

Security, Race, Biopower

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Editors

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Essays on Technology and Corporeality

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Introduction

Security, Race, Biopower

This is a book about technologies. *Security, Race, Biopower* explores the global abundance of technologies in medicine, media, surveillance, and war that are used to target and extend the lives of people differently in different geographical locations. The contributors show how technologies of population management—the ways in which bodies and lives are moulded to the benefit of governing authorities—are connected to historical and contemporary forms of racism that justify geographical and social inequalities. The book contends that the application and dissemination of contemporary technologies is premised on an economisation of these resources in favour of those who “deserve” life, based on the space and race to which a body belongs. We argue that the theories of French philosopher Michel Foucault on biopower and security are critical to understanding these technological determinations of deserving life. Biopower is broadly defined by Foucault as ‘a technology of power centered on life’ (1991, p. 266), which is characteristic of the modern Western state. The term encapsulates a central concern of governing authorities: how can we foster the health and wellbeing of citizens so they can live and therefore work longer? Enacting strategies to address this question does not presume all bodies within a population are of equal “value”. Because

the state has a limited amount of resources to produce good health, biopower works in a distributive manner: ‘to qualify, measure, appraise, and hierarchize’ (p. 266). Racism and race are bound up in these hierarchies of valuable life and the distributive application of technologies to bodies and space. Contributions to this book show, for instance, how racism explains why some bodies become the target for drone kills, while others are targeted as ideal consumers of drones as toys; why some bodies receive human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) preventative medicine and others do not; why some bodies can consume iPhones while the bodies of those who make them suffer toxic disease and distress. Such inequalities in the technological lives of the global population do not go uncontested—indeed they are the subject of significant political and social protest. This book argues that processes of racialisation, attaching race to bodies in particular spatial locations, services an economic and geopolitical situation wherein citizens extend and improve their own lives at the expense of others, whose bodies are deemed disposable or surplus to population needs.

Biopower’s concern with securing the health and wellbeing of the population through careful management and calculation of those bodies within it serves as an overriding theme for the various contributions and case studies offered in the book. Foucault conceives of biopower operating on two levels—manipulating bodies *as individuals* with discipline and *as species* within biopolitics. There is a particular focus in the final section of the book, where the previous examinations of geography, technology, racisms, and life are brought together, on biopolitics: the state’s comprehension and grasp of the population as a ‘biological problem’ (Foucault 2003, p. 245). Biopolitical strategies address a ‘global mass that is affected by overall processes characteristic of birth, death, production, illness, and so on’ (pp. 242–3). Biopolitics necessarily institutes divisions—or ‘caesurae’—within the population, drawing upon an evolutionist logic which valorises certain bodies and delegitimises others in order to protect the “purity” and health of the population overall. Along with biopower and its attendant topic biopolitics, this book offers two other critical concepts to explain the intersections of racism, geography, and technologies of security and health: geocorpographies and somatechnics.

Developed by Joseph Pugliese to explain how the treatment of Iraqi and Afghan civilians in the “War on Terror” is influenced by the geographical locations they inhabit (2007), geocorpographies combines geography with corporeality, space with bodies. Here geography is not a neutral backdrop to the ways bodies can move, occupy, or use the space they are in. Rather, bodies and bodily identity are always already constrained or enabled by their placement in space. Think of how one’s identity as a mother, a worker, or an object of sexual attention can change in different spaces and change the movement of the body through that space. More critically, and in the context of technologies of surveillance, one’s identity can change from frequent flyer, to security threat, to terrorist in a matter of (precisely, depending on the technology) calculated minutes that often hinge on the ethnic and national identity of that traveller.

Since ethnicity and national identity, as well as other bodily identities such as gender, ability, sexuality, or class, work in tandem with “hard” technologies to determine “good” from “bad” bodies, the book also approaches technology through the concept of somatechnics. Like geocorpographies, somatechnics highlights how the body is central to our experience of being in the world. The term conjoins *soma* (derived from the Greek and Latin word for “body”) and technology to draw attention to the ways bodies find expression through social techniques of manipulation. We might think of these techniques as encompassing social conventions around dress and behaviour for men and women, or for religious and non-religious persons. Without these techniques, such bodies would not be identifiable as male or female, or as belonging to a particular religion. In this book, we show how these social techniques are complemented by hard technologies such as wearable health gadgets that measure fitness and wellbeing, geo-locative devices that determine how fast workers should complete their assigned tasks, and which bodies should be targeted for execution or exclusion from the social body as a whole. Viewed through the lens of somatechnics, the body is not a “natural” entity that *comes to be* changed by society but is *already* inscribed by the social training and techniques of presentation learned in the particular environment a body occupies.

In order to understand the global inequalities bought about by technologies of health and security, this book suggests that

- Geocorpography: how space affects and effects the treatment of bodies
- Somatechnics: how the body is manipulated and produced, and
- Biopower: how to maximise the health and security of the population

comprise a critical and politically informed framework through which to understand contemporary geopolitical debates and crises over new technologies as *extensions* of already existing divides between and within populations. Not all of the contributions engage with all three of these terms, but with their shared emphasis on the management of bodies and the role of racism in justifying and structuring these practices, an examination of a specific case study through one term will necessarily draw attention to the others.

The book is set out in three sections, marked by an extended engagement with the conceptual frameworks of Geocorpographies, Technologies, and Biopolitics. Throughout the sections, the themes delineated in the book's title are interrogated in the dimensions of space, mobility, and bodies. The first section of the book focuses on the corporeal and metaphorical bodies implicated in contemporary geopolitics; that is, the geocorpographic spaces produced by United States drone strikes that obliterate flesh and humanity with impunity, or the reach of the Enlightenment-era social body that supplants Australian Indigenous sovereignty with the sovereignty of the Crown. Contributions in this section also examine the geocorpographies produced by the global distribution of HIV-prevention drugs and the intensely surveilled space of the airport. The second section, 'Technologies', looks more intently at technological developments in digital surveillance and locative media in terms of the use of consumer lifestyle apps and the ecological and labour costs of producing avowedly "immaterial" technologies. In the final section of the book, contributors draw on Foucauldian notions of biopower and biopolitics to examine how policies and ideologies of security justify the valorisation of certain types of bodies and bodily practices at the expense of others. Here, contributors examine technologies of domestic drones, ageing, and the house as a way of delineating those bodies at risk of failure in reproducing a neoliberal consumer society.

In order to help readers navigate the different case studies, histories, and geographical spaces examined in the chapters, the remainder of this Introduction will explain in more detail the role of technology in population management in the work of Foucault. In particular, we will orient readers to his approach to power as a productive agent in *stimulating* action as opposed to its usual understanding as an oppressive force. We show how this approach to power is connected to his development of governmentality, which is used to elucidate the role of security in the governing of bodies and populations. We then discuss the three key terms mentioned above (Geocorpographies, Somatechnics, and Biopower) in more detail in relation to the specific contributions to the book, and in particular, how racism activates the technological division and geographical targeting of particular bodies. Finally, we provide an overview of each of the individual chapters.

Technology, Power, Governmentality

Each of the essays contributed to this collection engages in some way or another with technologies of security, race, and biopower. In some of the contributions, these are what we might think of as social technologies, like the biopolitical discourse of ageing, the residue of sovereign power in settler states, or the symbolic institution of the ‘house’. Other contributions deal with more material technologies, such as drones in both military and civilian contexts, pre-exposure HIV prevention drugs, and wearable health and fitness gadgetry. In examining technologies, we find ourselves examining strategies, relations, and flows (what Foucault would term capillaries) of power. Technologies enable and constrain the ability of power to impose itself in our lives. All technologies—that is, all socially-constructed and socially-realised material and cultural formations—have an impact on how embodied individuals experience their place in the field of power. In particular, the essays collected in this book describe and critique the ways in which contemporary technologies produce subjects according to their statistical risk or value in an atmosphere of generalised security, in relation to categories of race, and within a strategy of power

centred on the body, through the dual poles of the individual and the population; that is, through biopower.

Power, thinking with Foucault, is not understood as something owned and exerted by the *powerful* over the *powerless* but instead as a ‘multiplicity of force relations’ (1978, p. 92). In attempting to decode Foucault’s four-part definition of power as multiplicity, process, support, and strategy (pp. 92–3), it is difficult to resist comparing power to the natural forces of the physical world, such as gravity. Although an analogy equating power with gravity is limited, in that it risks concealing the socially-contingent nature of power and its possibilities for resistance, it makes an apt comparison. Like gravity, power for Foucault has an inexorable and innate drive and direction. Like gravity, power is not measurable in a vacuum, but in the relations between objects that it links up and pulls apart. And, like gravity, power acts upon everything and emanates in some minute way *from* everything, often invisibly, to attach to all objects a vector and a velocity, a potential or actual magnitude. Foucault rejects understandings of power as ‘a group of institutions and mechanisms’, ‘a mode of subjugation’, or a ‘system of domination exerted by one group over another’; although these may be the visible effects of power, the ‘terminal forms power takes’ (p. 92). Power for Foucault is not something owned or wielded, but the context and medium of relations between the objects under its purview.

This conceptualisation of power enables analyses of how ostensibly apolitical and non-state technologies function to reproduce dominant strategies of power. These strategies of power, as found in the essays collected here, tend to pull in certain directions, directions which might be considered normative (what is “normal”). They *gravitate* towards objectives of population, through discourses of security, race, and biopower. In this way, we argue that the essays contained in this book describe nodal points in the dispersed web of what Foucault terms ‘governmentality’. Governmentality is the third major transformation of power described in Foucault’s work, following sovereignty and discipline (though sovereignty and discipline do not vanish). It describes the constellation of objects, people, technologies, and apparatuses interconnected within a circulatory system of state and population, emphasising the way in which

not only ‘*the* government’ but also corporate and communal institutions perform the collective function of governing.

Governmental power operates not through an inherent ‘right’ over life and death (as with the articulation of power under sovereign monarchies), or normative training in pursuit of docility (as in a disciplinary society), but through the ostensibly free play of interests and desires balanced against the security of the population. Foucault defines governmentality in three parts, the first (and most pertinent) of which is quoted here:

First, by ‘governmentality’ I understand the ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit very complex, power that has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instrument. (2009, p. 144)

When Foucault writes that governmentality has ‘the population as its target’, he means that government is an arrangement of objects in a complex relation of power that pulls in the direction of the overall health and wellbeing of the majority within the total population. That is, it contends with the question: how can government weigh the overall health of the population against the individual desires of citizens in such a way as to serve both? Government is therefore a form of numbers game which seeks balance in the ‘protection of the collective interest against individual interests’ (Foucault 2008, p. 65). Determining this balance (and correcting it where necessary, employing the disciplinary and biopolitical strategies of biopower) is the function of security, the ‘principle of calculation’ at the heart of liberalism. Freedom is the currency of this strategy of power, but it is a freedom that must be managed, ‘constantly produced’ (p. 65), and strained through the actuarial logic of security. The freedom of the collective population must not encroach the freedom of individuals, but the freedom of individuals must not impact the freedom of enterprise; ‘the game of freedom and security is at the very heart of this new governmental reason’ (p. 65).

The individual freedom to pursue desires and aspirations is an essential alternative to the generalised coercion that preceded in ‘disciplinary

societies' under monarchs and rulers who used force to directly discipline and punish the population. The impetus (cultivated by both state and non-state institutions of governmentality) to live a life that is at once productive, obedient, familial, healthy, consumerist, happy, career-driven, and inflected by countless other normative pressures drives self-regulation in contemporary Western societies with and through a degree of individual freedom that is both indispensable to late-capitalism and incompatible with exhaustively disciplinary or sovereign strategies of power. No longer punishable by kings, the liberal individual is free to pursue their interests. But, there is a risk to governing authorities that this freedom could be used against them or in a way that is counter to the perceived needs of the wellbeing of the whole population. The problem of modern government then is how to both nurture this freedom and direct it towards the goals of government. This directed, bounded, and manufactured individual freedom is the context for the chapters in this book, which each carve out a critical dialogue in the varied spaces of governmentality.

The essays in this collection then, tacitly or implicitly, describe technologies of security, race, and biopower which intersect in the web of apparatuses through which governmentalising power flows. They reflect the complex governmental entanglements of (in)security and capital; of the centrality of racism to expendable and mobile bodies; and of biopower, individual desire, and material technologies. Finally, they each emphasise the way power finds a 'surface of intervention' (Foucault 1978, p. 48) on the very bodies of its subjects, highlighting that the corporeal dimension does not escape power's grip in the passage of power from the discipline of sovereign rulers to the liberal freedom of government. The body and its capacities are still the key target of power for Foucault. The diverse collection of topics included here (the linear reader will soon leave behind the subject of visceral drone bombings for pharmaceutical representations in gay pornography) make innovative contributions to their respective fields, each employing a different disciplinary approach to a different subject and identifying emergent social and material technological formations of security, race, and biopower that invite further scholarly attention. While contributors to this collection examine a range

of different technologies and locations, they cohere around analyses of the new possibilities for locating and managing bodies in space.

Geocorpography, Somatechnology, and Biopower

The geographies of space are a vital mechanism for the formation of bodies as subjects of power and the application of technologies to determine their utility. The mutual constitution of space and bodies as inherently geopolitical—and linked to war as a social ordering of bodies—is what led Pugliese to coin ‘geocorpography’ (2007). Geopolitics and geography refer here to an intimate and corporeal assemblage of the body and space rather than the traditional and abstract notions of citizenship and states as granting rights and freedoms through the possession of a national identity. Where public commentary and academic scholarship once extolled the virtues of digital media and technology in freeing people from physical locations, amounting to the ‘death of geography’ (see Sassen 2003), geocorpographies highlights how the corporeal and physical exigencies of labour and bodies in place are central to the technological collation and dissemination of data through drones, biometrics, medicine, and border security. As Tiziana Terranova has noted in the context of online cultures, ‘Far from being an “unreal,” empty space, the Internet is animated by cultural and technical labor through and through, a continuous production of value that is completely immanent to the flows of the network society at large’ (2000, pp. 33–34).

In addition to materialising labour across geographical spaces, the contemporary technological capacity to manage bodies in geographical space has its antecedents in imperial and colonial forms of governance. As Jacinta Ruru notes, it was ‘upon declaring the lived homes of Indigenous peoples “space” that colonial governments successfully overlaid their laws and rules on Indigenous place’ (2008, p. 105). It is precisely because ‘space’ is an abstract entity to be managed that bodies, law, and histories can be vacated from its conceptual and practical applications. This colonial logic created a geocorpography that separated populations into

peoples who were civilised with laws, who could manage and employ appropriate technologies to create ‘places’ and fill them with the appropriate bodies, while those “without” laws, who could not manage space or land, could be racially expelled and spatially constrained. Drawing attention to the colonial histories of racial and spatial formation highlights the continuities of contemporary forms of managing, securing, and dividing up space and the bodies that move, consume, and labour within it.

In order to understand the ways bodies are managed in space, each of the chapters explains how technologies are used to produce the body as a subject of power. This process of becoming a subject (or ‘subjectification’) through specific bodily techniques and technologies is understood in the book as somatechnical. Developed by researchers working in the then-Department of Critical and Cultural Studies at Macquarie University, somatechnics was conceived as a critical and metaphysical refusal to split the ‘subject/ object’ (Pugliese and Stryker 2009, p. 2) in accounts of the body’s being in the world. Where traditional philosophical accounts of the body view it as a tool to be used and directed by the mind (as an object or thing to be controlled and overcome), somatechnics suggests that our bodies and their capacity for transformation affect our sense of self as a subject. And once we are made subjects, we become subject to power relations. A common approach to the body’s role in life is to see it as a machinic extension of thought. For instance, *I* cut myself on paper so *I’m* fastening a band-aid around *my* finger. A somatechnical perspective would invite a reconsideration of the inter-locking objects and bodies producing unexpected collisions: the paper slips from hands that are moisturised, soft tissue hitting sharp edge, blood surfaces, a band-aid’s adhesive secures itself to the matching palette of skin. In this somatechnical scene, slippery hands are productive of a gendered self, the office setting a professional occupation, the colour correspondence of plastic tourniquet to flesh signals whiteness as the default corporeal phenotype. Such identities are simultaneously registered and bought forth by the bodily techniques of modification that are social, spatial, and technological. These techniques are implicated in power relations at both an individual level (in terms of the desire for gendered expression or occupation) and a broader population level (in terms of which labouring bodies are deemed “normal” and “useful”). One aim of the somatechnic lens is to

challenge and problematise notions of the body as a natural and neutral extension of the self.

Considered as somatechnical, the body does not become a technology through representation or the external utility of tools and objects but is always-already figured as a technological site for the historical, spatial, and political embodiment of power. Connecting *techne* with *soma* shows how ‘we have never existed except in relation to the *techne* of symbolic manipulation, divisions of labor, means of shelter and sustenance, and so forth’ (2009, p. 2). This ‘so forth’ gestures towards both the extraordinary and quotidian manifestations of the body’s abilities to at once exercise power over life and remain subject to spatial and political relations of dominance.

Joseph Pugliese and Susan Stryker situate somatechnics as the bridge between Foucault’s designation of the ‘anatomo-political’ exercise of power through individual bodies, which functions at a disciplinary level to produce them as subjects, and the ‘biopolitical’ that centres on the ‘mechanisms of life’ as a whole (2009, p. 3). As explained above, liberal forms of governance require subjects who are free to act but direct their actions towards the ends of governmentality. In doing so, subjects are both made aware of themselves as individuals (with the individual freedom to self-discipline and make themselves “normal”) and as constituents of a larger population (whose overall health must be secured for the “good” of all). These dual strategies (the anatomo-political and the biopolitical) constitute biopower. Somatechnics explains how the body is implicated in systems of power which both produce a docile subjectivity that can be disciplined by bodily techniques and the larger institutional ordering and management of bodies that takes place at the level of populations. Understood through somatechnics, the chapters in this book illustrate ‘the role of the body in the production of knowledge’ (Pugliese and Stryker 2009, p. 1) regarding the modes of identification (as gendered, as raced, etc.) through which power takes hold of the corporeal.

Critically, somatechnics draws attention to the capillarising and activating role of racism in Foucault’s genealogy of power. For Foucault, colonisation provides the impetus for a biological form of racism that spatially segregates global populations and justifies the exclusion or killing of aleatory bodies within the population (2003, p. 257). He argues, ‘In a

normalizing society, race or racism is the precondition that makes killing acceptable' and 'Once the State functions in the biopower mode, racism alone can justify the murderous function of the State' (p. 256). Racism is understood by Foucault as encompassing biological traits designated as unproductive or undesirable for the state, which can also include ability or sexuality. He qualifies his use of the term 'killing' by explaining,

When I say 'killing', I obviously do not mean simply murder as such, but also every indirect form of murder: the fact of exposing someone to death, increasing the risk of death for some people, or, quite simply, political death, expulsion, rejection, and so on. (p. 256)

As a result of the state's role in preserving life that is productive and necessary for the social body, war becomes an organising rationale for and truth-effect of the arrangement of bodies within a population, stimulated by 'the theme of racism' (p. 257). Subjects are encouraged to see themselves in a war over the resources that secure life, which therefore mitigates the potential for a critique or protest against the governing authorities that manage these resources.

Walter Mignolo describes biopolitics and biopower as 'regional critical concepts' since they explain how racism is inscribed in the development of modern European states (2012). The biological construction of race instantiated asymmetries of bodily value in the context of colonial conquest, where war was a direct exercise rather than an operation of governance. Beginning in the seventeenth century, the epistemological and ontological construction of non-Europeans as 'deficient' supplied the rationale for global capitalism; 'you cannot exploit and expropriate an equal' (2012). Thus the racist 'logic of coloniality' created and justified the instrumentalisation of 'deficient' bodies for slave labour and the production of surplus goods. Such an economy 'introduced ... the dispensability of human life' (2012) that animates contemporary global hierarchies of capitalism and their attendant geopolitical inequalities.

Understood as a strategy of governance that intersects with the production of expendable life, all of the contributions in the book touch on the 'sometechnological instrumentalization of racism' (Pugliese and Stryker 2009, p. 4) as a means of calculating the body's utility. In each

of the contributions, the affected bodies employ and are employed by technologies to become aware of themselves as subjects: as belonging to identities that are biologically and economically productive, defective, or simply surplus to a capitalist regime within a particular spatial and political locale.

Geocorpography, somatechnology, and biopower structure the volume's engagement with the racialised spatial ordering of bodies and the technological formation of subjects worth preserving or destroying, worth making live or letting die (Foucault 2003, p. 247): geocorpographies which inscribe in the body the violent machinations of geopolitics founded on empire and colonisation; somatechnologies which always-already produce the body of the subject and cannot be extracted from it; and biopower which from one pole disciplines and normalises bodies, and from the other pole, identifies, sorts, manipulates, and exterminates them.

The Content and Data of Bodies

All contributed chapters are situated in the space of geocorpography, somatechnics, and biopower. From a Foucauldian standpoint, the contributions outline how bodies are always technologies of a kind of "security", always reproducing or articulating the objectives of governmental power, of the phenomenon called the "population", not in spite of but because their corporeal vulnerability (their capacity for failure, their capacity for revolt) is rendered as risk within these paradigms of power.

In Section One: Geocorpographies, the first chapter, by Joseph Pugliese, develops 'bioinformatonalisation of life' as a means of accounting for the 'the interlocking of the [National Security Agency] NSA's metadata with the [Department of Defense] DoD's algorithmic formulae used to conduct drone kills in which often the identities of those killed are not known' (p. 4). Disrupting the celebratory narratives of technological progress that posit the scientific accuracy of drone strikes, and therefore "humane" operation of war, Pugliese recounts the horrifying violence unleashed through drone warfare because its inexact targeting is predicated on a metonymical association between the Arab body of one

“terrorist” for another. Simply occupying a geographical space and identity is enough to render all bodies suspect in this war. Drone warfare is enacted through cell phone use where the consumer’s own carrier signals can be locked onto nearby towers to relay geolocative telecommunication data to drone operators. In this way, the use of phone technology somatechnically instrumentalises a terrorist or “terrorist-like” body ready for killing by harnessing the subject’s own consumption practices against them. Locking drone targets to the carrier data of moving bodies also constructs ‘a bounded locus’ for an otherwise fluid and mobile ‘transnational terrorism’ (Gregory 2004, p. 50). The chapter quotes NSA General Counsel Stewart Baker’s overview of this process: ‘metadata absolutely tells you everything about somebody’s life. If you have enough metadata, you don’t really need content’ (p. 4). This reduction of the biography of those who carry phones to superfluous ‘content’ is illustrative of what Derek Gregory describes as ‘Modern cartographic reason’ wherein ‘electronic, mediatized extensions’ of spatial warfare ‘relies on ... high-level, disembodied abstractions to produce the illusion of an authorizing master-subject’ (2004, p. 54). That up to 90 per cent of drone strikes result in casualties of innocent civilians (p. 7) is not surprising given the confident abstracted techno-logic employed by the DoD. Pugliese contends these casualties cannot be labelled ‘errors’ or ‘mistakes’ when the extrajudicial drone killings are ‘predicated on anthro-pocentric hierarchies of life’ (p. 8) which biopolitically designate some bodies as justified objects of slaughter in the United States’ right to self-defence.

Pugliese’s chapter introduces two critical themes of the volume: the role of empire and state sovereignty in determining what resources and technologies can be used to preserve life and the entanglement of technological consumption in the spatial ordering, emaciation, and targeting of “deserving” and “undeserving” bodies. The mediation of which bodies, in which spaces, are deserving of pleasure, life, and security is explored by Joshua Pocius in Chap. 2. Pocius expands on Pugliese’s work to focus on the biopolitical and geocorpographic role of antiretroviral medication. The chapter situates ‘the emergence of pre-exposure prophylaxis (PrEP) as a biomedical technology which straddles discourses of public health and erotic pleasure’ (p. 22). Developing the term ‘eRotics’, Pocius shows how there is a connection between preservation and pleasure in medical

technologies of risk mitigation. For gay male bodies in the Global North, PrEP drugs potentially facilitate new ways of exercising identity and fraternity that challenge older forms of community built out of the AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome) crisis (and generate new forms of pornography and erotic consumption). For bodies in the Global South, however, prevention and treatment remains sluggish due to geopolitical and medical assumptions that the drug will be consumed irresponsibly. These geocorpographies of consumption and risk mitigation are built into the mapping of the virus where the 'strain' most predominantly found in Western countries is given comparatively more attention and treatment than the virus' manifestations in non-Western spaces (p. 35). Pocius posits that the possibilities for sexual practices such as barebacking to be enabled by PrEP and imagined through pornography must be situated in a geocorpographic continuum with the bodies in the Global South exposed to bare life without pharmaceutical protection.

Where Pocius' chapter focuses on the risks of PrEP use by individuals, weighed against the security and health of the social body as whole, Holly Randell-Moon considers the historical and contemporary role of the British monarchy as likewise preserving the security and durability of the social body on behalf of Commonwealth nations. Arguing that bodies (both symbolic and literal) were central to the "discovery" and possession of new territories during colonialism, Randell-Moon shows how a geocorpographic configuration of Commonwealth nations was and still is essential for the white, Protestant Crown to claim sovereign authority in settler states like Australia. Crucially, the apparent secularity of law in settler states operates as 'juridical affirmation of settler sovereignty and the extinguishment of Indigenous sovereignties as competing forms of authority' (p. 42). Randell-Moon demonstrates with the example of succession laws in the United Kingdom and their patriation into the domestic secular laws of Commonwealth nations that secular law does not function as a demonstration of the autonomy of settler states to make their own laws. Rather, the secular law of settler states serves to capillarise and activate a British sovereign power that is theocratic in its ties to the Church of England and the British monarchy. She focuses on the UK Succession to the Crown Bill 2012, which was fast-tracked in order to prepare for the possibility of a female heir born to the Duchess

of Cambridge, as it was feared that the potential ascension instead of a younger male sibling (without cause, it later proved) would have sparked neoliberal outrage. The succession amendments that followed Britain's example throughout the Commonwealth, despite being framed through discourses of liberal equality, 'work to abstract the bodies of the Monarchy from the geopolitical and imperial histories of war, discovery, and settlement' (p. 56). The chapter concludes that settler "secularity" is primarily a secularity from Indigenous sovereignty and sovereignties which would challenge the Crown possession that underpins secular law.

Sunshine Kamaloni's conclusion to the Geocorpographies section is a first-person exploration of the geocorpographies of borders, bodies, and security. Critically reflecting on the experience of being a black woman in the heavily-regimented space of an airport, the chapter's title, 'What are you doing here?' is a declarative assertion of privilege. The title's address to the author provokes feelings of uncertainty, implicit exclusion, and scrutiny which characterise her every visit to the airport. As well as recounting specific experiences, Kamaloni examines the space of the airport as a border, a space for surveillance, a post-9/11 nexus of geopolitical insecurities, and a racialised and technologised geocorpography. She describes in a confessional tone how passing through Melbourne's Tullamarine airport makes her 'acutely aware and self-conscious of my body and the otherness attached to it' (p. 64), offering something that is not present in any other contribution to this book: an affective experiential account of geocorpographic violence. In mobilising this self-ethnography, the chapter's methodology is in line with Michael Shapiro's notion of the 'violent cartographies' constituted through the ontological placement of self and other (1997). Kamaloni recalls two particular incidents in her narrative: a near-collision with a middle-aged white woman, wherein the corporeal borders of differently-marked and labelled bodies produces discomfort and shame, and her surprise at a customs officer mistakenly grouping her with a stranger, due to the matching colour of their skin. Throughout this chapter, the spectre of borders persists: national borders, airports as borders 'within borders', bodily borders, and biopolitical borders as racialised caesurae. The airport, Kamaloni finds, is a space striated with immeasurable and invisible borders, of which her blackness makes her poignantly aware.

If the technologies of security at the airport serve a larger biopolitical purpose of risk management within the social body, by making certain travellers aware of themselves as subjects of risk, Chaps. 5 and 6 focus on a differently subjectified body, but one nonetheless produced by geocorpographic and biopolitical currents: the consumer body. In the first chapter of Section Two: Technologies, Ryan Tippet examines the ‘Internet.org’ project by Facebook to offer free internet access in under-developed regions of the world, seeking to problematise the campaign’s charitable and revolutionary rhetoric through a framework of ‘corporate geocorpography’. Whereas Pugliese’s original concept emphasised the corporeal violence of state geopolitics, Tippet demonstrates with corporate geocorpography how the business campaigns of companies like Facebook can produce parallel spaces of *‘seductive and inclusive enmeshment of the flesh and blood of the body within the economic geography of race, technology, and imperialism’* (p. 82). In centring the body to these geographies of corporate expansion, Tippet seeks to demystify the ‘immaterial’ rhetoric of the ‘global knowledge economy’, using surveillance theory and Mark Andrejevic’s concept of digital enclosure to anchor Internet.org’s mobile app and public relations output to the racialised and labouring bodies of its subjects. Such an undertaking is in line with Saskia Sassen’s contention that ‘There is today no fully virtualized firm or economic sector’ (2003, p. 22) and ‘Information technologies have not eliminated the importance of massive concentrations of material resources’ (p. 22). Ultimately, and in spite of its apparent altruism, Internet.org cannot be disentangled from the economic motivations of its corporate members, and the project ‘to bring affordable internet access to the two thirds of the world without it’ (p. 81) fits neatly within a surveillance and corporate geocorpographic critique wherein the ethos of ‘The more we connect, the better it gets’ (cited in p. 93) veils an exploitative and racialised imperial project of commodification in emerging digital enclosures.

In Chap. 6, Brett Nicholls situates the rise of wearable technologies of self-quantification (and their companion mobile apps) in the critical framework of Deleuze’s ‘societies of control’. Nicholls analyses the discourse of ‘self knowledge through numbers’ (cited in p. 102) by asking what the personalised ‘reconfiguration of bodies, technology, and data’ (p. 102) does for and to the self-responsible and health-conscientious

modern liberal subject. Nicholls deploys Marxian and Foucauldian theories to support his critique of the technologies of ‘Everyday Modulation’, elaborating the densely-collaged social context that preconditioned the emergence of the tangible and discursive technologies of self-quantification. Like Tippet in Chap. 5, Nicholls finds that Foucault’s ‘disciplinary societies’ provide an insufficient framework to describe the forms of surveillance enabled by mobile quantification apps, whereas Deleuze’s control societies account for the always-on, automatic, everyday nature of wearable health motivation technologies. These are technologies which instrumentalise bodies in the name of security—in the governmental sense of the security of healthy and productive bodies.

While Tippet and Nicholls examine how consumers of information communications technology and consumer electronics (CE) are cultivated, Sy Taffel’s concluding chapter in the Technologies section focuses on the production processes of the devices themselves. Taffel asks us to ‘re-think the material politics of digital culture’ (p. 122) by examining the toxic waste produced by the extraction of rare earth elements, their assembly, use, and recycling in CE. Scholars have approached the life-cycle of CE and the proliferation of screens through media ecology (see Deuze 2012) and the transformations of cognitive capabilities required to labour and participate in the attention economy (see Stiegler 2012). Taffel’s work shows how our media life is inextricably tied to the life-cycle and biological transformation of bodies in the Global South. Though their labour is (often fatally) essential to the proliferation of CE, the role of these bodies is invisibilised in the production chain of smart technologies. When these technologies are exported to consumers in the Global North, large corporate chains utilise them to implement “smart” work practices that calculate to the minute the optimal completion times for industrial tasks. These financial pressures on the extraction, assembling, and implementation of CE exemplify the shifting geopolitical constructions of consumer privilege which centre China as a global economic power. Both older and newer forms of imperial and colonial geographies have effected the contemporary capitalist flows of digital technologies, and their production exigencies intersect with racialised and classed configurations of disposable bodies across Asia, the Global South, and the West. Caught up in the cycle of extraction, production, and utility of

CE, precarious workers across the globe are differently enmeshed in the capitalist gears of surplus profit generated through technical efficiency. To document the environmental and somatic toxicities of CE is to then corporealise dominant conceptions of the knowledge economy as “weightless” and “green”.

In the final section of the book, *Biopolitics*, Caitlin Overington and Thao Phan’s focus on consumer drones illustrates another geocorpographic consumption cycle where technologies associated in one spatial context with death and destruction are transposed into pleasure and indulgence in another. Here the book revisits drones and examines their resignification from killing apparatuses to banal hobby and feature of urban life. In order to map this transition, Overington and Phan draw on Hannah Arendt’s notion of banalisation, showing how technologies of war come to fit comfortably within existing security apparatuses such as Closed-Circuit Television. In this re-purposing of drones, and following Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri’s concept of ‘Empire’, war becomes a ‘general phenomenon, global and interminable’ (cited in p. 148). Overington and Phan find, therefore, ‘that the civilian uptake of drones is demonstrative of the banalisation of war within this regime’ (p. 148). Drones as hobby exemplify the role of conflict and war in the global distribution and flow of technology and capital into city spaces. Being able to access and use drone technology for leisure implicates drone consumers within biopolitical ‘ways of seeing’ and broader security regimes of generalised surveillance.

Whereas Overington and Phan identify the blurring of an urban/ war and hobby/ weapon set of surveillance binaries, Chap. 9 examines the biopolitical apparatus enclosing individuals on the wrong side of an age divide. David-Jack Fletcher situates his analysis in the context of biogerontology, where ageing bodies are constructed ‘as “diseased” within a biomedical framework’ (p. 168). Drawing on the work of Giorgio Agamben and Foucault, Fletcher argues that aged bodies are categorised as unproductive and therefore quarantined from normal society under this biomedical paradigm. Crucially, this occurs through a somatechnics of freedom whereby the elderly are positioned as desirous of this exclusion for their own good. For Melinda Cooper, biotechnologies and commercialised life sciences emerge from a post-industrial valorisation of life

as a surplus (2015). Fletcher locates anti-ageing medicine, ‘emerging telomere and stem cell based therapies’ (page), as part of an older humanist desire to overcome mortality itself. Evoking Foucault’s anatomo-politics, Fletcher contends that biogerontology depends on ‘the conception of the individual body as a machine’ (p. 172). From the perspective of ‘racist’ biopower, when age intervenes in the efficiency of that machine, the killing or removal of the deteriorating individual body is a justified act of war to preserve the social body.

Jillian Kramer continues the discussion of war as a biopolitical form of social organisation in the book’s final chapter, with an analysis of the settler colonial machinations of the Northern Territory Emergency Response (NTER) in Australia. Colloquially known as the “Intervention”, the NTER was initiated in 2007 by the then John Howard-led Coalition government as a response to reports of child sexual abuse in remote Northern Territory Aboriginal communities. The response included alcohol restrictions, compulsory child health checks, quarantining of social security payments, the abolishment of the permit system (where visits to and residence on communal land were undertaken with permission from the local Aboriginal community), a military presence to enforce these measures, and controversially, the suspension of the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975* (Cth) so that the measures could be racially discriminatory and apply to all Indigenous residents in the targeted communities. Kramer’s point of entry is the symbolic role of the ‘house’ in Intervention policy and discourse as both an institution of the settler-colonial state and a site of Indigenous resistance. Couched in militaristic rhetoric and appeals to the logic of security, the Intervention sought to displace the agency of Indigenous communities through land reacquisition, punitive measures, and ‘economic regimes’, citing the inability of Aboriginal people to self-govern in accordance with Australian settler-state governmentality. Drawing from Paula Chakravartty and Denise Ferreira da Silva, Kramer shows that the figure of the house mobilised by the settler-colonial state must be conceptualised as a thoroughly racialised construct (Chapter 10), especially as it functions in the Intervention as an indexical signifier of ‘coextensive notions of “private property”, “economic security”, and “business management,” to (re)produce the legal fiction of *terra nullius*’ (p. 191). Kramer’s contribution demonstrates the way in which ‘normativity’, despite functioning as an incentive for self-discipline under

the freedom-oriented strategy of governmental power, is still a restricted and racialised white capitalist normal, leaving ‘aleatory’ Indigenous communities subject to figurative ‘killing’ by the disciplinary and biopolitical tactics of biopower.

United under the themes of geocorpographies, technologies, and biopolitics, the contributions in this edited collection disclose how the connections between space, race, and bodies are central to the emergence and refinement of technologies of surveillance, medicine, law, and war. Contested in every chapter are relations of power structured by multiple competing technologies of sovereignty, discipline, and government, and our focus in assembling these chapters under the heading *Security, Race, Biopower* has been to demonstrate the way these technologies—no matter how weightless and “ethereal”, and regardless of whether they operate on a mass or individual level—find a surface of intervention on corporeal bodies.

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Notes

1. For more information on the conference and the *Space, Race, Bodies* research collective, please visit our website: <http://www.spaceracebodies.com>.
2. The journal companion to this book is the special issue of *Somatechnics* (vol. 6, no. 1) entitled, "Geocorpographies of Commemoration, Repression and Resistance", which is edited by Mahdis Azarmandi, Elaine Carbonell Laforteza, and Maud Ceuterick.

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