

# Appropriation of Micropolitics by the Neoliberal States: A Theoretical Intervention

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**Abstract:** The article focuses on the reception of micropolitics by the neoliberal nation states. It argues that the neoliberal states in recent times have combined strategies and tactics to maintain their grip on their citizens. It is a theoretical intervention in the sense that while Scott (2008) and Certeau (2011) identify micropolitics in the everyday life of the poor and the weak, the present chapter argues that even the neoliberal states apply micropolitics and tactics. In fact, only within this combination, within dialectical relations between strategies and tactics, any tactic is worth pursuing—an issue this paper foregrounds. Drawing upon Mbembe's ideas, this chapter focuses on the contexts of necrocapitalism within which the neoliberal states deploy tactics. This chapter also identifies differentiation—how the neoliberal state keeps its citizens divided and separated.

## I. STRATEGIES AND TACTICS WITHIN NECROCAPITALISM

Necrocapitalism is the 'hidden transcript'<sup>1</sup> of the neoliberal capitalism. The concept of necrocapitalism unveils what the dominant narrative of neoliberal capitalism continuously conceals: its investment in death and destruction in the name of progress and development and strategies of mismanagement of life and death through structural death. Put differently, necrocapitalism reveals how capitalism has always invested in violence for its smooth operation across centuries. Also, capitalism have kept relying on various configuration of power so that it remains always irresistible yet it can successfully manage cheap labor—either by force as in slavery or by fallacy as in neoliberalism. Though such an understanding of capitalism, that it incorporates violence in many forms, is no news to the world, I argue that theorizing its specific strategies, tactics and contexts would provide us insights that we can use to organize social movements that resists its multiple atrocities.

Capitalism has always flourished within different resurgences of the sovereignty. The sovereignty, the omnipotent force claiming life and death has also adopted different modes of governmentality to manage smooth flow of capital: "the origination and the transformation of the capitalist state, however, coincided with a changed ethic regarding the sovereign's right over life and death."<sup>2</sup> Necrocapitalism as a hidden transcript reveals the reactive

resurgences of the sovereignty as preemptive reconfiguration of strategies: 'murderous inclusion' in the 1980s and 'terror formation' within the context of the post-9/11 'war on terror.'

The first reactive resurgence of the sovereignty is neoliberalism that occurs as preemptive reassembling of strategies in the historico-material context of the post- World War II era when the world witnessed decolonization, desegregation, liberation and so on. Impossibility of managing forced labor due to this changed context has made the sovereignty to reach out and procure labor in and through structural abandonment of people who are made to undersell their labor for survival. In slavery, colonization, and neoliberal abandonment, the sovereignty has always justified its acts in and though restructuring logics and function of racism to its favor.

Within the two historical paradigms, the post-World War II era and the post-9/11 era, the sovereignty adopts two different modes of governmentality. In doing so, it seems to increasingly move from the biopolitical towards the necropolitical (mis) management life and death. However, the politics of death is the first principle of biopolitics—as Agamben argues.<sup>3</sup> Thus I mark these two modes of governmentality as shuffling and reshuffling of strategies to manage life and death. These shuffling and reshuffling are not mutually exclusive, they are complementary.

Neoliberalism was a preemptive assemblage of strategies within biopolitical governmentality, one that heavily invest in the biopower. It enables the sovereign to strategize a structural death of 'people,'<sup>4</sup> which in turn enables nation-states to perform a 'murderous inclusion' of citizens. The US, since its inception of neoliberalism, for example, strategizes a grand abandonment of its citizens in the name of liberation, freedom, and individualism. To do so, the US applies a post-racial differentiation of people—it affirms lives of some at the expense of ignoring lives of others, who must let cheap labor extracted from their bodies and accept untimely death. This differentiation affirms inclusion of some minoritarians previously categorized and excluded within vectors of race, class, sex, gender, and others. This inclusive move is a murderous one as it leads to 'differential inclusion' and 'social death.'

<sup>1</sup> Here I reclaim Scott's term 'hidden transcript,' the covert form of resistance of the weak and use it to explain the covert desire for death on which the sovereign massively invests.

<sup>2</sup> James A. Tyner. *Violence in Capitalism: Devaluing Life in the Age of Responsibility*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press,) 82, 2016.

<sup>3</sup> Agamben. *Homo Sacer*. 16.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid*

For Cacho (2012), social death is the process in which “human value is made intelligible through racialized, sexualized, spatialized, and state-sanctioned violence (4).” She explains how state laws considers the poor of color, the criminal, the illegal alien and the terrorist as outcomes of law-breaking rather than effect of laws. This legal framing helps the state to incarcerate and deport the poor of color. They, once criminalized, “are excluded from law’s protection, (5)” but they are “not excluded from law’s discipline, punishment, and regulation (5).” Their simultaneous inclusion/exclusion in the nation-state can be called “differential inclusion (5)” — a term Cacho borrows from Espiritu (2003).<sup>5</sup> For Espiritu, it is a process “whereby a group of people is deemed integral to the nation’s economy, culture, identity, and power—but integral only or precisely because of their designated subordinated standing” (2003, 47). Cacho thus explains the process of differentiation of humans through the cultural and political assessment of their relative value.

Since the 9/11, the sovereignty adopts a different governmentality. It strategizes destruction and death across the world to make profit in and through mobilizing war machineries (Deleuze and Guattari) to manage a vast number of people through deployments of multiple strategies and tactics: killing civilians, disabling them, displacing them, imprisoning them and silencing them while misrepresenting the motives of warfare through control of truth producing apparatuses, mainly through the Academic-Military-Industry Complex and media.

This form of capitalism and governmentality is increasingly adopted by privileged nation-states of the global North, especially the US. The post 9/11 world full of ceaseless spectacle of warfare and violence can be identified as a specific context, the space and time of origin of necrocapitalism though the seed of it was planted much earlier, in the 1950s, through the execution of the shock doctrine in Chile, Argentina, Indonesia, South Africa. While the deregulation of market and wholesale abandonment of citizens stand out as key features of neoliberal capitalism, the control of global economy through supra-national institutions: IMF and World Bank, among others constitute its global capitalist embeddedness.

Since corporate greed of multinational corporations can no longer remain hidden from the multitudes<sup>6</sup> and since they can hardly be deceived and misguided though the promise of the trickle-down effect of promised by the neoliberal capitalism, a reconfiguration of strategies and tactics is the means through which global neoliberal capitalism needs to operate and in the process, keep reinforcing itself. I identify this reconfiguration as resurgence

of the sovereignty in and through terror formation which Mbembe (2003) mark as necropower.

I heavily depend on Mbembe (2003) as he provides the key concepts of necropolitical assemblage of strategies: ‘commodification of warfare within the emergence of an unprecedented form of governmentality’. Within global capitalist economy, commodification of war makes war less about ideological struggle and more about profiteering. Mbembe (2003) argues:

Coercion itself has become a market commodity. Military manpower is bought and sold on market in which the identity of suppliers and purchasers means almost nothing. Urban militias, private armies, armies of regional lords, private security firms, and state armies all claim the right to exercise violence or to kill (32).

In the ‘war on terror’ after 9/11, more contractors and subcontractors than actual soldiers have been engaged. In the US, the monopolization of the business of warfare has already occurred. Consequentially, a handful of companies has made warfare more about a desire of their own rather than that of the US as a nation-state alone. Participants of warfare have undergone a dramatic shift because war is no more staged by armies of two different nation-states; rather, war is “waged by armed groups acting behind the mask of the state against armed groups that have no state but control very distinct territories [...] (Mbembe 2003, 35). Since both groups target civilians, the latter undergoes extreme insecurity and panic.

Mbembe, thus define necropower as the act of terror formation in which a new kind of governmentality is adopted by certain nation-states that make multitudes increasingly helpless as Mbembe explains:

Correlated to the new geography of resource extraction is the emergence of an unprecedented form of governmentality that consists in the management of the multitudes. The extraction and looting of natural resources by war machines goes hand in hand with brutal attempts to immobilize and spatially fix whole categories of people or, paradoxically, to unleash them, to force them to scatter over broad areas no longer contained by the boundaries of a territorial state. As a political category, populations are then disaggregated into rebels, child soldiers, victims or refugees, or civilians incapacitated by mutilation or simply massacred on the model of ancient sacrifices, while the “survivors,” after a horrific exodus, are confined in camps and zones of exception (34).

The management of the multitude is accomplished not only through terror formation and insecurity from warfare but also through another kind of insecurity within a wholesale abandonment of the multitudes: nation-states abandon themselves from their citizens as the latter must procure their own basic resources for survival. Instead of experiencing the trickle-down effect of global economy, the multitude is made to go through debt-dependency, downsizing, homelessness,

<sup>5</sup> Yen Le Espiritu. *Home Bound: Filipino American Lives across Cultures, Communities, and Countries*. (Barkley: University of California Press), 2003.

<sup>6</sup> Resurgence of massive protests: the battle of Seattle in 1990 and Occupy Wall Street Movement in 2011 and frustration at the financial crisis of 2008 and the anti-austerity movement across Europe following the crisis testimony to the disillusion about and rages against neoliberal global capitalism.

and, above all, a widening wealth gaps between the 1% and the 99%. Demonizing others and creating false solidarity through reconstituting us versus them binaries is an effective ploy of necrocapitalist governmentality. This I recognize as a tactic of differentiation to divide citizens. Other ploys include depoliticization of citizens. Citizens are depoliticized as they are made precarious through economic violence and the terrorism of nation-states: police violence and incarceration in particular.

Necrocapitalism thrives on the violent extraction of resources and raw materials on the destruction and damage to environments. In the face of protests against environmental pollution and global warming, neoliberal capitalists have always denied any such allegations. Within frames of necrocapitalism, they allow corporations to strategize production of GMO crops and harmful herbicides and pesticides that threatens biodiversity. They recruit scientists, researchers and lobbyist groups who validate their violence towards environments and various life forms in it. Thus, necrocapitalism is not just a neologism it highlights reconfiguration of strategies of capitalism that increasingly rely more on coercion, destruction and death to maintain its operation across the globe. Also, necrocapitalism emphasizes a demarcation between the privileged nation-state and dispossessed nation-states while the latter is made poor and the kept poor by the former. It explains the terrorization of citizens in nation-states and how it leads to depoliticization and increasing decline of agency. Citizens in the privileged and dispossessed states are made scared through different intensities and various forms of violence. Thus, the concept of necrocapitalism denies the myth of common miseries due to global neoliberal capitalism. 'The differentiation of death,' a key concept of necrocapitalism reveals the discrepancies in the received atrocities thorough terror formation by necrocapitalism.

Necrocapitalism explains the spatiotemporal reconfiguration of strategies of dispossession worldwide. It marks 'Third Worldization' as a process that First World initiates and still thrives on. It is not true that the First World suddenly finds the global South as the third world, in its dispossessed status. Also, necrocapitalism marks the predatory and cannibalistic impulse of capitalism as it does not leave anyone unscathed. Henry Giroux (2015) explains how the US, a First World country is increasingly witnessing Third Worldization:

[W]e are experiencing a rapid Third Worldization of North America (particularly after the imposition of neoliberal policies) in which inner cities resemble more and more the shantytowns of the Third World, with a high level of unemployment, poverty, violence, illiteracy, human exploitation, homelessness and misery. The abandonment of our inner cities and the insidious decay of their infrastructures, including their schools, make it very difficult to maintain the artificial division between the First World and the Third World. It is just as easy to find

Third Worldness in the First World inner cities as it is to discover First World opulence in the oligarchies in El Salvador, Guatemala, and many other Third World nations.

The Third Worldization of the North American is also threatening the already anxious middle class with high unemployment, loss of economic status, exponential rise in home foreclosures, and a perpetual fear that one is one paycheck away from class downgrading (Giroux 2015, ii-iii).

Yet, the most people in the 'bottom billion' (Collier 2007) are from the "Third World" countries because their Third Worldization is going on for centuries, earlier in the form of colonization and now neo-colonization in the form of neoliberal dispossession. The Third worldization of the global South is historical and spontaneous whereas that of the North America is recent and sporadic. Overall, it is both predatory and increasingly cannibalistic. Thus, necrocapitalism unveils impulses for dispossession and destruction which are systematically ingrained in the capitalism yet remain unarticulated due to representation of neoliberal global capitalism as liberation and progress for all.

Mbembe (2003) brings forth the non-rational normalization of the right to kill as the manifestation of the sovereignty. He refers to "trajectories by which the state of exception and the relation of enmity have become the normative basis of the right to kill. In such instances, power (and not necessarily state power) continuously refers and appeals to exception, emergency, and a fictionalized notion of the enemy. It also labors to produce that same exception, emergency, and fictionalized enemy (16). While Foucault consider the Nazi State as the initiator of manifesting the right to kill combining the features of "the racist, murderous and the suicidal state (17)", Mbembe identifies a tendency in the nation-states to emerge as 'state of exception' in which the other is perceived as a threat to one's life and the death of the other provides security to the self. Police violence, the reactive violence of the victim (RVV) and incarceration and deportation of the other have emerged as routine affairs in the US, for example. This manifests Mbembe's right to kill by the sovereign and the desire on the part of the US as a perpetual 'state of exception'. Mbembe thus differs from Cacho and Espiritu in that for Mbembe the other is no more subordinates, the other is now an enemy.

Mbembe considers the history of slavery as unavoidable history of terror formation. For him, life of a slave in the plantation is "a form of death-in-life (21)." He relies on Patterson's (1982) concept of 'social death':

[I]n the context of the plantation, the humanity of the slave appears as the perfect figure of a shadow. Indeed, the slave conditions results from a triple loss: loss of a "home," loss of rights over his or her body, and loss of political status. This triple loss is identical with absolute domination, natal alienation, and social death (expulsion from humanity

altogether). To be sure, as a political juridical-structure, the plantation is a space where the slave belongs to a master. It is not a community if only because by definition, a community implies the exercise of the power of speech and thought. (Mbembe 2003, 21)

While plantation renders slaves as shadows, things, and tools, colonization is another historical process of terror formation that renders natives as integral part of nature, as savages, more like animals and hence no juridical restraint can stop unleashing terror and killing within state of exception. Colonial terror requires fantasies of savages centering the colonized so that killing of the natives no longer is subject to any rule.

Late modern colonization, however, invests in 'its own narratives of history and identity' (27). It is 'a concatenation of multiple powers: disciplinary, biopolitical, and necrocapital' (29). It does not demonize the inhabitants as savages or dehumanize them as tools, it rather identifies them as enemy, as targets for absolute domination through 'overwhelming or decisive force' (30).

The strategies of necro-power that Mbembe (2003) delineates as process of terror formation in the late-modern form of colonial power are actually the strategies of war machines (Deleuze and Guattari) that nation-states in the global North since the post 9/11 era are keen on displaying in a bid to spread a tremor of fear to claim absolute control not only 'enemies' against whom wars are routinely being operated but also on their citizens, especially those incorporated in the process of differential inclusion. The US, for example, has militarized police and constantly threatens the differentially included people with the violence of its prison-industry-complex. I identify these acts of terror formation as necro-strategies and necro-tactics. In doing so, I also argue that Certeau's, binary, in which the strategies are being applied by the powerful forces and the tactics by the dominated groups, is negated by a necrocapitalist state that tends to combine both for its favor.

Mbembe's necropower is not only geopoliticized but also raced, gendered<sup>7</sup>, classed, sexualized<sup>8</sup>, and able-bodied. An analysis of different forms of police brutality in everyday life and in time of protests would reveal the fact that in the US, necropower works within intersections of race, class, gender<sup>9</sup>, and ability<sup>10</sup>. In fact, necrocapitalism has utilized the

vectors of race, class, gender, sexuality, and ability as conduits to convey terror. The first decade of the twenty-first century is a period in which the sovereignty and its accomplices, the necrocapitalist states have orchestrated themselves with technological surveillances, dangerous weapons, and artifacts. Anticipating resistance against their atrocities of economic and political manipulation, they have reorganized their strategies and tactics. While tactics are theorized as 'weapons of the weak', the necro-capitalist states and its apparatuses have started posing as weak and threatened. The disempowerment of the nation-states in the age of global capitalism is the most common claim of weakness of the necrocapitalist state. Ironically, however, it is the militarization of the states that helps the neoliberal global capitalism to flourish and sustain: 'neoliberalism cannot function without a strong state and strong market and strong legal institutions'<sup>11</sup>. Nevertheless, The US has combined this claim of weakness as a neoliberal state with the claim of being a weak and vulnerable nation against the possible terrorist attacks. In the post 9/11 era, American governments have passed new laws, reformed old ones and have evolved into the 'state of exception'. Some of the laws can be listed as examples: The Patriot Act (2001), Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act (2004), FBI Domestic Investigations and Operations Guide (2008), Attorney General Guidelines for Domestic FBI Operations (2008), Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act (2004), among others.<sup>12</sup>

Using these laws, in the name of providing security, the US keeps violating citizens' rights. The police and the NSA work within the frame of 'state of exception': they pose as victims to justify its violence on citizens. In the wake of post 9/11 mentality, the US has conveniently adopted an old strategy of the Nazis: 'reactive violence by the victim (RVV).' Using this strategy, the state apparatuses spread panic about terrorism and publicize their own vulnerability at terrorist threats and possible attacks. The RVV as justification of violence is nothing but an old tactic renewed for today. Its origin can be traced back to the Nazi strategy for justifying murder. Nazi Field Marshal Hermann Goering states:

It is always a simple matter to drag people whether it is a democracy, or a fascist dictatorship, or a parliament, or a communist dictatorship. Voice or no voice, the people can always be brought to the bidding of the leaders. This is easy. All you have to do is tell them they are being attacked, and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger. It works the same way in every country<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> L.C. Palacios, 'Racialized and Gendered Necropower in Canadian News and Legal Discourse,' *Feminist Formations*, volume 26, issue 1, spring 2014, pp. 1-26.

<sup>8</sup> J.L. Jackson, 'Sexual Necropolitics and Prison Rape Elimination', *Signs*, volume 39, Number 1, Women, Gender, and Prison, National and Global Perspectives, Autumn 2013, pp. 197-220.

<sup>9</sup> E. A. Edelman, 'walking while Transgender': Necropolitical Regulations of Trans Feminine Bodies of Color in the US Nation's Capital,' in J. Haritaworn, A. Kuntsman, and S. Posocco (eds.), *Queer Necropolitics*, Routledge, New York, NY, 2014, pp. 172-190.

<sup>10</sup> J. Mabry, 'SFPD Defends Takedown of Disabled Man with Prosthetic Legs,' CBS San Francisco, August 18, 2015, <http://sanfrancisco.cbslocal.com/2015/08/18/video-sfpd-takedown-of->

[disabled-man-with-prosthetic-leg-raises-questions-about-excessive-force/](http://disabled-man-with-prosthetic-leg-raises-questions-about-excessive-force/), (accessed 19 August 2015).

<sup>11</sup> D. Harvey. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 7.

<sup>12</sup> Bolton, M. K. (2008). *U.S. national security and foreign policymaking after 9/11: present at the re-creation*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

<sup>13</sup> As quoted in D. Welch and J. Fox, ed., *Justifying War: Propaganda, Politics and the Modern Age* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 378.

In the name of protecting American citizens from the potential terrorists, the necrocapitalist state has militarized its police. The police following the logic of necropower—‘murder and get away with it,’—tends to perform victimhood as they often claim that they feel threatened by the unarmed black youth. The state and the police deploy RVV. They apply other necro-strategies like technological surveillance of citizens.

Also, these necro-forces tend to imitate tactics of the protestors when they try to quell resistance through intimidation. They, for example, use social media—Facebook and Twitter to know about the time and place of the protests and appear there in time with weapons. These can be called necro-tactics which complement necro-strategies, the overt and comprehensive means of violence to intimidate and murder citizens. While Scott, Certeau, and Bhabha among others have theorized the ‘weapons of the weak,’ the rise of the necropolitics within the neoliberal power configurations has made the strategy/tactic binary within the trope of the state/citizens or the dominator/ the dominated obsolete. The state itself applies both strategies and tactics in a bid to intimidate and quell protests and preoccupy victimhood—possibly both at the same time.

Criminalizing dissent has been one of the necro-strategic policies the US has undertaken in different times. While, in the cold war era, it was the witch-hunt for the communists, in the post 9/11 world it has morphed into the witch-hunt for the terrorists. Government agencies and mainstream media have invested in the politics of fear that has spread panic of further terrorist attacks routinely. In the name of securing lives of Americans, the necro-capitalist governments have passed laws criminalizing everything from telecommunication to people’s right to protest. Though these new anti-terrorism laws are conflictual with the bill of rights, Americans are made to accept them unquestionably often by creating dispositif with the jingoistic play of binaries: “either you are with us or with the terrorists”<sup>14</sup>. Within this post 9/11 mentality, the militarization of police has been a complementary necro-strategy that stifles political dissent through the threat of imprisonment and death:

Today in America SWAT teams violently smash into private homes more than 100 times per day. The vast majority of these raids are to enforce laws against consensual crimes. In many cities, police departments have given up the traditional blue uniforms for “battle dress uniforms” modeled after soldier attire.

Police departments across the country now sport armored personnel carriers designed for use on a battlefield. Some have helicopters, tanks and Humvees. They carry military-grade weapons. Most of this equipment comes from the

military itself. Many SWAT teams today are trained by current and former personnel from special forces units like the Navy SEALs or Army Rangers. National Guard helicopters now routinely swoop through rural areas in search of pot plants and, when they find something, send gun-toting troops dressed for battle rappelling down to chop and confiscate the contraband. But it isn't just drugs. Aggressive, SWAT-style tactics are now used to raid neighborhood poker games, doctors' offices, bars and restaurants, and head shops -- despite the fact that the targets of these raids pose little threat to anyone. This sort of force was once reserved as the last option to defuse a dangerous situation. It's increasingly used as the first option to apprehend people who aren't dangerous at all<sup>15</sup>.

Adding elements of fear in everyday spaces, the necrocapitalist states have recolonized lives of their citizens. The state using the logic of free market economy routinely disinvests in the public welfare. Worse, the necrocapitalist regimes have redefined the public welfare: an increasing investment in the security industry and disinvestment in poverty alleviation has been justified with the logic of changed priorities in the post 9/11 era. Thus, investment in the prison-industry-complex and imprisonment of millions of young people is yet another necro-strategy that threatens dissent. It goes hand in hand with the ongoing racial profiling and imprisonment of people of color, especially the Blacks and Latinos. Profiling Muslims as potential terrorists, imprisoning many and deporting others have been justified in the name of national security.

Overall, incorporating the policy of ‘perpetual war for perpetual peace’ in the US foreign policy has been the dominant necropolitical strategy that conceals the desire for imperialist takeover and control of more and more countries across the world. Using the rhetoric of peace and democracy, the U.S. governments have managed legitimacy for unjust war against Iraq and Afghanistan. The federal government-corporate partnership has created opportunities for big corporations who fund warfare in a bid to make a huge profit at the expense of reckless killing of people in the war inflicted countries.

Politically, all these necro-strategies seek to stifle potential voices of dissent. Economically, however, they operate within the neoliberal capitalist logic of prioritizing profit over lives of people. Hence, they can be called necro-capitalist strategies.

## II. NECRO-TACTICS BY THE POLICE

Militarization of police and legal justification of their reckless violence inspire the police to experiment with necro-tactics, more torturous and life threatening ways to discipline people, killing and getting away with it. Like activists in movements, police also develop new tactics to disperse

<sup>14</sup> President George W. Bush uttered those words in one of his speeches, <http://georgewbushwhitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>

<sup>15</sup> B. Radley, ‘How did America’s police become a military force on the streets?’ ABA Journal, Jul2013, Vol. 99 Issue 7, p. 44 of 44-52.

gatherings. St. Louis County Police has displayed snipers and point weapons to peaceful protestors in Ferguson.<sup>16</sup> To intimidate protestors, armed vehicles are deployed. Police officers have removed their name plates and operate anonymously to avoid accountability for their actions<sup>17</sup>. In Baltimore, to threaten protests over the death of Freddie Gray, the police through twitter surveillance knew about the place of gathering and manifested a kind of war on protestors:

City and state police would deploy everything from a drone and a “military counter attack vehicle” known as a Bearcat to SWAT teams armed with assault rifles, shotguns loaded with lead pellets, barricade projectiles filled with tear gas, and military-style smoke grenades. The BPD also came equipped with “Hailstorm” or “Stingray” technology, developed in America’s distant war zones to conduct wireless surveillance of enemy communications. This would allow officers to force cell phones to connect to it, to collect mobile data, and to jam cell signals within a one-mile radius<sup>18</sup>.

Applying necro-tactics in this way to curb the right to protest is unconstitutional. But the neoliberal state strategically sponsors state violence towards citizens in an attempt to normalize the culture of fear and win unquestioning loyalty from citizens. As a response to such thorough control of the police state, most citizens have adopted acquiescence while others come out with dissent and protests. It is important to notice a pattern of racial polarization: while the whites in the US do notice that the necrocapitalist state keeps the whites largely unscathed, a large segment of them openly tend to align with the necrocapitalist state while disrupting the spirit of the people who do protest police violence. All Lives Matter, for example, get organized as a reaction to Black Lives Matter.<sup>19</sup>

### III. TECHNOLOGICAL SURVEILLANCE BY THE NECRO-NEOLIBERAL STATE

While the NSM theoreticians<sup>20</sup> glorify the use of technology in social movements, it is important to understand that the technology itself is a double-edge sword. The government agencies also use technology to run surveillance on protestors, to acquire information and appear with all preparation to disband protests. Also, tracking people and

keeping surveillance on them is part of systemic control the necro-capitalist state wants to deploy. Besides control through tracking social media accounts, the government and its corporate partners want to set up total control on people that also violates the right to privacy: ‘Documents retained in NSA databases include “stories of love and the heartbreak, illicit sexual liaisons, mental-health crises, political and religious conversations, financial anxieties, and disappointed hopes”<sup>21</sup>.

### IV. SPATIOTEMPORAL DIFFERENTIATION OF DEATH—FRAGMENTS WITHIN: A POWERFUL NECRO-STRATEGY

While explaining Michel Foucault’s finding on biopolitics, Giorgio Agamben<sup>22</sup> argues that biopolitics is not only about how life is administered, it is also about life’s differentiation, about its fragmentation from within. Agamben goes on differentiating ‘forms of life’ and ‘life without a form or style’, which is ‘bare life’ or ‘naked life.’ Mbembe would like to call this ‘bare life’ social death. If biopolitics is about life’s differentiation, necropolitics can be explained as death’s differentiation. Like different forms of life, different forms of death can also be conceptualized, identified, and compared with one another to understand the geopolitical distribution of death—who is likely to die how and where? Differentiation of death thus theorized can be used to disintegrate and challenge the polarization of lives across the first world/ third world categories often made to sustain the geopolitical distribution of lives desired for and to be avoided at any price. To the acquiescent masses who are constantly threatened with necropower, the most haunting questions are as follows: where and how to die? Is it a battlefield in Iraq? Is it a warzone in Palestine? Is it a prison in Texas or Guantanamo Bay? Is it a war-inflicted country like Afghanistan? Is it a homophobic and transphobic social arrangement in Canada or Iran? Is it a racially segregated city like Ferguson in a ‘first world’ country like the U.S.? Is it a poverty-ridden slum in a South Asian country? Is it a disease-prone remote village in Africa? Is it an uninsured temporary stay in an unaffordable medical care where no medical help is accessible? Is it a moment when the ‘police feel threatened’? Is it a moment of entanglement when people find themselves outsiders to and hence targets of the partnership between the police and the whites? Right to peaceful death, if not an ideal happy life is what more and more people are likely to bargain for. Not only the flow of migration from war-inflicted countries to the countries of the war-imposers, but also the escape from the countries of political corruption and state sponsored killing like Bangladesh to the countries of promise and race policing like the U.S. provide evidence to the fact that the futile movement across time and space within the mode of acquiescence does not help much except consolation with less

<sup>16</sup> R.J. Reilly, ‘Intimidating, Unconstitutional Police Tactics in Ferguson Incited More Unrest, Says DOJ Expert Report’, The Huffington Post, 30 June 2015, [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/06/30/ferguson-protests-police-response\\_n\\_7698548.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/06/30/ferguson-protests-police-response_n_7698548.html), (accessed 17 August 2015).

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> M. Gould-Wartofsky, M.’ 5 Tools the Police Are Using in Their War Against Activists: From Ferguson to Baltimore, the message is clear: protest at your peril’, 5 May 2015, <http://www.thenation.com/article/5-tools-police-are-using-their-war-against-activists/>, (accessed 17 August 2015).

<sup>19</sup> Jesse Damiani, ‘Every Time You Say “All Lives Matter” You Are Being an Accidental Racist,’ The Huffington Post, 15 July 2016, [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jesse-damiani/every-time-you-say-all-li\\_1\\_b\\_11004780.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jesse-damiani/every-time-you-say-all-li_1_b_11004780.html), (accessed 2 February 2017).

<sup>20</sup> M. Castells, *Networks of outrage and hope: social movements in the Internet age*. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2012.

<sup>21</sup> J. W. Whitehead, *Battlefield America: The War on the American People*, Select Books, New York, NY, 2015, p. 242.

<sup>22</sup> M. Gržinić and Š. Tatlić, *Necropolitics, Racialization, and Global Capitalism*, Lexington Books, Lanham, MD, 2014, p. 22-23.

brutal death. This gradation of brutality within the calculus of death has already emerged to function as yet another vector of ‘fragments within’ which helps the necrocapitalist states to reign uninterruptedly.

However, the gradation of viciousness does not only operate within simple polarizations of life and death. The interstitial phases are Mbembe’s ‘social death’ or Agamben’s ‘bare life’. The people who are made poor, homeless, and undocumented are instances of ‘bare life’. The people who are made disabled in the war-inflicted countries like Palestine or in the aftermath of earthquakes or other natural disasters like Hurricane Katrina must accept social death. These people provide evidence to the differentiations of death embedded within the necrocapitalist management of life.

## V. CONCLUSION

To conclude, the BLM movement embodies the kind of collective and spatialized resistance required to combat necropower. New social movements can sustain the necrocapitalist states’ aggression for dispersal only within different spatialized and community based capacity building maneuvers. Spatialized movements may open up possibilities for the broader and collective politics of emancipation. Recognizing the ‘differentiation of death’ and ‘fragmentations within’ as a strategic management, reproduction and reinforcement of necropower, biopower, and sovereign power may inspire reconstituting political mobilizations in and through reshaping of political imagination of the people who would consider neither acquiescence nor willful participation, neither flights to the first world countries nor multiple migrations as an escape route, who would be aware of the danger of fetishizing resistance and prevent themselves from short-circuiting revolution.

Understanding the working of the necrocapitalist forces may help people realize the danger of the ‘fragmentation within’ and inspire them to seize the material benefits in a different kind of solidarity: interethnic, cross-class, cross-gender and cross-racial cooperation, a solidarity that will challenge the constant dispossession of the masses and the increasing accumulation of wealth through the partnership between necrocapitalist states and neoliberal corporations in the U.S. and beyond. Without challenging the necrocapitalist regimes, the transnational dispossession of the masses is impossible to resist. Only spatialized, collective and integrated politics—based on interrelations and interdependencies among people—can throw such powerful challenges. Such recognition may help a much-required shift from the politics of victimization towards the politics of resistance leading towards revolution. In chapter seven, I will outline a specific means to do this.

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