintain if they are not supported by those affected. How to get people to accept reform and restructuring is a heavily debated issue and there exists a huge gap between rhetoric and practice, caused by the many difficulties that attend changes in any organisation, but particularly in organisations like the police. It is shown that the use of ownership as an instrument brings along three mutually reinforcing dilemmas: the intensity of international involvement, spoiler behaviour and local dependency and passivity. This chapter focuses on the role of these ownership dilemmas in the police restructuring process in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is argued that the urge to restructure the police was coming from international actors and it touched upon the most sensitive political debates in the country. Consequently, the promotion of ownership empowered those actors who pursued their own political interests that overshadowed the arguments of operational necessity, and slowed down the process. A breakthrough was only realised by strong international pressure and conditionality, which contradicts the philosophy of ownership.

In Chapter 11, Henk Sollie, researcher and lecturer at Twente University, describes experiences of the Dutch gendarmerie in 1989 as an illustration of police reform by the military in post-conflict states. Besides the aim of preventing or ending conflicts, military interventions since the 1990s have usually been initiated to develop or maintain the rule of law. There are many types of international peace missions and interventions in which local police reform is an important component. The Netherlands has also contributed to these kinds of intervention. During the last two decades the Dutch Army has conducted 17 missions in which Dutch soldiers contributed to police reform. This chapter outlines their experiences, more specifically those of the Koninklijke Marechaussee (Dutch Gendarmerie), in post-conflict Bosnia, Iraq and Afghanistan. In line with Lammers’ theory of occupations, these interventions can be considered ‘constructive occupations’: foreign rulers can only successfully occupy another territory in the long run if they are capable of forging co-operation with local people. With regard
to police reform in these constructive occupational contexts, the local people become responsible for their police. For local policemen, cooperation creates both benefits and risks. An important aspect in deciding whether they should cooperate or not, and to what extent, is the expected duration of the occupation. Time does not work in an occupier’s favour. With the passage of time, foreign actors are more likely to be seen as occupiers, diminishing their legitimacy and as a consequence their power to enforce reform.

These chapters are wrapped up by some concluding notes by the editors on the blurring boundaries between the military and the police and some lines for future research are sketched. As this book is meant to be an exploration, not an exhaustive overview, of some elements in the current discussion on the blurring boundaries between two very important institutions in the landscape of security, we hope these contributions may further stimulate the academic discussion of this theme. The editors hope these contributions represent one step forward in gaining insight into this fascinating area of research, which is perpetually in motion and constantly changing in nature and the way it manifests itself. We therefore hope there will be a sequel to this book about ‘security androgyny’.

References


