

Conclusion

On 15 September 2012, a Welcome to Aboriginal Land Passport Ceremony took place in the traditional lands of the Gadigal people in Sydney, Australia (Aboriginalpassportceremony.org 2012). Exercising their sovereign rights to welcome and care for new migrants, Robbie Thorpe from Treaty Republic and an elder from the Indigenous Social Justice Association (ISJA) issued the passports to over two hundred people including refugees and asylum seekers in absentia, incarcerated as part of Australia's mandatory detention policy.¹ The elder from ISJA explained the purpose of the 2012 ceremony to those issued with the passports, 'Whilst they acknowledge our rights to all the Aboriginal Nations of Australia we reciprocate by welcoming them into our Nations' (cited in Pugliese 2015, p. 88). Passport ceremonies, such as this one, reveal how the sovereign responsibilities of some Indigenous communities continue to operate alongside and in defiance of the settler state's claim to authority over its borders and the peoples that move within it. The ceremony forms part of a history of sovereign practices where Indigenous peoples have issued their own protocols and documentation for travelling and recognising belonging within and outside their country. Such practices expose the multiplicity and incommensurability of

sovereignties and laws ignored by dominant geopolitical formations of state-sanctioned border policing.

As we write this conclusion, the numbers of “state-less” persons moving across borders is occurring at historically unprecedented numbers. Nation-states are scrambling to regulate this migration through a biopolitics of quotas that would permit “acceptable” levels of new citizens. Such calculations are exemplary of the apparatuses of security, race, and biopower examined in this book. The labelling of migrations from Syria, in particular, as a refugee “crisis” obfuscates a crisis of state security that condones warfare and foreign military intervention, ostensibly to secure for the region the liberal freedoms enjoyed by citizens in the Global North. Yet this same liberality is economised as finite, as needing to be apportioned carefully to the bodies fleeing the violence of regimes whose apparent failures necessitated intervention in the first place. Indigenous responses to refugee migrations emerge from a complex history and entanglement with laws and states that are the product of invasive migrations. These invasive migrations form part of the imperial and colonial histories that underprop contemporary state surveillance, which find expression in the violence applied to bodies that threaten the maintenance of territorial integrity. Indigenous passport ceremonies are made possible by the continuation and development of lore that does not require the historical contingency of the settler-state and its governmental bodies for viability.

This collection has focused on the contemporary geocorpographies of bodies, space, and technology: where technologies have revealed new possibilities for identifying and locating risk in particular bodies in particular spaces. We have argued that contemporary racisms and processes of racialisation instrumentalise an older aleatory logic that both requires and justifies the production of disposable bodies in the development and testing of technologies of law, war, and medicine. Following the work of Foucault, we have suggested that this testing and application of geopolitical risk finds its surface of intervention on bodies because they are the corporeal signifier of an identity. It is because bodies express identity that technologies can sort them into appropriate spaces and places of “value”.

But life exists beyond the body, and resistance to technological and spatialised instruments of power occurs—in surreptitious, unexpected, and unflinching ways. Resistance is exercised through commitment

to country and the wellbeing of its people, as with the Ampilatwatja walk-off and refusal to recognise the Australian government's Northern Territory Intervention; the "irresponsible" (because erotic) consumption of life-saving drugs such as pre-exposure prophylaxis (PrEP); and the birth of a prince interrupting Commonwealth narratives of gender equality. Meanwhile, the use of health apps and smart devices are designed to focus attention on the body's health and capillary rhythms, encouraging a continuous disciplining of the self. This attention to the self may produce what Foucault describes as 'a counter-attack in that same body' by revealing capacities and capabilities hitherto unforeseen by strategies of power.

Mastery and awareness of one's own body can be acquired only through the effect of an investment of power in the body ... But once power produces this effect, there inevitably emerge the responding claims and affirmations, those of one's own body against power, of health against the economic system, of pleasure against the moral norms of sexuality, marriage, decency. Suddenly, what had made power strong becomes used to attack it. (1980, p. 56)

Following a Foucauldian approach to embodied power reveals how the capacity for resistance is built into structures of governance which presume, as their bases for efficacy, the freedom of subjects to submit; 'without the possibility of recalcitrance, power would be equivalent to a physical determination' (Foucault 1994, p. 342). The assumption that elderly residents of nursing homes will leave, for instance, requires surveillance and regulation; the space of the airport produces unexpected affective and somatic encounters and so must be tightly regulated; and the use of drones for "leisure" purposes encourages new 'ways of seeing'. It is precisely because of 'the intransigence of freedom' (p. 342) that Foucault views the conditions of knowledge that constitute bodies as recognisable subjects as: 'war and battle. The history which bears and determines us has the form of a war rather than of a language: relations of power, not relations of meaning' (Foucault 1980, p. 114). For Foucault then, conflict over competing knowledge claims and the differing degrees to which bodies are subject and make themselves subject to apparatuses of power form 'a permanent provocation' (Foucault 1994, p. 342).

Such provocations centre on the historical refusal of individuals and groups to be abstracted by ‘economic and ideological state violence, which ignore who we are individually’ because of the ‘scientific or administrative inquisition that determines who one is’ (p. 331) and one’s utility to the state and social body. Resistance, then, is constitutive and an effect of the various ways power subjectifies individuals and groups.

For Foucault, the individual is always subject to and a subject of power. Are there circumstances in which subjectivity—to be a subject—is not possible? Whilst recognising the possibilities for agency and resistance within power structures we must not forget Franz Fanon’s contention that those who bear ‘the burden of ... corporeal malediction’ (2008, p. 84) are made ‘objects’ (p. 85) rather than subjects of their histories. Articulating how ‘whiteness burns me’, Fanon describes his quotidian encounters with white people as ‘the field of battle having been marked out’ (p. 86). In this theatre of battle, some bodies and their consciousness are set for destruction so that others may exist in safety and comfort.

In Section One: Geocorpographies, Joseph Pugliese’s chapter opened the book with an account of how drone technologies create the bodies of people in Yemen and Pakistan as objects of war, reducible to the flesh and minerals of their surrounding environs. Joshua Pocius considered the different types of consumption for PrEP based on differently located and risk-assessed bodies in the Global North and Global South. The use of secular law to preserve the white, Anglican, and heteronormative bodies of the British monarchy to keep intact the integrity of the Commonwealth was the focus of Holly Randell-Moon’s chapter. Finally, Sunshine Kamaloni examined the airport as a geocorpography that is generative of racialised affect and surveillance to keep black bodies in place.

Section Two: Technologies outlined how smart technologies and the Internet are differently entwined in the life-cycle of labouring bodies. Ryan Tippet discerned in the Internet.org charity led by Facebook an expansion of the ‘digital enclosure’ for capitalising on the immaterial labour of mobile phone users. Brett Nicholls took aim closer to home, at the wearable health motivation technologies which epitomise a control society strategy of population maintenance. And for Sy Taffel, the production and distribution of smart digital technologies represented

an under-examined cycle of environmental and corporeal damage, concealed under the rhetoric of “weightless” and “green” techno-utopianism.

The book concluded with an explicit investigation of the political strategies used by governing authorities and market forces to foster certain lives as productive and healthy whilst neglecting others. In this final section, Biopolitics, Caitlin Overington and Thao Phan discussed the extension of theatres of war into urban spaces through the emergence of drones as hobby and surveillance as leisure activity. David-Jack Fletcher asked poignant questions about the role of nursing homes and their facilitation of the removal of the elderly as desirable for the social body. In the final chapter’s account of the Northern Territory (NT) Intervention, Jillian Kramer critically examined the Australian state’s attempt to punish Aboriginal residents of remote NT communities for failing to adhere to a normal, property-owning subjectivity alongside the rejection of the state’s “help” by the Alyawarr people—who see the Intervention’s violent intrusions into everyday life as another iteration of a colonising mindset.

In the context of global migrations, border-surveillance, and the information revolution, we see how a geopolitics anchored in the territorial preservation of national borders, mutates and fragments as a dominant security paradigm. This book has attempted to map the heterogeneous modes of locating, cultivating, targeting, curing, killing, moulding, and resisting technologies of space and race. Across these chapters, an important reminder emerges: it is essential that in the defence of the marginalised and oppressed, we remain critical of technologies and social formations that seek to categorise, compartmentalise, and hierarchise groups according to their essential characteristics.

Note

1. Under the *Migration Reform Act 1992* (Cth), persons who arrive by boat seeking asylum in Australia are subject to mandatory detention. Initially implemented as an interim measure to stem arrivals from Cambodia, the law has become a permanent part of the Australian state’s asylum seeker deterrence policy, which also includes detention debts (that charge asylum seekers for their imprisonment) and the

Pacific Solution (where asylum seekers are housed in processing centres in the Pacific, away from the Australian mainland). For more information on the horrific conditions asylum seekers are subject to in these detention centres, see *Researchers Against Pacific Black Sites*: <http://researchersagainstpacificblacksites.org>.

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