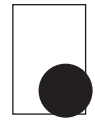

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A sociospatial framework for the anthropology of security

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Introduction

From border walls, to gated communities, policed urban centers and pulverized 'peripheries,' to planetary imaginaries of terrorist threats and global surveillance infrastructures, security produces particular kinds of spaces. Through its ability to transform social relations, cities, subjectivities, human encounters and state institutions, it also constantly coalesces new securitized needs, concerns and imagined futures. As security becomes an increasingly powerful force shaping the contemporary world across spatial scales – from the rise of national-level xenophobic populisms to local watch groups and vigilantes, from urban protests against police violence to geopolitical calculus of the War on Terror – anthropologists must increasingly grapple with security permeating every facet of the social and cultural formations they study.

This special issue on 'Producing States of Security' offers a theoretical framework and critical grounding for the anthropology of security. In this introduction we lay out the components of this framework and demonstrate why a sociospatial understanding of security must be central for anthropological study. In this we are not offering a *theory of security*, but rather a *framework* from which to construct theory. We begin from the premise that 'security' is both *produced* and *productive*, and our framework is structured around these two entwined processes. On the one hand, there is the process we call *the production of security*, that is, security as produced by particular social and spatial forces which vary across historical and geographical contexts. On the other hand, *security operates as a productive process* in its own right, acting as a major force transforming institutions, states, spaces, cities, subjects and social life in the contemporary world. It is these two processes – the produced and productive qualities of security – that are at the heart of our *sociospatial framework for the anthropology of security*.

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Security – defined as a modality of constructing danger, enemies, fear and anxiety, and the measures taken to guard against such constructed threats – is everywhere *a social and spatial process*. Thus in building this framework, we draw upon Lefebvre's (1991) analysis of the production of space as perceived, conceived and lived through everyday practices within a capitalist system to model what we see occurring with the concept of security. Low's (2000, 2017) elucidation of the social production of space as embedded in the political economic and material histories of a place or landscape helps explain how culturally-specific security formations are continually being produced and reproduced spatially. Glück's (2015) theorization of the 'production of security space' further specifies how security produces its own particular geographies of power and distinct forms of spatial production. As new security formations are produced and spatialized – both materially and discursively – they restructure social relations, redirect everyday practices, reshape imaginaries, and reformulate state and military institutions, producing what we are calling '*states of security*.'

Our aim then is to treat security as a thoroughly *sociospatial* phenomenon. We argue that the anthropological study of security should pay particular attention to the *spatial scales* at which security formations and power are organized. Practices and processes of security are rarely purely local. Instead, today's cascading global economic and ecological crises, security-driven development programs, globalized surveillance technologies, transnational refugee crises, regional boom-and-bust economies, and hyper-local counterterrorism policing require studying security at multiple scales (global, regional, national, urban, local, body). Ethnographically then, we argue that the task is to examine the complex and interlocking spatial scales at which security is configured and produced.

In what follows we lay out the theoretical and conceptual moorings of our sociospatial framework. We begin in a first section with a brief overview of the ways in which security is currently studied by anthropologists, and note that while this work has helped to define the concept and interrogate many kinds of security practices, it has not properly included the analysis of space or spatial scale, which we view to be pivotal. As a corrective, in a second section, we suggest that the analysis of spatial scale offers an important intervention for the anthropology of security. We trace the history of scalar analysis from human geography to its emerging importance in anthropology, emphasizing its importance to our own framework laid out here. The third section further defines what we mean by the 'states of security' invoked in the title of this special issue. Here we specify how states of security can be examined in terms of nation-building, state spatial strategies and affective formations – and, ultimately, it is such processes through which *states of security are produced* that each of the papers in this collection grapples with. We then illustrate the power and purchase of our sociospatial framework through a schematic presentation of how *states of security* operate (and are produced) across spatial scales. Finally, we describe how each of the articles in this collection contributes to, extends and deepens the framework we have laid out here.

The study of security in anthropology

The past few years have witnessed an increased interest in security within the discipline of anthropology with a rapid growth of publications that can be grouped loosely within this expanding sub-area (Grassiani and Diphoorn, 2015; Gusterson and Besteman, 2010; Caduff, 2012; Diphoorn, 2015; Goldstein, 2010; Masco, 2014; Fassin, 2013; Feldman, 2012; Maguire et al., 2015; Pedersen and Holbraad, 2013). A longer view of the field, however, suggests that for many early anthropologists 'security' and the need for safety and stability were treated as quasi-natural features of a social order, acting as a trans-historical force binding together human groups, cultures, societies, and rituals extending for some researchers as far as Malinowski's (1939) functionalist concept of needs (Maguire et al., 2015: 6–9; Pedersen and Holbraad, 2013; cf. Field, 1960). What distinguishes the contemporary security studies from such earlier works is the purposeful interrogation of the concept of 'security,' no longer treated as a presupposed driver of social cohesion, but instead a critical object of study in its own right.

Another branch of this genealogical tree has its origins in 1945 with the emergence of Security Studies after the Second World War. These older Security Studies, as well as its contemporary 'critical' variant, have been dominated by political science and international relations. But as security began to take on the added meaning of securing a population in wartime or subduing local residents during the post-war period, there also emerged a set of critiques and ethical queries within anthropology about anthropologists' roles as military advisors and security specialists. During the Vietnam War, research conducted on the hill tribes of Northern Thailand, sponsored by the US Department of Defense, became the centerpiece of criticism against the military use of anthropological knowledge to 'secure the region' (Rylko-Bauer, Singer, and Van Willigen, 2006). Delmos Jones (1970), who worked in the Northern Thailand region, was not only concerned with the reframing of security needs in terms of military defense, but went so far as to reconsider the work of anthropologists as both natives and outsiders with different stakes in the welfare of local informants. There are similar debates today about anthropologists deployed as members of Human Terrain Systems (HTS) for pacification – that is, securing populations – in the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq (Price, 2004, 2011). Critical anthropologists have increasingly taken a proactive stance on such practices, collectively producing such works as the *Counter-Counterinsurgency Field Manual* (2009) to counter 'weaponized' forms of anthropological knowledge in the age of 'permanent war' (Lutz, 2009; Network of Concerned Anthropologists, 2009; Price 2011; cf. Kelly et al., 2010).

Anthropologists Joseph Masco (2014) and David Price (2008) have also argued that the Cold War and its psychological precursors set the stage for current security policies. The emergence of security as a focus in anthropology in the 1990s and early 2000s arguably reflected changes in the political, economic and geopolitical order in the post-Cold War period – such as the inception of the War on Terror and the precaritization of all aspects of economic and social life (Standing, 2014;

Gusterson and Besteman, 2010). Meanwhile the UNDP's human security paradigm, launched in 1994, precipitated a broadening of the concept of security from states to populations (structured around the basic needs of people, and the threats posed by repressive states) and the mainstreaming of the concept of 'human security' itself. The apparent radical content of the human security paradigm, however, quickly fell foul of American development agendas in the Third World, and its goals such as basic provisions of housing and food security were trumped by the neoliberal logics of austerity and recurrent capitalist crises. While the human security paradigm waned, the transformations of the post-9/11 US-based Global War on Terror further made counterterrorism an organizing principle of global political life. In many ways, the War on Terror also crystallized the racialized content of the concept of 'security' that has historically been deployed in the United States and elsewhere to protect white property owners from black and other racialized working-class populations (Berry, 1995; Freund, 2007; Browne, 2015). The racialized content of the contemporary security order can also be seen in an increasingly global apartheid regime that is being constructed under the auspices of security – a process which Catherine Bestemen has begun to theorize through the concept of 'security empire' (Besteman, 2017).

Since the recession of the 1980s, the dot.com crash of the 2000s, and the global financial meltdown of 2007–9, the neoliberal order of accumulation has been embattled both ideologically and materially (Smith, 2008). As states deploy increasingly coercive and repressive powers to shore up a deficit of legitimacy, 'security' has become the favored term deployed by capitalists, police and politicians to justify maintaining a crisis-ridden late capitalism. Populist-based racist politics in Europe and the United States also increasingly deploy the language of 'security' to buttress anti-refugee and anti-immigrant policies and policing practices. With the emergence of Fortress Europe and new conservative policies of restricting migration, expanding bordering practices overseas (e.g. into North Africa), and carceralizing deportation practices, the landscape of security again is shifting to one of strengthening national borders and militarizing their defense (Andersson, 2014; De Genova and Peurtz, 2010; Feldman, 2012). As the material, social and political consequences of imperialist and civil wars in the Middle East collide with economic and ecological breakdown, the language of security is beginning to permeate all spheres of life, from immigration policy to epidemiology, policing to protest movements. In this regard the interest in security can be read as a reflection of the lived experiences of people around the world caught in the maw of a crumbing neoliberalism and its attendant security apparatuses (Amar, 2013; Neocleous, 2008).

As security has grown in its psychological salience, social relevance and political importance, a private-sector security industry has also emerged to maximize profit and generate an ever-expanding market share of fearful consumers. With security's increasing power to motivate consumption – from assault weapons and hand guns to gated communities and safe rooms – security companies and private armies have grown in number and size, taking over many of the security services that were once

public (Scahill, 2008). Private police, security guards, private prisons and home-based security technologies complicate any state-based analysis of security (Diphoorn, 2015), creating what has been called a shadow government operating behind the scenes.

Thus security from an anthropological perspective has evolved from such beginnings and conceptual frames. We propose that a sociospatial theoretical framework attuned to the production of *security space* across geographical scales is pivotal for critically analyzing the power relations through which security operates and is reproduced in the contemporary world.

Security and spatial scale

While security studies have generally focused on the programs, policies and military/police interventions associated with war, violence and ecological and economic crises, we suggest that security is best understood as produced in and by spatial strategies and practices interconnected through the analysis of scale. By focusing on the production of space through the analytic of scale, it is possible for anthropologists to reconnect the micro-subjective, affective and bodily level of security needs and understandings with questions of global capital, transnational power relations, macro-social formations and the state. Although scalar theory is best known within geography, ethnographic accounts provide invaluable insights into the practices, contestations and lived processes through which spatial scales such as the 'global' or 'national' are experienced at the spatial scale of the 'body,' 'family,' 'neighborhood' or 'region.' Security, we contend, is continually produced at multiple and often interlocking spatial scales, and in turn processes of security and securitization also play important roles in the production of spatial scale.

Scalar theory in geography emerged in the 1980s as a theoretical challenge to what were empirical conceptions of scale reflected in its cartographic history (Marston et al., 2005; Marston, 2000, 2004). Initially 'scale' was used to measure quantities such as temperature, as opposed to vector force, and assumed as a spatial scale with reference to mapping (Gomez and Jones, 2010). The first re-conceptualization was by Peter Taylor (1982), who added an urban, national, global scalar hierarchy to the then current world-systems model (Marston et al., 2005). This so-called Russian doll model of a fixed and nested hierarchy has been modified through linkages to horizontal networks (Amin, 2002) and to more nuanced and less fixed examinations of interrelated and interacting scales (Brenner, 2004).

Neil Smith expanded on Taylor's ideas in his first edition of *Uneven Development* (1984), emphasizing the unevenness of capitalist development as it produces and moves across scales and space. Capital, Smith argues, 'inherits a geographical world that is already differentiated into complex spatial patterns' (1984: 181). These patterns are increasingly grouped into hierarchically arrayed spatial scales such as urban space, the nation-state and global space. Roland Robertson's (1995) and Erik Swyngedouw's (2004) concept of 'glocalization' offers one strategy for

imagining how spatial and social scales are thought to interpenetrate one another, that is, how the global is evident in the local and the local in the global. Anthony Giddens's (1984) and Neil Brenner's (2004) interest in structuration is another way to explain the relationship between scales that emphasizes the reiterative and reciprocal relationship of everyday practice and social structure. These theoretical explorations flesh out the geographical and power dynamics of 're-scaling' state power and what Smith called 'jumping scales' (Smith, 1992, 1993; Swyngedouw, 1997).

This progression of scalar thinking has resulted in a number of different definitions. John Agnew (1993) argues that scale refers to 'the spatial level, local, national, or global, at which [a] presumed effect of location is operative' (1993: 251). Neil Smith adds that such geographical scales are not ontological givens, but rather are produced through contested social processes, capitalist competition and cooperation, and class struggle (1992: 66; cf. Smith, 1993, 2000). According to Smith, spatial scales can be conceived as 'the geographical resolution of contradictory social processes'; that is, 'the continual production and reproduction of scale expresses the social as much as geographical contest to establish boundaries between different places, locations, and sites of experiences' (1992: 64). Neil Brenner, in his analysis of neoliberal space, further emphasizes the 'vertical' differentiation of scale in which social relations are embedded within hierarchies of mutually constituting power stretching from the global, the supra-national, and the national downwards to the regional, the metropolitan, the urban, the local, and the body (Brenner, 2004: 9). As such, spatial scale 'both contains social activity, and at the same time provides an already partitioned geography within which social activity takes place,' (Smith, 1992: 66).

In anthropology the analysis of scale has been taken up most productively by Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (2002) to understand state spatiality, and by Nina Glick-Schiller and Ayse Çaglar (2011) to develop a comparative framework and deepen the theoretical understanding of how migrants affect, produce, and contest neoliberal urban space. For Glick-Schiller and Çaglar, the process of 'making scale' is shaped by urban residents who are 'part of the labor force upon which cities build their competitiveness' (2011: 12), and as such act as historical agents both contributing to and contesting process of neoliberal restructuring. What is evidenced by their ethnographic approach is the specificity of historical moments of urban rescaling as it impacts the lives of migrants in contemporary cities. Their work also demonstrates the pivotal importance of anthropological research in refining the analysis of spatial scales as lived structures of social reality (cf. Gupta and Ferguson, 2002; Low, 2017).

States of security

By using the concept of 'states of security' we are drawing on the multiple meanings of the word 'state.' Firstly, a 'state of security' is meant to signify that security is *a state of* being – particularly, the term invokes the experiential, affective,

and embodied forms that security takes as it is produced in social life. The second meaning is that of *state* power and governance, in the sense of a 'security state.' It is worth remembering that the etymology of the term 'state' as referring to the modern political institution grew out of the older Latin term *status*, referring to a condition of being, and evolved its modern meaning out of such notions as *status reipublicae*, or 'the state of the republic.' It is this condition, state-ness, or state-of-being which we wish to invoke in our treatment of the social production of states of security. In a first instance, the argument that states of security are socially produced means that such concepts as 'security' and 'safety' are not transhistorical givens, but rather are contingent and embedded within particular social and historical processes. Affective states of fear and anxiety have histories – indeed, they are as thoroughly historical objects and as socially produced as are larger institutions, state formations, and logics of security governance (as, for example, Masco (2014) shows in the context of US 'national security affect').

What the notion of 'states of security' brings into focus then is, on the one hand, ethnographic questions of how security states and governmental regimes come into being and are maintained and re-reproduced through social and spatial practices and strategies. In this respect, it draws our analysis towards macro levels of social power. Yet, at the same it also demands an analysis of the subjective, affective and bodily states produced by and productive of security. It focuses our attention equally on the micro levels of social life and everyday practice. Thus the sociospatial framework that we are proposing is indebted to historical geographical materialism (Harvey, 1984; Swyngedouw, 1999), which privileges the analysis of the material conditions of production and resulting power dynamics. From this perspective, security functions to buttress, maintain, consolidate, or undermine existing institutions and relations of power in society.

Our framework is thus centered on analyses of the processes through which 'security' is discursively constructed, the political economies which underpin it, and the power relations through which it is maintained. Ours is an analysis that is hostile to trans-historical notions of security as an inherent human or animal need, and it takes seriously the contingent and evolving material and symbolic mechanisms through which notions and practices of security are promulgated. That is, as a site of social struggles in and through which power relations are continually enforced, contested and in need of being produced and re-produced. As such, our sociospatial framework is fundamentally concerned with questions of power: particularly how security power operates along lines of race, class and gender.

By asking, 'how are states of security produced?' and 'what are they productive of?' we are asking both the question of how subjective states are produced (securitized subjectivities, insecurity, fear and other affective states, etc.) while also asking how security states as social formations are produced and maintained. Our theoretical framework suggests that the only way to answer such questions is to treat these micro- and macro- levels of security as subjective/affective states that are the outcome of larger social processes and power relations; and in turn, that large

structures such as state formations are necessarily produced and reproduced through everyday practices, embodied social relations and affective dispositions.

Spatializing the anthropology of security

At least since Weber's (1978) analysis of the monopoly on legitimate violence, the state has been treated as the central pillar of security in society. In contrast to the methodological nationalism of studies which privilege the nation-state as the primary purveyor of security, the scalar analytic of our sociospatial framework seeks to decenter the national-scale as the primary locus of security. To begin with the national-scale is always embedded within what Smith (1992) called interlocking 'scalar hierarchies' stretching from the transnational to the highly local. State security, for instance, often gets devolved to lower regional, local and urban governmental regimes or, on the other hand, often abdicates elements of its sovereignty to super-national organizations. Anthropologists have of course already grappled with such complexities within national security regimes through a focus on borders and border crossings (Feldman, 2012; Rajaram and Grundy-Warr, 2007; Heyman, 2014), secret police (Verdery, 2014), nuclear programs (Masco, 2006) and flows of immigrants and diaspora communities (Besteman, 2017; cf. Besteman, 2016). However we contend that anthropology should grapple more explicitly with the multi-scalar characteristics of these regimes, particularly how states of security are produced at multiple interlocking scales.

Building on Neil Smith's (1992) schematic analysis of interlocking scalar hierarchies we offer examples of how a sociospatial framework can approach states of security at various scales starting with the body, and building 'up' through, local, urban, regional, national, and planetary scales of security formations. We look at each of these scales in succession, not to reify a given scale as a preordained container of the social, but rather to show how each is always already imbricated in multi-scalar processes of security production.

To begin with, the sociospatial framework must integrate an analysis of the body, both as a vehicle of capital accumulation (Harvey, 1998) and as an embodied space (Low, 2009). The anthropology of security already grapples with the scale of the body in two ways. The first draws upon the work of Foucault (1975) in the spatial and state production of docile bodies as a strategy of governance and social control (Mitchell, 1988; Samimian-Darash and Rabinow, 2015). The second conceptualizes the body as a site of vulnerability where human concerns with food, shelter, family and biological continuity, bodily integrity, sickness and health, physical threat and abuse take on an immediate and visceral form (Goldstein, 2012). Emotions and affective practices associated with security, as well as the impact of affective atmospheres, environmental threats and forms of abuse such as domestic violence, generate the desire for greater bodily security and safety. As such, the body is produced as an object (and scale) of security through everyday practices and discourses which of course vary across historical and geographical contexts.

These linkages between emotions and a sense of security are also connected to other spatial scales, such as the *home* and *neighborhood*, where 'danger' is often constructed as ever present in the form of crime, gangs, natural disasters and, most recently, the subprime mortgage crisis with its foreclosures and hollowing out of neighborhoods. Neighborhood security concerns are also linked to city, state and transnational processes through which the contradictions of security strategies are often negotiated and resolved. For instance, economic crises frequently find their 'security fix' in neighborhood-level xenophobia expressed through real estate agents who will not show homes to racialized 'others,' colonizing logics of gentrification, 'community security' programs that deport immigrants, home fortifications such as gating used to keep 'others' out, and the arousal of the racialized fears of the white middle-class that also operate through everyday social and financial transactions (Low, 2017). Yet while these spatial connections are analytically apparent, in everyday life the links are often hidden and applied unevenly.

Of central importance for the anthropology of security is the scale of the city. While the importance of the city as a critical site of capital accumulation, socio-spatial segregation, surveillance and control, counterhegemonic movements and their repression have been widely analyzed, an urban-focused analysis of 'security' within anthropology has been less developed. Yet as cities go through cycles of boom-and-bust they become the sites of social and economic precarity and prime loci for experiments in securitization. As residents and the municipal governments search for 'security' in the face of an economic depression, police brutality, military repression, and surging drug wars, the very discourses of security increasingly buttress the rise of repressive regimes, such as the military government in Egypt, police gangs in Brazil, citizenship vigilantes in Guatemala, Bolivia, Colombia and Ecuador (O'Neill and Thomas, 2011; Goldstein, 2010), and the racial terror enacted by police against black and brown people in cities across the United States and Europe (Camp and Heatherton, 2016; Fassin, 2013; cf. Maharawal, 2017).

In this respect, the urban scale is always inextricably linked to national and global scales of security, capital and governance and, as such, offers an important analytical entry point for understanding the multi-scalar manifestations of security-power relations, militarization, neoliberalism and strategies of mobility/immobility. As we discuss below, the papers in this collection offer several studies whose point of entry is the urban scale of security, and in turn demonstrate how security spaces are often produced through embodied experiences, class stratified and racialized neighborhoods, regional political economies, and national security politics across multiple interlocking scales. These interlocking geographical scales at which security is organized thus have important consequences for how perceptions of 'the city' and 'the state' are perennially contested and reproduced.

At the national-scale, studying organs of state security presents particular challenges to anthropology. Built on secrecy and fear (Masco, 2010), security states are at once everywhere and nowhere. They operate by making themselves both invisible

(through, e.g., discrete if omnipresent digital surveillance) and highly visible (e.g. in brute shows of force such as riot police enforcing curfews) (Jusionyte and Goldstein, 2016). In encounters with their subjects, security states construct 'society' as a series of probable threats to be managed through new security rationalities (Foucault, 2004; Amoore, 2013; Amar, 2013), a process which in turn validates projects of state-building and the expansion of 'security' as a national project.

A scalar analysis attuned to the multiple scales at which security rationalities and 'state spatial strategies' (Brenner, 2004; Glück, 2017) are enacted helps untangle the knotted problem of studying state security. In this collection then, the national-scale is at once interrogated and decentered by thinking through how it is always contingent and co-produced across varied geographical spaces. That is, we contend, that there are often multiple scales of intervention through which technological, affective, social and military means are employed to securitize the nation and its territory. For instance, national security strategies in the US recruit every domain imaginable, including a psychological conditioning of citizens during the Cold War (Price, 2004; Masco, 2014), the surveillance and digital tracking of citizens through their communications (Harcourt, 2015), financial records, and locational services, and integrate these traces as 'big data' (Masco, 2017).

At international and planetary scales, processes that we might call security-state-rescaling can be analyzed through the international organizations and military coalitions that increasingly take on the role of state security functions as in, for example, the activities of the UN and the African Union Mission in Somalia (Duffield, 2001; Al-Bulushi, 2014; cf. Besteman, 2017), and international counter-piracy efforts in the Indian Ocean (Glück, 2015). Of course such international scales of security often produce their own new security geographies, from reinvented planetary imaginaries of threat to tenuous claims on regionally defined spaces of military intervention. In fortress Europe, anthropologists have begun to analyze the multiple and piecemeal processes and everyday practices through which a super-national security apparatus is being produced (Andersson, 2014; Maguire et al., 2015).

As the articles in this collection show, spaces of security are everywhere co-produced across multiple scales. National security apparatuses often go through processes of 'rescaling,' as urban security forces, local traffic control officers, private guards, global spying apparatuses, and regional configurations of policing institutions take on the functions of 'national' security. In our view, a sociospatial framework for the anthropology of security is pivotal for grappling directly with the power relations and social processes that operate through security's spatialization. As cities, borders, regions, neighborhoods, homes, and bodily practices are transformed by security, so too should our anthropological and theoretical frameworks shift to adequately apprehend such transformations.

Conclusion

While recognizing that the anthropology of security is a large and complex undertaking, we contend that the use of a sociospatial framework attuned to a scalar

analysis allows anthropologists to grapple more directly and substantively with the contradictions, complexities, and power relations at the heart of contemporary security formations. Starting with the materiality and spatiality of security allows us to query and critique the relationships between embodied states, institutional configurations, state strategies and political economies that are transforming the contemporary world in the image of security. Our framework contends that the production of space and place are central to how states of security are constructed and maintained and, as such, it demands that anthropologists study the social and spatial processes through which such contemporary security formations are both produced and productive. Ultimately, each of the papers in this collection contributes to this sociospatial framework in distinct ways. Particularly, all of the essays examine transformations of state power and the spatial articulations of security across various scales, demonstrating how security is both produced-by and productive-of new social, affective and institutional configurations in the contemporary world.

Several of these articles use urban space as an entry point to for studying the multi-scalar articulation of state power. Zoltán Glück's article analyzes the state spatial strategies employed in Kenya's war on terror, and the everyday internalization of terror- and crime-scares to produce new kinds of security spaces and securitized subjectivities in Nairobi. Glück's paper offers a unique contribution to the sociospatial framework by theorizing Nairobi's contemporary transformations as a form of what he calls 'security urbanism,' that is, a set of urban spatial strategies through which state power, securitized subjectivities, and the emergence of a Kenyan 'counterterror state' are being articulated in the life of the city. Similarly, Kristin Monroe's article on the social media practices of the Lebanese traffic authority draws our attention to the social and spatial processes through which the Lebanese state is articulated into the everyday lives of drivers on the roads of Beirut. Monroe's article uses the sociospatial framework to build upon and critique Gupta and Ferguson's (2002) approach to state spatialization, showing how states of security in Lebanon are embedded in particular urban imaginaries (e.g. of chaos) and the minutiae of everyday traffic regulation in the city.

The multi-scalar dimensions of the security state are analyzed deftly in Manissa Maharawal's nuanced examination of state violence and resistance in the Black Lives Matter movement in Oakland, California. Particularly, she demonstrates how a security state formation was produced at the regional scale to contain protests, and how in turn protestors also forged a regionalized geography of resistance. Her article offers an important contribution to the sociospatial framework by theorizing how spaces of security in the Bay Area region are constituted through intimate relationships between capital accumulation and police violence at interlocking spatial scales: from neighborhood level gentrification and dispossession, to city-level planning policy, and the regional scale of the tech-driven political economy. Similarly, Setha Low's article deepens the examination of multi-scalar security formations, through the interlocking social and spatial logics of security

that shape the everyday practices of residents in gated communities and co-ops in New York City and Long Island, New York. In her article, security is analyzed as productive of particular *states* (contradictory affective states and social distancing for workers and people living outside of these private enclaves), and *spaces* (as residents construct and also worry about porosity of their defenses), demonstrating how the political shapes the affective.

Finally, both Joseph Masco and Catherine Besteman's essays offer innovative and original approaches to understanding the security state that stretch our traditional understandings of the spatial scales at which the state is thought to operate. Masco's essay is a lucid and frightening account of the transformation of the security state in the United States through the prism of the 'the file,' that perennially feared and fetishized object of state security and the secret police. His article shows how surveillance technology and big data are restructuring the American social contract as civil liberties and privacy protections tumble beneath the behemoth power of security technologies. He is particularly attuned to the planetary security imaginaries of the US security state, linking the project of producing a counterterror state to various spatial scales at which it operates: from local 'nodes' of global communication traffic, to the scale of the body and the highly intimate surveillance of the everyday digital activities of citizens. The planetary ambit of security state is also on display in Catherine Besteman's article on 'security empire,' a concept she deploys to understand the political formation presently governing Somalia and its diasporic communities. Besteman's analysis demands that the anthropologist move beyond nation-state-centric approaches to security formations, showing how a more expansive framework of 'security empire' allows us to analytically hold together historical processes (such as colonial and Cold War histories on the Horn of Africa) and everyday life in the diaspora. In doing so, her article further extends our sociospatial framework by drawing attention to how security is productive of large-scale imperialist political formations, which operate across spatial scales and link transnational diasporic geographies with the geopolitical calculus of the War on Terror.

The sociospatial framework we have outlined here is meant to provide a critical grounding for the anthropology of security. As we have shown, it is a framework grounded in the twin processes through which security is both produced and productive, shaped by and shaping the major transformations afoot in the world today. As an embattled neoliberalism trudges forward, populist nationalisms encroach from all sides, and the specters of terrorism and crime haunt the imaginations of both elites (huddled behind electric fences and fortifications) and the disgruntled poor alike (who are both the audience of security-populisms and the targets of securitization in turn) – security has become a dominant force shaping cities, spaces, state projects, and subjectivities today. As security produces its particular kinds of spaces (from security urbanism to security empires), it is the task of critical scholars to untangle and make actionable the power relations that are produced and reproduced through such spaces. The sociospatial framework we have proposed here offers a powerful tool for such critical engagement, one

which allows anthropologists to untangle the messy knot of security space and critique the dystopian futures promised by securitized cities and the rise of security empires.

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