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Article:

Internal colonisation: The intimate circulations of empire, race and liberal government

Abstract

This article proposes that 'internal colonisation' provides a necessary lens through which to explore the relationship between violence and race in contemporary liberal government. Contributing to an increasing interest in race in IR, this article proposes that whilst racism remains a vital demarcation in liberal government between forms of worthy/unworthy life, this is continually shaped by colonial histories and ongoing projects of Empire which manifest in the Global North and South in familiar, if not identical ways. In unpacking the concept of internal colonisation and its intellectual history from Black Studies into colonial historiography and political geography, I highlight how (neo)metropolitan states such as Britain, were always active imperial terrain and subjected to forms of colonisation. This recognises how metropole and colonies where bounded together through colonisation and how knowledge and practices of rule were appropriated onto a heterogeneity of racialised and undesirable subjects both within colonies and Britain. Bringing the argument up to date, I show how internal colonisation remains diverse and dispersed under liberal empire – enhanced through the war on terror. To do this, I sketch out how forms of 'armed social work' central to counterinsurgency in the Afghanistan and Iraq, is also central to the management of sub-populations in Britain through the counterterrorism strategy Prevent. Treating (neo)metropoles such as the UK as part of imperial terrain helps us recognise the way that knowledge/practices of colonisation have worked across multiple populations and been invested in mundane sites of liberal government. This brings raced histories into closer encounters with the (re)making of a raced present.

Keywords

Race, Liberal Government, Eurocentrism, Colonialism, Counterinsurgency, Prevent.

Internal colonisation: The intimate circulations of empire, race and liberal government

The past comes back not just to haunt, but to structure and drive the contemporary operations of power.

(Dillon 2012: 122)

Introduction

In the wake of the intensification of authoritarian treatment of subjects and populations by Northern liberal states – through warfare, abandonment, dispossession, incarceration and torture (Richter-Montpetit 2014; McIntyre and Nast 2011; Squire 2016) – one of the increasingly pressing questions for International Relations (IR) is how to understand the relationship between liberal government, violence and race. Deaths of migrants in the Mediterranean, expanding networks of detention, deportation, prison systems, police violence, experiments in aerial bombardment, walls and enclosures, surveillance and counterterrorism tactics, call upon us to examine the circulations of practices of violence which render certain populations as suspect, abject and 'unworthy'. Responding to this call, this article forwards a series of questions: How are we able to account for the historical context of the management of subjects and populations by Northern liberal states? Does IR have the conceptual and analytical tools to make sense of this? What other frameworks or concepts can be brought into IR to enhance our analysis of the intersecting of liberal government, violence and race?

Postcolonial, critical race theory and Foucauldian biopolitics have been increasingly helpful for IR scholars exploring the place of race in the contemporary international order. This has often focused on the treatment of populations in the Global South through development, warfare, security (Burkawi 2016; Jabri 2012; Anderson 2011). The best of these approaches are able to show how histories of colonialism play a central role in the configuration of modern rule and the complex way that disciplinary and violent practices become conditions of liberal government. However, even when colonialism is conceived of as relevant to the analysis of international politics, it is often used to understand North/South encounters and/or viewed as a historical remnant that 'haunts' the representation and treatment of the once 'colonised'. Whilst work in colonial historiography and political geography has challenged the assumption of a 'post' colonial world and the spatial distinction between colony/metropole (Stoler 2016; Gregory 2004), work in IR has been less active in reformulating contemporary accounts of colonialism (although see Barder 2015; Shilliam 2016). Because of a temporal and spatial schema which often treats colonisation as something done by Northern states to the Global South, what is often left under examined in IR is how

violence and racism in the Global South is connected to the treatment of populations in the Global North and how this might also be a product of *ongoing* modes of colonialism.

This article forwards the framework of 'internal colonisation' to capture the extent and reach of the relationship between liberalism and colonialism. Setting out a particular reading of internal colonisation, drawing upon earlier incarnations of the concept in Black Studies (Allen 1969, 2005; Blauner 1969; Harris D 1972; Pinderhughes 2011) and contemporary interlocutors (Alexander 2006; Cooper and Stoler 1997; Kipfner 2007), I bring work on internal colonisation into keener dialogue with studies of governmentality. Internal colonisation offers a way of exploring liberal rule by setting contemporary forms of governmentality in a longer history of colonial racial government which extends across both (neo)colonies and (neo)metropoles and treats them as both imperial terrain. Contributing to the emergent body of work in IR on postcolonial governmentality (Jabri 2012; Mezzadra, Reid and Samaddar 2013; Wynne-Hughes 2015), biopolitics and race (Agathangelou 2013; Richter-Montpetit 2014) the article suggests a different schema for understanding the circulation of racializing practices in modern states and explores the intimate transnational histories which constitute different 'underdeveloped'/'undevelopable' populations. In particular it calls for the re-examination of colonial governmentalities in (neo)metropoles such as Britain.

Internal colonisation provides a historical schema and an analytical tool which contests the treatment of colonialism as a 'remnant' and instead focusses on colonisation as active and ongoing across both (neo)colonies and (neo)metropoles in the governance of racialised populations. This helps avoiding two Eurocentric pitfalls in IR: 1) The dominant focus on violence, warfare and insecurity in the Global South can be complemented with a parallel focus on the Global North; 2) enduring forms of colonial rule can also be understood as a form of liberal rule that persists in the management of racialised populations both within the Global North (such as Britain) and in the Global South. This raises important concerns for how we map out 'colonial legacies' in Northern states more generally. It questions the assumption that treatment of racialised groups in Northern states is *postcolonial* (i.e. a remnant and legacy of Empire brought 'back home') and asks how we might view racialised government in terms of the remobilisation and contingent redeployment of colonial tactics and knowledges.

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In order to unpack and demonstrate the analytical framework of internal colonisation, I draw upon an archive of governing practices which are concerned with domesticating certain populations by the British Imperial state (from the 17th century onwards). I develop a series of historical snapshots to show how internal colonisation is useful for understanding the shifting racialisation of populations across imperial terrain. This demonstrates how older forms of colonial rule are remobilised and remapped into the present and equally how knowledge/practice travel transnationally through circuits of Empire (also see Legg 2014). I begin by examining the way that the discovery of 'waste' was central to liberal claims to development and progress in racialised colonial encounters. Before moving onto examine how forms of what Patricia Owens' (2015) calls 'social civilisational work' were networked across imperial terrain in both colonies and metropole alike. This focus on social work illustrates the mundane ways through which colonial racism functions and how the discovery of 'underdeveloped'/'underdevelopable' populations interlocks with norms of gender, class and sexuality. These historical snapshots are brought into the present by showing how the historical and transnational circulation of counterinsurgency or 'armed social work' continues to be central to the UK government's counter-terrorism strategy Prevent. This examines how past forms of social work are reworked in the targeting of 'dangerous' and 'radicalised' Muslimified households. As with other forms of internal colonisation this shows how mundane practices of liberal government are linked to practices of pacification, and the transnational regulation of 'underdeveloped'/'undevelopable' forms of life under liberal empire. This works to bring raced histories into closer encounters with the (re)making of a raced present.

The (relative) silencing of the colonial

Foucauldian studies of contemporary rule have had a profound impact on IR. In response to contemporary events and through postcolonial critiques and supplements to Foucault's work (Stoler 1995; Jabri 2012), the relationship between violence and racism has become increasingly central to contemporary analysis of liberal government and biopolitics (Mbembe 2003; Kapoor 2013; Macey 2009; Rasmussen 2011; Isin 2012). To Foucault (2004 254) racism was central to biopolitics in providing a 'break into the domain of life ... the break between *what must live and what must die*'. What Foucault and certain branches of contemporary Foucauldian scholarship have arguably missed is the transnational, non-European, and explicitly colonial development of modern rule (Mbembe 2003). The role of

racism within studies of government and biopolitics is often disconnected from the (neo)colonial histories that arguably make it possible (see Dillon 2008). Foucault's work has already been heavily criticised for its Eurocentricism (Chow 2002; Jabir 2012; Stoler 1995) but it is worth reminding ourselves that despite small allusions to Empire and the place of racism in his analysis, liberal government is treated as a product of an internal European experience. Contemporary accounts of liberal government rely upon varying and diverse genealogies through encounters with postcolonial studies (Kapoor 2013; Wynne-Hughes 2015; Agathangelou, 2013; Richter-Montpetit 2014). However, the most extensive of these engagements have taken place outside of IR (Adebanwi 2016; Povinelli 2011; Stoler 1995, 2016; Chow 2002; Legg 2014; Venn 2008; McIntyre and Nast 2011; Scott 1999). Despite the emergence of work examining IR's neglect of racism and colonialism (Shilliam 2013; Anievas, Manchanda, Shilliam 2014; Bell 2013; Rutazibwa 2016; Carrozza et al 2017) and the push to engage postcolonial and decolonial scholars in the critique of war, humanitarianism and development (Sajed 2013, Burkawi 2016; Sabaratnam 2017) there still remains a tendency for scholars of European states to overlook the place of colonial in the development of contemporary rule and the production of modern racism (see Venn 2009). This is further exacerbated by a persistence of a methodological nationalism and/or Eurocentricism (Tansel 2015) when exploring state formations prior to the 20th century (and the rise of globalisation) and a tendency to treat modern domestic liberal politics as endogenously produced, rather inherently tied to and made possible by upon transnational and explicitly colonial processes of accumulation, exploitation and control (Neocleous 2012).

A lingering issue in accounts of governmentality is its provenance. It is often viewed as a form of modern power/rule which emerged from the internal experiences of Northern states (Dean 1999; Walters 2012). When IR scholars treat governmentality and biopolitical management as a potentially globalising phenomenon, even as a colonising force, this often works upon a particular historical and geographical schema (Larner and Walters 2006). Forms of rule associated with liberalism are viewed as historically produced within the containers of Northern states which are then either 'taken up' or imposed on the Global South (through either Empire or Development – if the two are separated). Jonathan Joseph's (2010) approach to governmentality reflects such a schema. He starts by asking: 'If Foucault's insights on governmentality are primarily concerned with liberal societies, can they really be

applied to situations where such conditions are absent?' (Joseph 2010: 247). The answer becomes a self-evident 'No'. As he continues:

> What we see in Africa, in the area of security and elsewhere, is a drive to neoliberal governmentality coming *from the outside*, something quite different from the governmentalization of Western societies. The dogmatic imposition of neoliberal governmentality on societies which would otherwise lack the social base to develop their own forms of governmentality (Joseph 2010: 247 my emphasis).

The problem with such an account is not so much the focus on contemporary 'imposition' (and the unequal power relations this relies upon) but the assumption that Africa and Northern European states have existed as closed units. There is little or no room for the South to have played a role in the historical development of Northern states or in forms of contemporary governmentality (Bhambra 2016; Hansen and Jonsson 2014; Tansel 2015). As Tansel (2015: 78) notes, this relies on the Eurocentric normalisation of 'an ex post factor hypothesis that modern socio-economic development is an exclusively endogenous European affair and the components of this trajectory can be found unanimously within a geographical and culturally defined Europe (and in general the West)'. In this way, encounters between histories of colonialism and governmentality remain limited. The question of how colonialism played an act role in shaping liberal government is obscured, as is how populations in Northern states are actively subject to colonising practices (Barder 2015). Furthermore, we learn little of how circulations of knowledge and practices across global/colonial spaces – both Northern and Southern – continue to move and change and how the regulations of populations is constituted through the circulation of colonialising forms of rule. In order to better appreciate these circulations, I argue that we need to understand how the British state is constituted through governmentalizing logics which are *imperial* as much as they are 'domestic'. This helps us recognise how colonial experiences shaped emergent governmentalities and the way that the life and death organised around the persistence and dynamic mobility of colonial racism.

In the next section I outline a certain reading of internal colonisation and an overview of the term's intellectual history from Black Studies, before sketching out how we might use the concept to understand the persistence of colonising practices which shape contemporary rule in (neo)metropoles such as Britain.

Internal colonisation and the 'domestic face of Empire'

In *Empire Within* Alexander Barder (2015) argues that colonies acted as a 'laboratory of Empire'. Colonies provided 'experimentation' in governing which often diffused back to the metropole (also see Mitchell 2000). The diagram of the laboratory is useful in examining a genealogy of governmentality and security practices which travelled from colonies back to Europe. But rather than emphasising the diffusion of past colonial experiments back to 'domestic spaces', internal colonisation stresses the *ongoing* dynamics of colonising practices which constitute 'domestic space' as always/already *imperial terrain* and sites of racialised 'regimes of truth' (Burton 1998). Rather than stressing a form of unidirectional movement, internal colonisation better captures the complex spatialities and epistemologies of Empire and the multifaceted way through which racialised discourse operates. In doing so it is more attuned to way that different problem populations are constituted as threats to order, how human worth and value was distributed and rationalised, and how technologies of government emerge out of the need to domesticate renderings of 'underdeveloped' and 'undevelopable' life across stratified geographies and temporalities. In doing so, it helps us recognise the recurrence, recalibration and 'duress' of modes colonialism operating today (Stoler 2016). As Jacqui Alexander (2006: 251) argues this means attuning ourselves to view colonialism as simultaneously 'then and there', 'here and now' and 'here and there'.

The concept of internal colonialism emerged as part of an anti-colonial critique developing in Latin America in the mid-1960's (González 1965). Initially tied to work in dependency theory, the concept was used to describe the spatial and economic practices of domination and segregation experienced by racialised minorities after 'decolonisation'. However, the most prominent work on internal colonialism has come from scholars working in Black Studies in the US (Allen 1969; Blaut 1974). The term developed as a way of understanding the particular economic, social and cultural subjugation of Black communities and Native American populations through 'white rule' and the afterlife of slavery. For Charles Pinderhughes (2010: 236) internal colonisation is 'geographically-based pattern of subordination of a differentiated population, located within the dominant power or country.' This was foreshadowed by scholars and activists such as Malcolm X (1965) who argued that settler colonialism created a network of internal colonies which were spatially and functionally distinct but tied to the wider logic of imperial capitalism and transnational racism. To Robert Blauer (1969) internal colonies were bounded racialised spaces - of the

ghetto and inner city suburbs - which were governed by disenfranchisement, labour exploitation and violent policing. Importantly, the knowledge system of racial superiority and strategies of rule involved in policing the urban ghetto were treated as co-terminus with spatial logics of enclosure and modes of colonial policing, particularly in Africa.

Work on internal colonialism was classically structuralist and Marxist but the concept has also been influenced by postcolonial scholarship and critical geographies of race (Etkind 2011, Netzloff 2003; Cowen and Lewis 2016; Short 2005; Kipfer 2007; Alexander 2006). Drawing upon Fanon, contemporary accounts of internal colonialism have emphasised the multiscalar dimension of colonisation and its embodied affects (Kipfer 2007). Internal colonisation is viewed as producing a particular form of racialised, gendered and sexualised violence that denies the subjectivity of the internally colonised and draws on orientalist knowledge which perpetuates the demarcation between the civilised/savage, colonizer/colonised, developed/undevelopable (Weber 2015). Forms of internal (neo)colonisation might be better seen through the recent history of liberalism as contingent ways of knowing and pacifying sub-populations, built on schemas of (re)productivity, development (McIntyre and Nast 2011) and heteronormative citizenship. The process of internal colonisation is based on 'a coloniality of power' (Allen 2005: 11 also see Grosfoguel 2003) and epistemic violence as well as a material form of exploitation and warfare. It is a form of coloniality making possible unequal and affective subject positions which create the conditions for the demarcation between worthy/unworthy life (that which can live/that which can die or be killed). As Franz Fanon (1967: 116) revealed of this matrix in *Black Skin, White Masks:*

> I move slowly in the world, accustomed now to seek no longer for upheaval. I progress by crawling. And already I am being dissected under white eyes, the only real eyes. I am fixed. Having adjusted their microtomes, they objectively cut away slices of my reality. I am laid bare. I feel, I see in those white faces that it is not a new man who has come in, but a new kind of man, a new genus.

The form of transnational racism and subjectification central to internal colonisation works along a continuum; it emerges in relation to localised and historical contexts but is also familiar. For example, to Cowen and Lewis (2016) the killing of young black men and women (see http://www.aapf.org/sayhername/) by police across the US is just one dimension of the intersectional racist economy of internal (neo)colonialism. Black people, they argue, are configured as *killable* through everyday forms of economic, social and cultural

subjugation (as sexualised threats to 'white' neighbourhoods, or disenfranchised through housing and welfare policies); 'walled in' through practices of containment and enclosure (prisons, ghettoization, curfews) and regulated through social warfare (workfare, militarised policing, zero tolerance). Here histories of anti-black violence (from slavery to Jim Crow laws to prison systems) constitute certain bodies as killable, at the same time this is reinforced through the appropriation of militarised policing and technologies of 'population centric' warfare which has been 'tested out' in Iraq and Afghanistan (Williams 2011; Gillem 2007). These practices and knowledge(s) coalesce in novel ways in the treatment of Black populations in the US but such racial governance is only made possible through the coming together of dispersed forms of colonialism both at 'home' and 'abroad'.

The internal frontier

Internal colonisation is made possible as a part of wider constitution of colonial/modernity and which relies on a fusing together of a racialized form of personhood (attached to whiteness) with capital accumulation/dispossession (Rojas 2017). Whilst existing work on internal colonisation has tended to be geographically and historically focussed on the US, once we put internal colonisation in dialogue with work on the scalar and transnational governmentality (Legg 2014; Mitchell 2000) this widens its applicability. This helps recognise colonialism as more than fixed territorial locations and, instead, as assemblages of knowledge and practices which circulate across the regulation of hierarchised population. It becomes possible to view internal colonisation as a process that is dynamic and ongoing not only within settler colonial societies but in metropolitan centres of imperial states such as Britain (see Stone 1979). Knowledge and practices of colonial governmentality were constantly fed back through internal colonisation, just as the government of subjects within the metropole provided knowledge of and ways of ruling distant 'others'. This was ongoing throughout the formal period of colonisation as well as through (neo)colonial formations. Here the intimacy of imperial terrain refers to both the constitution of colonial government through racialised-sexuality but also the need to treat metropoles/colonies as an already *intimate* and interconnected analytical field (Lowe 2015). Rather than considering colonialism to merely 'haunt' liberal forms of government, the argument here is more active - the attention is on how colonial entailments can be recalibrated in more of less visible ways in contemporary liberal rule. This doesn't *only* mean searching for points of continuity with older colonial governmentalities (although such an exercise is vital) it also means being

attuned to how contemporary problematisations might equally remobilise, refashion and create new colonial distributions and how certain forms of racialised violence persist in reimagining and sustaining a colonial present.

Liberal government and race. In bringing internal colonisation into dialogue with governmental power this stresses the historical conditions of racialisation which underpin liberal government and the breaking of life/death. However, if we are to consider ongoing modes of government in Britain as constitutive of active forms of colonisation, we need to remain sensitive to historical change – in particular the contingencies, shifting re-mobilisations and logics of what Elizabeth Povinelli (2011) calls 'late liberalism'. Povinelli's work asks us to question how 'late liberalism' (which she sees as working in distinct but parallel ways with the marketised forces of neoliberalism) offers discontinuity with older forms of liberalism through the emergence of the governmental strategy of 'cultural recognition' which shifts the way race functions in liberal states. Increasingly from the 1960s, social movements and anticolonial politics have created crisis of liberalism by challenging violent practices of liberal paternalism/inequality. As a strategy to manage such crises and with it the central problem of 'internal and external difference' within liberal societies, the politics of recognition offers 'minority' cultures a 'space within liberalism' (Povinelli 2011, 25-26). Whilst appearing to challenge colonial hierarchies through pledges of post-racism, the embrace of gender, LGBT and indigenous rights, it is important to understand how late liberalism simultaneously challenges and sustains coloniality. Older forms of racialized-sexualised violence are recalibrated and attuned to late liberal liberalism and this highlights the shifting operation of 'internal colonisation'.

The central promise of inclusion in late liberalisms' future *society-to-come* relies on assertions of value, temporality and carnality which remain animated by 'national and civilisational tense' (Povinelli 2011, 27). Povinelli stresses how distinctions between liveable/killable life under late liberalism is conditioned by market logics where life deemed to be of no value or threatening liberal order can be 'fetered out and strangled' (Povenelli 2011, 22). This categorisation of value/waste remains entrenched in colonial modes of temporality and this marks the way that different bodies are caught up in and subject to disciplinary, sovereign and governmental power. Colonial modes of government often justify both mundane and extreme forms of violence as a developmental technology – that is as a means of protecting, enabling and bringing 'modernity' in its imagined absence. However, as

Cynthia Weber (2015) argues this has always relied on distinctions not only between the 'developed'/'underdeveloped' but also the 'undevelopable'. 'Underdeveloped' subjects – uncivilised and often illiberal subjects can be redomesticated and reformed, through disciplinary power, into the linear pattern of progress – even if they are often contained, forgotten and abandoned on the way. Significantly, the underdeveloped according to Weber (2015, 81) can never become 'developed' only 'developing' and this itself relies on a visible/active desire to 'civilize'. Alongside this, 'undevelopable' subjects and communities remain temporally 'fixed' outside of liberal time and space – they are unreformable, without a *future*. 'Undevelopable' life is rendered necessarily killable in both spectacular forms of sovereign violence and in more mundane and 'cruddy' forms of suffering. Whilst subjects can slip between 'underdeveloped'/ 'undevelopable' life, Povinelli argues that under late liberalism these distinctions over value are still metered out through colonial tenses of backwardness/futurity which make certain social projects 'recognisable' over others. As Olund (2013, 231) summarises: later liberalism's 'past perfect (tense) locates others, especially racialised others, in the past, by claiming 'they have always been that way'. Their current suffering is self-inflicted due to the pathological historical demands of their 'genealogical societies' of origin, to which they stubbornly remain attached.' Here apparently race-blind logics of temporality, freedom, commitment to LGBT rights, notions of 'love' become means of distinguishing who has value in late liberalism (See Goldberg 2009; D'Aoust 2013; Puar and Rai 2002). In examining the internal coloniality of modern Britain we need to be attuned to the way that 'value' is not only embodied through the older circuits of racialized-sexuality (the genealogical communities of 'postcolonies') but equally through ongoing experiences of the colonial present in the war on terror and the way that Islamaphobia and orientalist figuration of 'deviancy' continue to sustain technologies of violence at 'home' and 'abroad'.

Internal colonialism in the metropole

Now that I've sketched out a framework of internal colonisation I want to show how the concept is useful in illuminating the emergence of certain forms of governing. I start by examining the intimacy of modes of recognising and regulating 'problem' populations across the British Empire. Beginning with the meeting ground between social welfare and pacification as a form of racialised-sexualised violence. I examine how colonial knowledge and practice have been central to practices of social work or 'social civilisational work'

across imperial terrain (Owens 2015). This focus on social work is because of its association with a biopolitics of care which relies on disciplinary, paternalistic and self-regulating strategies (De Beistegui, Bianco and Gracieuse, 2014). I then trace how in contemporary colonialism social work has been persistently tied to forms of warfare through counterinsurgency practices in Iraq and Afghanistan. But also significantly used as a means of surveillance and regulation in Britain through Prevent. Whilst 'armed social' was integral to pacification programmes and modes of colonial policing I extend this analysis by suggesting that these forms of knowledge/practice are networked through nodes of internal colonisation to also govern racialised groups in Britain. Due to the confines of the article, the intention is to draw upon historical snapshots from the colonial archives which demonstrate the use of internal colonisation, rather than an exhaustive account of colonialism.

The imperial state. Gurminder Bhambra's (2016) critique of existing histories of state formation in the 17th century offers a way of rethinking the relationship between colonialism and the modern British state. Against the 'presumption (is) of the emergence of the nation-state as a 'pure-type' in Europe to be understood in modified, deficient, culturally inflected terms elsewhere' Bhambra argues that:

> The modern European state did not simply lay claim to a monopoly of the legitimate use of violence within a given (national) territory, but extended that violence into other territories and in support of non-state actors (such as trading companies and the appropriations of settlers). Indeed, the techniques of violence that were used 'externally' were then frequently applied to 'national' populations (Bhambra 2016: 336).

This is significant for how we understand the emergence of forms of government through colonialisation. The British state only emerged through land acquisition across England, Wales and Scotland. As Zine Magubane (2004: 16) argues, it through expansion into Scotland and the Highlands (Netzloff 2003) that many of the ideological and governmental apparatus of what would be come to be viewed as 'overseas' colonialism were 'developed and refined'. For instance, the 'monopolization of commerce and trade', strategies of under/development, primitive accumulation, marginalisation and hierachisation of colonised people. As the first 'overseas' (settler) colony Ireland became a test bed for practices of settler colonial rule which continuously rebounded into population management across future colonial expansion and policing in the metropole (Hechter 1975). For instance: coercive population movement (particularly the settlement of Ulster), 'plantation' economies and, increasingly through the early 19th century, both cruddy and spectacular forms of violence in

counterinsurgency strategies (which I return to later). The internal colonial character of the British state is not only isolated to this formative colonial period. It is worth noting for instance that until 1981 citizenship in the UK was explicitly imperial model of subjecthood and rights and the UK itself remains composed of territories which many regarded as actively colonised (Northern Ireland being the most striking example).[1]

Once we dislocate colonialism as only an 'external' process we bring into focus how the episteme of colonial racism, which made sense of encounters with indigenous communities, was co-terminus with state building in early modern (colonial) Britain. It is no coincidence that John Locke's account of private property which would become central to liberalism was premised on the re-appropriation of land from indigenous people in the Americas (Jahn 2016). As Vinay Gidwani and Rajyashree Reddy (2011: 1627) argue, indigenous land use to Locke was 'waste' – 'material excess that is unruly and improper: disordered matter, or matter out of place'. It was constituted as antithetical to the emerging liberal notion of value. In the Americas (and elsewhere) indigenous communities were represented as incapable of producing value (through labour) and thus both the land and bodies of indigenous subjects emerged as *'the constitutive outside of political modernity*—that which must be continuously acted upon and improved, first to enable passage from the state of "nature" to the state of "civil society" and subsequently to preserve that order of society' (Gidwani and Reddy 2011: 1628). However, as bodies 'outside' of liberal modernity they could also be configured as 'waste', which in the name of order and value could be both dominated and eradicated – the figure of the indigenous subject could slip between 'underdeveloped'/'undevelopable' life depending on contingency of the evolving liberal colonial project.

Image 1. 'Indians of Virginia,' James Woolridge, 1675. *The colonial gaze: The spatial and aesthetic construction of domestication and value, against the underdeveloped and wasteful.*

The distinction between waste and value provided colonialism with a logic of progressive development, structured through encounters of dispossession in the 'New World' (see image 1 above). However, the 'waste' of savagery was made knowable by the discovery of other wasteful and idle peoples within the 'Old World'. 'We have *Indians* at home, *Indians* in *Cornwall*, *Indians* in *Wales*, *Indians* in *Ireland*', claimed leading Puritan colonist Roger Williams in 1652 (cited in Neocleous 2012: 953). The discovery of Indian savagery and its necessary eradication was both made possible and shaped by the treatment of other underdeveloped subjects. As Mark Neocleous (2012: 954) argues:

> In this context, the same ideas about 'improving' the waste lands of the Old World were applied to the waste lands of the New World, as the analogy between expropriating idle and unproductive workers and idle and unproductive Indians became standard in political discourse.

This circulation in notions of unproductive savagery equally related to the methods of control used to dominant 'wasteful' populations. The dispossession of Indian communities and the domestication of land often relied on the imposition of enclosures (fences, borders, fields, hedges). This violent remoulding of land use and environment often mirrored the disenfranchisement of communal land rights taking place in Ireland but also Scotland and England from the 16th century, where 'unproductive' land use became slowly criminalised, subjects evicted and lives destroyed (e.g The 1575 act for the 'punishment of vagabonds and the relief of the poor'; Game & Vagrancy Laws such as the Black Act 1723 and the Highland clearances from 1723). This parallel discovery of 'underdeveloped' (as well as 'undevelopable') subjects across imperial terrain would be a nearly continuous feature of liberal colonisation. Again as Neocleous (2012: 955) argues, these circuits of colonising violence, through the discovery of wasteful subjects, were central to the emergence of modern liberalism as a transnational form of government:

> By 'wasting' land the Indians in the colonies occupy a political space similar to the workers back home: standing in the way of improvement and private property. Mobilizing against what is simultaneously a form of crime and an act of war; the colonial powers have a right to seek 'reparations'. The violence of war and punishment are thus rolled together on the grounds of the political economy of land and labour.

Improvement and progress are central to liberal models of colonisation which equally configure the discovery of the 'underdeveloped'/'undevelopable' – figures that *can be* destroyed for liberal life to flourish (such as the Indian, peasant, dissident, and counterinsurgent). But expanding modes of liberalism constantly shift the parameters around what violence is necessary to either 'include' life within the frames of value or expunge as waste. Here wasteful subjects were managed by different variations of temporality and danger: peasants and idle workers provided raw material through which liberal power could domesticate and reinvent waste as potential (future) value. Indigenous communities, whilst still subject to bouts of domestication and discipline, where seen as caught in a different temporal state or what Membe (2003) calls 'death worlds'. Here evolving liberal paternalism and 'social civilisational work' dovetailed with projects of sexualised terror (Smith 2015), active and indifferent forms of genocidal violence (Wolfe 2006).

Internal colonisation: The intimate circulations of empire, race and liberal government

Imperial terrain was also co-constituted through the management of racialized-sexualised 'deviancy'. Stoler's (1995, 2016) work on Empire illustrates how particular forms of biopolitical control emerged around colonial racism grounded in the intimate relations of sex, care and domesticity which worked across colonial/metropolitan spaces. Strategies to govern degenerate 'underclasses' in Britian were forged through the knowledge of their metaphorical and physical intimacy with colonised others. Magubane (2004) shows in detail how vagrants, beggars, pauper classes, gypsies and other 'deviants' (Turner 2016) were depicted as wandering hordes, savages akin to the nomadic 'sonquas' and 'fringoes' tribes of South Africa. Fixation on the reproduction of the underclass was also manifest in fears over miscegenation as poor women were seen as harboring dangerous sexuality which could be exploited by 'virile' Black subjects particularly sailors, merchants, freed-slaves often living in large imperial cities (London, Liverpool and Bristol) (see Cohen 1974). The 'civilising' and domestication of the backwards urban racialised poor - through surveillance of working class and Black subjects sexuality, the active detention and deportation of Black sailors and 'laskars' (Wemyss 2009), the promotion of bourgeois family values and family planning, incarceration - was both a central part of 'improving' the racial stock for imperial expansion but also a parallel move of colonisation where the inferior population had to be reshaped for the demands of modern liberal (white) 'progress'.

Domestication in the metropole worked as both a testbed for projects in colonies just as it drew upon transnational practices of incarceration and confinement. Owens (2015) traces the increased use of enclosure and encampments in colonial wars of resistance and counterinsurgency throughout the late 19th and early 20th century which she argues are exemplary of 'social civilisational work'. Here tactics of warfare were viewed as developmental because they assumed to reorganise 'primitive society'. Violence was envisaged as 'producing' modernisation (Owens 2015: 154). This logic of social warfare could be seen as colonising domestic practices of social government which promised to civilise inferior populations: from the mass incarceration of the London urban poor in the mid-19th century, to the deportation of criminals to penal colonies to 'man' outposts of empire (Walters 2010), to the centralisation of the UK border from 1905 (premised as it was on the presence of undesirable 'aliens' and later black subjects amidst anxiety over health, hygiene and sexual deviancy - see Aliens Bill 1904 and Aliens Order 1925). Tellingly, the proto-welfare projects of the early 20th century whilst offering supposedly benevolent 'help' and 'progress' rested on familiar forms of carceral violence: The 1908 Royal Commission

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suggested that the carnal risks of the 'feebleminded' were best secured by internment in 'colonies' across England (see Image 2 below), equally the 1913 Lunacy Act made it possible to confine young poor women because they made 'unsuitable' mothers. Just as 'undesirable' classes were domesticated and pacified in the metropole, this logic of civilisational work became central to imperial warfare – such as in Northern Ireland, Malaysia and Kenya were counterinsurgency violence (including sanctions, rape, torture, detention and mass eviction) were paralleled with pacification through social and housing programmes (Owens 2015: 178) and the intensification of prior strategies such as 'domesticating' African women through 'Marriage Schools' (Mair 1944, 49). Later in the 20th century, the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland provided a particular transit point for counterinsurgency tactics, social control and surveillance to be normalised into everyday police procedures and criminal justice across the rest of the UK (Sabir 2006, 206). Whilst gradiated through claims to 'underdeveloped'/'undevelopable life', shared logics and practices of social control migrated and found different functions and meaning across Imperial terrain. It also highlights how racializing assemblages justified and legitimated certain forms of disciplinary and sovereign violence – not separate from but entirely in keeping with a drive for liberal development.
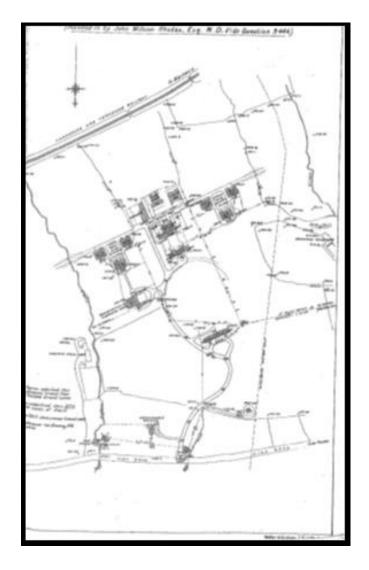
Image 2. Design of a secure 'Epileptic Colony' in Lancashire, England 1908.

Thinking through these historical cases with internal colonisation helps us pull together these connections whilst keeping one eye on the persistence of colonial governmentalities within (neo)metropoles. This foremost questions the assumption that racialised governmentalities migrated into the domestic politics of the metropole as part of *decolonisation* and the movement of larger numbers citizens of colour to Britain. Instead of treating racialisation as 'haunting' postcolonial subjects we can treat contemporary racialization as an ongoing feature of (neo)internal colonisation. So when we analyse the racialised practices of border control, discrimination against migrants and racialised minorities, the surveillance of migrant families by welfare authorities and social workers, the incarceration of high proportions of Black people, stop and search policies, militarised policing, dispossession of Traveller communities, we need to tie this to logics of imperial racism and colonial practices. But in doing we also need to explore how these formations are not merely knowledges and practices

borrowed from 'overseas' colonisation. Instead, as logics of rule that were potentially already *at work* in Britian made possible by a stratified history of whiteness and colonial racism - which brought into the question numerous forms of 'underdeveloped'/'undevelopable' life and their place within civilised (inter)national liberal order. To do this means examining how the circulatory histories of race meet up and are remobilised in complex ways under late liberalism: the intimacy of colonised people with other 'undesirable' groups, how sexualised, classed, gender practices continue to make racialisation possible, the intertwined legacies of cultural and scientific racism in producing knowledge of sub-populations, the persistence of a liberal war against 'waste'. In particular internal colonisation searches us to ask further questions of how contemporary logics of austerity, market value and late liberalism sustain and redeploy colonial governmentalities in the production of waste and abject life (Agathangelou and Killian 2016; Tyler 2013).

The colonial present and the persistence of social civilisational work

Against claims that we have witnessed a period of decolonisation, Derek Gregory (2004) argues that what we see in the war on terror, particularly in the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq, is an unveiling of the 'colonial present'. Likewise, internal colonialism is an ongoing and dynamic process which is continually made possible by both historical processes of coloniality - as a series of ongoing power-knowledge relations and economic exploitation - but also the persistence of practices of colonisation in imperial warfare. An emergent literature has signalled the contemporary boomerang effect of colonial wars in Iraq and Afghanistan on domestic (social) security in the US (Gillem 2007; Barder 2015). However, how might internal colonisation help bring into view the linking up of the war on terror at 'home' and 'abroad' in Britain? In keeping with existing themes, I now bring the previous analysis up to date by highlighting how seemingly disparate practices of colonial pacification and social civilisational work come together in novel yet familiar ways under the UK's counter-terrorism strategy Prevent. Prevent makes possible new forms of racialised-sexualised government in the UK which not only draw from experiments in 'armed social work' in counterinsurgency 'abroad' but are also buttressed by older histories of social work's 'civilising' mission which I have briefly highlighted. I reveal how the coming together of transnational and historical knowledge/practice is exemplified in current strategies

which attempt to police 'radicalised' Muslim families as sites of undomesticated danger. This brings to the fore the intimate shaping of late liberal rule through Empire.

'Population-centric' warfare. Counterinsurgency emerged in both Iraq and Afghanistan (predominantly after 2006) as a tactic which promised the pacification of populations through the 'winning of hearts and minds'. To many this signalled a paradigm shift in both of these wars from the use of 'shock and awe' to a more grounded and 'population centric' mode of war (Anderson 2011). Such a shift in US tactics borrowed heavily from doctrine of both French and British operations in late colonial warfare – namely tactics deployed in Algeria, Northern Ireland and Malaysia (Dixon 2012). Central to the logic of counterinsurgency is the imagined promise of a political and economic dimension to the waging of war which led to the proposal that counterinsurgency should be understood as 'armed social work'. To David Kilcullen this encompasses 'community organising, welfare, mediation, domestic assistance, economic support – under conditions of extreme threat requiring armed support' (cited in Owens 2015: 10). Whilst some have dismissed the social dimension of this form of war (i.e. as merely rhetoric or a tool to legitimate coercive violence), Owens (2013: 140) argues that the appeal to social government here is significant, situated as it is in longer history of colonial rule. As she argues: 'The United States counterinsurgency doctrine seeks to consti-tute governable national 'societies' with distinct 'social realms' in which populations are managed by 'social policy' intervention and the expansion of 'social' forms of control'. What such counterinsurgency tactics rely upon is the logic that social forms of control can pacify violent insurgency through the promise of social provision and 'development' for wider population. The analogy of 'armed social work' is significant here because it shares a rationale with forms of 'social civilisational work' which promised the domestication of colonial population and internal 'others' across Empire – such as those imposed on indigenous groups, peasants, migrant families, the urban residuum. As with older colonial practices of social control those resisting pacification (i.e. undevelopable insurgents) need to be eliminated with despotic and violent force.

However, this logic of counterinsurgency is not merely located in the (neo)colonial military governance of Iraq and Afghanistan but part of broader modes of knowledge/practice which are put into circulation through the war on terror. Turning to Kilcullin again, counterinsurgency is constituted as a far broader means to manage global terrorism:

'Terrorism is a component in virtually all insurgencies, and insurgent objectives (that is, a desire to change the status quo through subversion and violence) lie behind almost all terrorism . . . by this definition, the global jihad is clearly an insurgency – a popular movement that seeks to change the status quo through violence and subversion' (cited in Clemis 2013: 173). This means that global 'counter-terrorism needs, therefore, to combine counterinsurgency and 'countersubversion' (Miller and Sabir 2012: 15). Whilst counterinsurgency is often treated as a practice to be carried out in the 'colonial periphery' the slippage of counter-terrorism and counterinsurgency is revealed in the familiarity of security practices in the US and UK which inhabit a particular form of social control. A form of 'armed social work' which is also supposedly imposed in Afghanistan and Iraq.

A brief examination of one of the core dimensions of the UKs counterterrorism strategy Prevent reveals such connectivity. Prevent was increasingly scaled up after the London bombings in 2005 and focused on the 'domestic' terrorist threat, it combines tactics of pre-emption, surveillance with a programme of 'de-radicalisation' (through the Channel programme). After a review of Prevent in 2011 which sought to correct its apparent inconsistencies, the strategy increasingly borrowed logics from the complementary forms of counterinsurgency/ 'armed social work' (Sabir 2016). As David Miller and Rizwaan Sabir (2012: 21) suggest:

> The overarching objectives of Prevent are to stop 'radicalisation', reduce support for terrorism and dis-courage people from becoming terrorists (HM Government 2009: 14). In other words, the counterinsurgency principles of pre-emption, prevention and communication are at the core of this strategy. In a bid to ensure that prevention work is successful, 'intelligence gathering', another of the key counterinsurgency components, forms an essential part of Prevent.

Central to Prevent is the rationale that the UK is threatened by terrorisms from within its population. As with insurgents, the terrorist or would-be-terrorist (the 'radicalised') moves among 'the people'. Strategies need to be formed which differentiate and discover the 'radicalised' but also 'win hearts and minds' of the subpopulation they could be hidden by/within (DCLG 2007). This rationale lead to a series of highly coercive security practices in the 2002 Terrorism Act but tied into the Prevent strategy are particular forms of 'community based' social government akin to 'armed social work' and population centric warfare. As with the necessity of despotic violence and the elimination of the enemy in colonial war, under the 2002 Act 'terrorist' subjects can be detained (for 28 days without trial), tried in a closed

courts and incarcerated in high security prison, once constituted as a 'terrorists' the subject can have their citizenship revoked (Kapoor 2013), non-citizens can be subject to further indefinite detention and deportation. Those cast as actively engaging in 'terroristic' activities can be subject to lethal force as form of domestic lawfare. As with the figure of the insurgent, the domestic 'terrorist' must first be made knowable as a particular type of governable threat. In line with the wider racialised, gendered and sexualised matrix (Richter-Montpetit 2014) of the war on terror, Prevent is focused particularly on the surveillance and monitoring of Muslim communities, but in particular young Muslim men who are constituted as subjects of radical Islamic ideology and thus (always) potential jihadi terrorists. In the early stages of the Prevent programme 2006-2010, emphasis was placed on recognising Islamic 'community organisations' which played a central role in practices of 'self-governance' and 'self-reform' (Ragazzi 2016, 165). In 2011 Prevent became re-focused on preventing 'both violent and non-violent extremism' (Sabir 2016). This spread the responsibility for surveillance across numerous areas of social governance through existing statutory obligations and strengthened the disciplinary arm of Prevent. It equally repositioned Muslim communities as the 'breeding ground' of terrorism which needed to be actively reformed. 'Culture' in counterinsurgency is cast as both an unresolvable problem and resource (Owens 2015,), here Islamic ideology was reinforced as the *cause* of terrorism but with this a host of 'cultural practices' were equally assigned as (re)producing extremism (patriarchy, family breakdown, poor mothering, non-integration, 'ethnically segregated schools - Burford 2017). This represents a particular node in ongoing process of internal colonisation. Not only does the colonisation of counterinsurgency logic into counter-terrorism further racialise certain bodies and communities as 'monstrous dangers' (Puar and Rai 2002), but it encounters older orientalist concepts of the colonised and Muslim 'other' who is made to seem 'out of place and time', as the colonial migrant, already *abject* and now *threatening* to the working of civilised/liberal social order.

Armed Social Work and Family Intervention. What is so significant here is the way already existing patterns of social control are recolonised with new functions under the colonising logic of counterinsurgency. Whilst surveillance is focused on the racialised figuration of the 'radicalised' Muslim youth, the social arm of Prevent disperses the tactics and responsibility of surveillance and intervention. Schools, Universities, Nurseries, Community Centres, Mosques become spaces where radicalised subjects can become visible (Martin 2014), just as

administrators, university lectures, teachers, community workers, religious leaders are legally required to act as security agents (for instance reporting 'suspicious' behavior etc.) and as promoters of 'British values' (O'Donnell 2016). Here existing forms of social control are recolonised by the logic and practice of discovering the radicalised (or domestic insurgent). Just as armed social work functioned as a way of envisaging counterinsurgency in the 'colonial periphery' where social work revealed the 'kinder and gentler' side of liberal warfare (Gilmore 2011), social work has been further 'armed' within Britain. Since 2011 professional social work practices such as family interventions have become a means for authroities to uncover the dangerous 'truth' of what is going on in certain Muslim households. As McKendrick and Finch (2017) highlight, since 2014 social workers have had a legal obligation to investigate any potential signs of the 'radicalisation' of children, or intervene in households were parents may ascribe to 'Islamic fundamentalist' ideology. This remobilises child protection strategies where holding 'fundamentalist' values is increasingly configured as a form of 'child abuse' (see Johnson 2014). Such practices and logics remap the developmental promise of social civilisational work with the need to discover and secure against deviant and dangerous others. Because of their already existing role in civilising forms of 'problem families' social workers are expected to explore the potentiality of radicalisation through connected issues of child protection and identify 'cultural practices' viewed as creating 'vulnerable' children such as forced marriage, honour based violence, removal from education, expose to 'harmful' ideas (Smithson and White 2017, 10-11). In 2013 James Brokenshire MP made such a connection explicit: 'I am keen to ensure that the government's work to support troubled families is aligned to our work to support vulnerable individuals at risk of being drawn into terrorist activity' (Gov.UK 2013). Here (armed) social work becomes another site where colonising and racialising tactics of Empire are relocated and remobilised whilst intensifying the existing role of social work as a form of internal colonial management (Turner 2017).

Whilst late liberal recognition works through Prevent to situate both Muslim communities and 'radicalised' subjects as agents of potential change this equally produces new distinctions around 'underdeveloped'/'undevelopable' life. Discipline here works on a continuum of 'monstrous dangers'. Whilst the radicalised and the potentially radicalisable are constituted as potentially 'reformable' (or 'preventable'), they are significantly rendered a product of a 'genealogical society' (Povinelli 2011) who is failing to modernise (exemplified in the failed/backwards Muslim family and gender relations). The Muslim community is constantly

called upon to act as an agent and subject of change but the racialised and civilisational logics of Prevent make this an endless circuit. 'Terrorists' are imagined to be produced by a culture which is lost in time and can never become modern (tied to visions of repressive patriarchal, failed family structures, passive femininity and deviant sexuality). Increasingly after 2011, developmental power in Prevent is located in forms of reform and discipline but this ultimately works as a violent pacifying and containment strategy rather the active 'improvement' of subjects who are recognised within the confines of liberal value.

This circulation of the knowledge/practice of armed social work across (neo)imperial terrain is brought to light through an analysis of internal colonisation. Viewing this as a process of internal colonisation helps bring to the fore previous colonial histories which are mapped into late liberalism. Counterinsurgency is tied to the far longer history of colonial war, pacification and the role of imperial power in the violent suppression of civilian populations. Referring to the contemporary significance of this history Feargal Cochrane (2013: 30) suggests that what we see in contemporary counterterrorism is the importing of 'pre-existing strategies from the colonial periphery to the metropolitan centre'. However, this misses out on how social government and security practices have worked across imperial terrain, and have travelled more fluidly through nodes of localised colonisation (see Howell 2016 for another example). We thus need to recognise how the arming of social work in Britain is shaped by a far longer role of social civilisational work in liberal rule, particularly in regulating the sexual and racialised threats to liberal 'civilisation' through discipline, incarceration, reform and domestication of multiply 'undesirables' (as I briefly outlined earlier). The joining up of counterinsurgency abroad and at 'home' is networked through social work precisely because of its prior function as a mechanism of internal colonisation; as the promise of paternalist care and reform to the underdeveloped and punishing violence to undevelopable 'waste'.

Equally, the racialisation central to Prevent ties together these colonising processes. The racialised figure of the undevelopable, abject 'insurgent' who must be killed is refashioned through the figure of the (always) radicalised Muslim subject. The Muslim community constantly shifts from being 'underdeveloped'/'underdevelopable'. Whilst this resuscitates existing incarnations of the threatening (post)colonial 'migrant' other it also ties into the history of the control of undesirable internal populations and the figuration of the

genealogical community stuck in time. The fixation on the troubling 'Muslim family' as a site of radicalisation thus needs to be situated in a far longer orientalist history were colonised, commonwealth citizens, undesirable classes, the residuum were problematised as undomesticated, often subject to civilising practices (Webster 1998). What differentiates the Muslim family through 'armed social work' is the recalibration of orientalist imaginaries of the (post)colonial subject as either incapable of normal 'family life' or as attached to a traditional/'backwards' form of family - outside of modern liberal sex and love (Povinelli 2006). Along the lines of other incarnations of the 'undevelopable' they are configured as imminently threatening to a liberal colonial view of racial-sexual value; reform is only ever a strategy of containment which is why spectacular forms of violence remain necessary. Whilst internal colonisation reveals how liberal strategies of population management, development and violence meet up in unexpected ways, it also brings to the fore the complex history of racializing practices which demarcates forms of life/death. It shows how prior ways of configuring the undevelopable, the abject, waste also make possible the racialised figure of the radicalised, it shows how familiar practices of social civilisational work are remobilised to pacify such populations but always through the imminent possibility of familiar modes of disciplinary and sovereign violence.

Conclusion

These historical snapshots have sought to outline how internal colonisation can be helpful in examining forms of liberal government in contemporary Britian. This means taking seriously different schemas of colonisation which have been offered through the intellectual project of internal colonisation in Black Studies, colonial historiography, political geography. Examining the intimacy of colonising knowledge and practices across differentiated imperial terrain offers one way to consider ongoing practices of racialised governance in Northern states. This works against the presentism of studies that focus on the newness of modes of liberal security practices but also against studies which stress that liberal government is only shaped by colonial 'legacies' (colonialism as a distant past). Instead, through contemporary forms of colonisation, we see the ongoing encounter of intimate sites of regulation with transnational process of colonial violence (from the 'Muslim family' in the UK, to counterinsurgency in Iraq and back again). In focussing on the role of social civilisational work in this context, I've shown the ongoing remobilisation of colonial practices of civilising

under liberal rule. And, in doing so, shown how mundane forms of a biopolitics of social 'care' are implicated in more violent and civilising tactics than often assumed.

By emphasising the dynamic and dispersed character of internal colonisation, I want to avoid labelling (neo)metropoles such as Britian in the fixed spatial language of 'internal colonies' (although we might find useful parallels – inner city housing estates, migrant camps, detention centres, prison complexes). I have instead focused on the way that knowledge and practices converge, travel, colonise different areas of social control. This helps to highlight how practices such as Prevent emerge within an existing network of transnational and historical forms of coloniality: The logic of counterinsurgency connections up with existing forms of colonial warfare in the Middle East, but as importantly through the histories of colonial policing in Kenya, Malaysia, (Northern) Ireland and social work *within* Britain. Furthermore, the colonisation of counterinsurgency practices into social work remobilises both the colonial legacies of social work under Empire but also the specific modalities of colonial racism through re-enacting the history of racialised and sexualised threats to civilisation (who need to be domesticated/tamed/developed or eradicated). This recognises the overlapping forms in which colonisation has taken place historically, and by including metropolitan space such as Britain into the analysis, how the hierarchies, dynamics and dispersed tactics of Empire are ongoing. There are intimate encounters which show the multiple connections across imperial terrain and help us recognise the persistence of colonial modes of government today. As I have proposed here, more work needs to be done in exploring such connections. However, drawing upon the depth of colonial historiography across multiple colonial spaces and bringing it to bear upon the present can only strengthen studies of (post)colonial governmentality.

What this analysis does raise is questions of rupture, context and familiarity: Do we end up flattening histories by focussing on circulations and connectivity? Are localised contexts eclipsed in such a move? There is always a danger here in illustrating parallels, however this must be balanced with recognition of the intimate proximity and 'everyday 'nature of Empire which disrupts the easy separation of localised, geopolitical and transnational processes (Pain 2015). Empire is remade through the minutia of everyday conduct in the will to domesticate the unruly 'radicalised' family just as much as it is remade in the macro-plans of invasion and 'development'. The stress here has been treating these different sites and practices along a continuum which recognises connectivity without reducing them to the same. This goes for

the differentiated histories of colonial racism. I have situated the colonial drive against waste, the discovery, taming and eradication of the underdeveloped/undevelopable, as central to liberal government. In arguing that we need to recognise the differentiated histories of race within liberal government, the stress here is on tracing the particular historical assemblages that make distinctions between worthy/unworthy life possible. The figure of the undeveloped residuum or useless poor has been saturated with forms of racialisation (as a internal threat to liberal development and the 'British race') but the conditions for knowing the 'idle poor' of the 19th century are also made possible through the figuration of the colonised subject as the ultimately familiar form of savagery. This does not mean that these forms of racialisation are identical, they are stratified by competing histories of whiteness. The undesirable populations of the British metropole were expelled, interned, imprisoned, domesticated (often violently) but were not subject to the same genocidal violence that we see in the treatment of indigenous populations in Australia, Wet Africa or North America. Equally, the mobilisation of orientalist knowledge which frames the discovery of the radicalised subject in the UK bears familiarity with the insurgent of colonial warfare. However, there are modes of citizenship which cut through and differentiate the treatment of these subjects as *killable* (although see (Maskill 2015). Mbembe (2003) called the regime of death in overseas colonies 'necropolitics'. To draw on the familiarity if not identical nature of this racialised violence we might refer to 'internal colonisation' in the UK as bio(necro)politics (McIntyre and Nast 2011). The point here is that whilst there is a stress on the contingent nature of forms of liberal government, there is also a need to recognise the historical figurations and modes of possibility which bring the life of some and not others into question.

In returning to the work on internal colonisation the hope is to resuscitate both the political as well as analytical use of the concept. In examining the circulatory character of different figurations of worthy/unworthy life and differentiated histories of race, the idea is to rein-orientate solidarities towards these connections. It is uniting solidarities and addressing colonial violence and injustice (Shilliam 2016, 263) through and along these multiple colonial pathways and modes of travel that is far a bigger task.

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Jonathan Joseph and everyone in the Sheffield IR reading group for providing both encouragement and vital critical interventions in earlier drafts.

Notes:

[1] I treat Ireland as a being subject to 'multiple colonisations' from 1580 onwards: as a hybridised British 'province', as an exploited external colonial and as a settler state prior to 'independence' in 1922 (the 'Irish Free State') and subsequently Northern Ireland as a site of competing forms of 'internal colonisation'. This is further complicated by the movement for independence/reunification which situates Northern Ireland as a 'colony' in need of Independence from 'external' colonial British rule (Cavannah 2013).

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