4

The Asianist is Muslim

Thinking through Anti-Muslim Racism with the Muslim Left

Soham Patel and M. Bilal Nasir

In the days following September 11, 2001, Edward Said penned an article in the *Guardian*, pointing out that the United States was far from an innocent "sleeping giant" attacked by "Muslims" and "Islam," as it had presented itself in the wake of the strikes on New York and Washington.[1] Rather, Said argued that the United States was the primary aggressor and an imperial "superpower almost constantly at war, or in some kind of conflict, all over the Islamic domains."[2] In reminding the public of the status of the United States as a global empire, the postcolonial scholar called attention to how the "age-old religious hostility to (and ignorance of) 'Islam'" overwhelmingly shaped American foreign policy in West, South, and Central Asia.[3] In remarkable foresight, Said warned of a "long war"—since deemed the "Forever War" or the "Global War on Terror"—to come if the United States and its public intellectuals did not radically transform the imperial culture that "made imaginable, even natural, imperial vision(s) of the Arab-Muslim East as a space demanding intervention."[4]

In this account of rising anti-Muslim sentiment and its consequences for US empire in the wake of 9/11 just over twenty years ago, Said merely extended many of the main arguments of his text *Orientalism*. In it, Said offered a trenchant critique of racialized distinction Orientalists, and therefore also colonial powers, historically made between the "Orient" and the "Occident" to claim authority over

and to politically dominate the former. In other words, for Said, the problem of representing the Orient was not merely one of cultural essentialism but, more importantly, of governing the "Oriental" subject of Western Empire.

This critique approached Orientalism as a discourse or, more specifically, a discursive tradition that pervades domains as distinct as journalism, state bureaucracy, and academic scholarship.[5] It is for this reason that the publication of *Orientalism* and the advent of postcolonial studies rattled the discipline of "Oriental studies," leading to its breakup into Asian Studies and Middle East and Near Eastern studies departments. It also immensely shaped the epistemological and pedagogical approaches to questions of race, politics, and imperialism in emergent ethnic studies departments. While Said's critical interventions have clearly reverberated throughout the academy, his central concern with the othering of Muslims and Islam remain marginal to debates in area studies, such as Asian Studies, and in the humanities and the humanistic social sciences more broadly. This is especially curious because Said stated in interviews and popular articles that the "anti-Islamic" attitude of self-described "experts" involved with projects of European empire motivated him to write *Orientalism*, as did public discourses of the so-called Muslim World as the primary threat to Western morality, reason, and power.[6]

In this essay, we take Said's poignant interventions as a point of departure to address the limitations of Asian Studies regarding the question and representation of Muslims and Islam.[7] In many ways, our inquiry emerges from the erasure of Muslims from the category of Asian, as well as more recently from the category of Asian American, especially given the public discourse around anti-Asian racism. However, our chapter's intervention rests in offering Asian Studies a reflection upon European Orientalist discourse as a way to return to the centrality of Muslims and Islam in bridging Asian and Asian American histories and politics. To do this, we argue that the figure of the Muslim unsettles not only diaspora studies but also area studies.

While scholarship on diaspora has traditionally explored transnational movements and national circuits of power, area studies has been fixated upon region. The racial figure of the Muslim is neither national, transnational, nor regional, but global, whereby being everywhere and nowhere at the same time. For this reason, the figure of the Muslim reveals the limitations of Asian Studies and offers the field the possibility to reevaluate its thought and politics beyond "Asia." We thus consider how centering anti-Muslim rhetoric—or more specifically, anti-Muslim racism—and global Muslim politics can bring about a *critical* Asian Studies that connects the region, broadly conceived, and its diasporas in solidarity with the Global South and its ongoing political struggles against imperial racism, empire, and the violent conditions brought on by coloniality.

Anti-Muslim Racism

Our suggestion that the "Asianist is Muslim" invites scholars within the field of Asian Studies to critically revise their position on Muslims and Islam. While academics and public commentators have mostly explored the discourse around the supposed predisposition of Muslims toward terror in the post-9/11 period, critical Muslim studies scholars have drawn on thinkers like Edward Said to argue that the racialization of Muslims and Islam extends back to the advent of colonial modernity. While colonialism effectively "[secularized] human existence" and initiated the rise of race as a master category, the concept of religion has received less consideration.[8] In other words, many scholars in the field of Asian and Asian American Studies who study race begin their inquiry into modern racism without accounting for the role of religion in the historical formation of coloniality. The discussion of religion is not only necessary but critical to understanding how Muslims and Islam are central to modern racial formation.

The racialization of non-Europeans, such as Muslims, constitutes a world-system dominated by coloniality, a matrix that orders our global and local economies, politics, and knowledges, and shapes the sensibilities and perceptions of people who have come under its sway in the Global South and its diasporas. According to decolonial scholars, coloniality denotes the *longue durée* of colonialism and its persistent structural effects on racial, religious, class, gendered, and sexual dimensions of social life.[9] We aruge that the figure of the Muslim, which served as Christendom's primary other in the late medieval era, brought this structure into being and that Muslims and Islam continue to importantly shape modern projects of race—including anti-Black racism, anti-Indigenous racism, and anti-Asian racism, among others—that demarcate humans from subhumans and non-humans.[10]

The Muslim has become a fungible taxonomy that US empire deploys to classify a broad range of intersectional identities embodying a political position other than secular liberal humanism.[11] While Muslims have historically been a faith-based community (*ummat al-Islam*), we are interested in foregrounding the concept of anti-Muslim racism within the field of Asian Studies. We make this move to reveal how anti-Muslim racism shapes the lives of not only Asians but many other groups that have been racialized as Muslim as a result of the US-led Global War on Terror. Simply put, foregrounding the Muslim within the field opens a new horizon of possibilities and solidarities for Asians and the Asian diaspora. Doing so, however, requires an examination of how anti-Muslim racism is constituted between the domains of religion and race.

As has been well-documented in the anthropology of Islam, the concept of "religion" is not universal but is instead a product of modern secular power. In his groundbreaking scholarship in postcolonial anthropology, Talal Asad suggests

that the "secular" is not equivalent to the "non-religious," nor is secularism the de facto separation between "religion" and "politics."[12] Instead, the secular is a concept with an indeterminate relationship to its other—religion—that brings together certain attitudes, behaviors, sensibilities, and knowledges deemed indispensable for living a modern life. In this formulation, secularism must be understood as an administrative project of government that depends on the secular or secularity to manage everyday rational and moral life and cultivate properly modern selves. It is through secularism that modern states have historically established the social conditions to secularize populations and bring them under the care of the sovereign. Asad maintains that the secular is conceptually prior to secularism and, therefore, that the rationalities and moralities internal to secularity authorize modern power and its interventionist impulse.

However, secularity is not only conceptually prior to secularism, as Asad suggests, but also race. In her important work on race and colonialism, Sylvia Wynter argues that Columbus's voyage across the Atlantic set the stage for the Protestant Reformation and the "secularizing intellectual revolution of Renaissance humanism," which subsequently prompted the rise of the secular modern state.[13] Wynter adds that the colonial West and its secular epistemologies replaced premodern distinctions, such as mortal/immortal, natural/supernatural, and human/ancestors, with an overarching human/nonhuman distinction through contact with the New World and the enslavement of Africans. The West, as an imperial entity, thus produced a secular slot of otherness dominated by emerging notions of modern race.[14]

While Wynter importantly probes the relationship between secularism and race, she does not consider how the race concept emerged prior to European imperial intervention in the New World. Anthropologist Junaid Rana argues, "the story of the race concept emerges out of the religious exclusions practiced in the fourteenth and fifteenth century" as part of the centuries-long imperial project of the *Reconquista*.[15] Prior to Columbus's arrival in the New World, the processes that led to the genocide and forced conversion of Indigenous peoples in the Americas developed through the Castilian crown's subjugation of Muslims and Jews. Following the fall of Muslim rule in Granada, the conquistadors killed and expelled many Muslims and Jews in the Iberian Peninsula, allowing only those that converted to Christianity to stay in their homes. In analyzing conversion in relation to the emerging concept of race, Rana argues:

The prospect of conversion or death for Jews and Muslims was itself the act of shifting the religious into racial conceptions. For the explorers, it is important to note that Muslims and Jews constituted an early category of religious-racial other to transpose onto indigenous groups of the New World in the form of racial thought. [16]

In short, though conversion did not entail a physical death, it involved a type of social death, replacing Islamic, Judaic, or other forms of indigenous, theological, ethical selves and ways of life with those privileged by European empire. As the forerunner to the rise of the matrix of coloniality, the *Reconquista* produced pseudoracial knowledges based on notions of theological difference to distinguish the civilized Christian from the savage Muslim. Even those that converted to Christianity (*moros* and *marannos*) were never deemed properly "human" as they were unable to fully rid themselves of their allegiances to Islam and Judaism. While the West employed religion to categorize differences amongst the non-Christian populations of Europe and beyond, the birth of the secular sciences and the European man enshrined race as the primary system of classification in the modern world. Based on this history of the *Reconquista* and how it informs the political, epistemological, and ontological foundations of the modern West, it is our argument that the figure of the Muslim is central to the emergence of coloniality. It thus occupies an important racialized position as a theological and political "other" that the West continues to draw upon to shape and organize modern systems of capital accumulation, land dispossession, warfare, policing, and modern state sovereignty.[17] The post-9/11 era continued, if not intensified, this system of racial violence. The crisis mobilized an arsenal of modern state power—lethal and nonlethal—upon those suspected of being the source of terror: Muslims and Islam. Through biopolitical and ontopolitical technologies, the modern nation-state subjects Muslims to regimes of detention, deportation, and genocide. However, for Muslims, the process of racialization is not tied to a racial being but a racial becoming.[18]

> It is the corporeal features that may mark Muslim racialized being, but it is the coupling of the corporeal with the cultural that shifts the figure of the Muslim from a racial being to a racial becoming: Buried not too deep in this conversation of disparate philosophy is often the idea of biological difference—for example, the arguments that religious people are hardwired to think a certain way, "that their culture is different from ours" or that "they hate our way of life and will destroy us." Embedded in these rationales is a combination of biological and cultural reasoning that is central to racialization and a versatile and flexible process in fixating on a racial object. This is to say that the racialized Muslim is not a fixed racial object but becomes one and is profiled as a *racialized threat as potentiality*. Anti-Muslim racism, then, is about a kind of racialized becoming that is always in flux and is different from other forms of racism that have become part of a racial common sense. Anti-Muslim racism is the incarnation of a shifting conceptual apparatus that comprises racism as a technique and white supremacy as a systemic end.[19] (emphasis added)

This process of racialization does not simply involve identifying what a Muslim looks like but, more importantly, what a Muslim may become in the future. This is a distinct feature of the racial infrastructure of the counterterror state—a future-oriented state project that targets Muslims in the present as a preemptive measure against the potential or possibility that Muslims may become terrorists in the future. It is the logic of preemption and the emerging modalities of biopower, or more specifically, ontopower, that anchor Muslim racial becoming in the context of the US-led Global War on Terror.[20]

In this regard, the racial infrastructure that is created to police and contain Muslimness is shaped by the imperial racism of the US-led Global War on Terror that renders Muslims a global threat.[21] The everyday forms of racialized violence, such as surveillance, policing, deportation, and warfare, in the US and beyond depends on and is generative of anti-Muslim racism as Muslim racial becoming. In doing so, the West places Muslims within what Frantz Fanon called the "zone of nonbeing," or a "a zone for the subhuman," rendering them into legitimate targets of state-sanctioned racial violence and warfare. In containing Muslims and Islam within this zone, US empire casts them outside the domains of the political and juridical and subjects them to a world where anti-terror technologies, such as drones, and counterinsurgency strategies are omnipresent.[22]

While race casts Muslims out of the category of the political, in many ways, Muslims and Islam have also come to unsettle and disrupt modern understandings of *homo politicus*. For many, the nation-state dominates modern political imaginaries. The nation-state is where law and capital come to be regulated, and where democracy and freedom come to manifest—ultimately, where sovereignty is expressed. But the figure of the Muslim exists outside of secular liberal formations because they are neither in the nation-state nor of it. As a result of this, the modern world's positioning of Muslims in a zone of nonbeing should be read as a diasporic subject position where, regardless of geography, the Muslim is always out of place. In this sense, Muslims in a Muslim-majority nation, such as Arab Muslims in Egypt, are thus equally as displaced as Muslims in a minoritarian community, such as Black American Muslims in the United States, because of how the modern state intervenes in and dominates all aspects of Muslim ethical and political life.[23] The globality of anti-Muslim racism therefore collapses the distinction between the so-called Muslim world and its diasporas, and in many cases, between Muslims and non-Muslims. The modern state and its racialized technologies of death and dispossession at once target and dominate Kashmiris, Palestinians, Uyghurs, Black diasporas, Muslim and non-Muslim Arabs, and Sikhs, among other groups.

The rise of coloniality and modern race cannot be understood without considering the modern formation of anti-Muslim racism. While the Castilian crown laid the ground for modern race and anti-Muslim racism to emerge during

the *Reconquista* and the Spanish Inquisition, these formations have historically shifted with changes to geopolitics and Western empire. Anti-Muslim racism has come to overwhelmingly inform the grammar of race in the twenty-first century with the onset of the US-led Global War on Terror and the globality of counterinsurgency-as-governance. Such conditions of race have immensely shaped everyday Muslim and Islamic life and the specter of physical and social death across Asia and the Asian diasporas. However, Muslims and those racialized as Muslims have not taken the US-led Global War on Terror and anti-Muslim racism lying down. They have forged robust movements of protest and critique across the lines of Muslim and non-Muslim, local and global, and religious and secular.

On Muslim Decoloniality

Under conditions of coloniality, the question arises: What constitutes decolonization, or more specifically, decoloniality? Given the centrality of the modern state in upholding the racialized conditions of coloniality, decolonial thinkers have argued that the aim of decoloniality must not be to form sovereign nation-states but to "offer horizons of liberation . . . beyond state designs, and corporate and financial desires."[24] In thinking beyond the sovereign state as a redemptive territorial imaginary, Sohail Daulatzai offers the concept of the "Muslim International," which connects "geographies of violence and shared territories of struggle against racial terror, global capital, and war" and where "ideas about community, resistance, and belonging can be engaged" in an anti-Muslim world.[25] While this political formation encompasses the Global South or the "Third World," it also includes minoritarian Muslim and non-Muslim communities that oppose the architecture of governing paradigms brought about by policing and militarism and their strategies of anti-terrorism and counterinsurgency. This is because, as mentioned in the previous section, the nation-state has made Muslims and the global ummah, as well as those racialized as Muslim, diasporic. Thus, the Muslim International intervenes to offer a political imaginary where these overlapping Black and Brown diasporas may root themselves in an alternative site for world-making. While the racial figure of the Muslim includes Desi and Arab communities, or what Asian American Studies scholar Nitasha Sharma coins as "Post-9/11 Brown," the figure also encompasses Black, Indigenous, Latinx, and other Asian American communities.[26] As such, it is important for us to name this site the "Muslim International" precisely due to the globality of the racializing logics that dominate, if not seek to eliminate, all aspects of Muslim ethical and political life. The name forces us to think beyond the racial paradigms of the coloniality that imagines the elimination of the Muslim from the secular world. It forces us to reckon with the possibility that Muslims could struggle and contest the global political order on their own terms. It is in response to such conditions

of coloniality that an emergent scholarly and activist "Muslim Left" in the US has come to see themselves as part of the Muslim International and its ethical agenda of "[imagining] another world in line with struggles for social justice, decolonial liberation, and global solidarity."[27]

An important aspect of Muslim Internationalism as a conceptual tool and political formation in critical Muslim studies involves addressing the tensions between secularists and religionists. In the US and beyond, leftist politics often presupposes the attitudes, sensibilities, and notions of progressive history internal to secularity. As we have argued, secularity remains intimately entangled with coloniality, upholding the conceptual grammar of modern race and racialization. It is for this reason that those on the so-called left often racialize religion and approach religious practitioners as victims of "false consciousness." Such a position considers religion a hindrance to liberation, foreclosing the possibility of a radical politics against anti-Muslim racism that draws on religious traditions, such as Islam.

To remedy such tensions, scholars of the Muslim Left have turned to figures like El Hajj Malik El-Shabazz, or Malcolm X, who sought to forge global antiracist solidarities between both religious and secular Black Americans, Asians, and Africans in the Global South and in the diaspora. Malcolm X, for example, saw himself as part of the ummah *and* part of the four-fifths of the "Darker World" and worked until the end of his life to connect the struggles of Muslims and non-Muslims alike against white supremacy and empire. Figures like Malcolm, and the tradition of Muslim Internationalism that he inaugurated, therefore offer a model for building global networks of solidarity against anti-Muslim racism and other iterations of racism (e.g. anti-Black, anti-Indigenous, anti-Latinx, anti-East Asian, anti-South Asian, etc.) that move beyond the secular and religious divide. In the context of the United States, Muslim Americans across racial groups have drawn on Malcolm, or El Hajj Malik El-Shabazz, as both a secular and religious figure to build pan-racial coalitions of solidarity that address white supremacy and anti-Muslim racism, as well as racial hierarchies that pit West and South Asian American Muslims against Black American Muslims.[28] Accounting for Malcolm as at once a theologian and radical political thinker, we argue that a decolonial ethics—an ethics "oppositional in nature in contexts defined by modernity/coloniality" that involves reorienting "the self in conditions of systematic dehumanization"—forged in response to anti-Muslim racism must not only consider secularist traditions but also religious ones, such as Islam.[29]

A critical Asian Studies must account for such formations of radical Muslim politics and Muslim decoloniality. In the last two decades, the US-led Global War on Terror has systemized a global infrastructure of anti-Muslim racism, as well as given rise to Muslim political movements against policing, militarism, and

other forms of state-sanctioned anti-terror violence from Srinigar to Los Angeles, Xinjiang to Lagos, Palestine to Peshawar, and London to Damascus. These sites of protest and radical Muslim politics reorient the relationship between Asian and Asian American Studies, effectively unsettling the idea of "Asia" as a region politically closed off from its diasporas. Probing global anti-Muslim racism and the US-led Global War on Terror further brings the political movements of Asia in conversation with those in Asian America. Engaging with the Muslim International and the Muslim Left links area studies and critical ethnic studies, establishing a space for a critical Asian Studies that attends to insurgent, transnational intellectual and political projects rooted in traditions of Muslim decoloniality.

Conclusion

This essay probed the question of what constitutes "the Asianist" by reimagining Asian Studies through the racial figure of the Muslim and the presumed problem of Islam. We began with an exploration of how Edward Said and his incisive critique of Orientalism informed the epistemological and disciplinary foundations of Asian Studies in the US. While Asian Studies received and incorporated *Orientalism*'s concern for Western essentialisms of the "East," the discipline disregarded Said's primary concern with how representations of Muslims and Islam recursively shapes Western imperial interventions across the Asian continent. With the onset of the US-led Global War on Terror, Asian American Studies scholars started analyzing how the long-standing logics of anti-Muslim racism under conditions of coloniality had come to structure global Muslim and non-Muslim life. These debates not only connected the plight of Asians to Asian Americans but also gave rise to conceptual tools to describe emergent forms of oppositional politics.

We argue that a shift from Asian Studies to *critical* Asian Studies demands taking account of Muslim Internationalism and the Muslim Left. In other words, if Asian Studies hopes to speak to issues of race, empire, and coloniality, it must attend to the forms of anti-Muslim racism that US empire has globalized in the twenty-first century, as well as the various secular and religious movements that have emerged in critique of such a world. This certainly requires returning to Edward Said and his important texts that reconfigured the field more than half a century ago but also engaging with traditions of politics and scholarship from the Muslim Left.

Notes

[1] Said, "Islam and the West are Inadequate Banners."

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] El Haj, "Edward Said and the Political Present," 538.

[5] El Haj draws on the work of Talal Asad and his conception of tradition to argue that "Orientalist discourse is an archive of systematic statements and bodies of knowledge, continuously drawn on and reformulated, that converges with broader prevailing philosophical tendencies at different moments in time (e.g., race theory in the 19th century), all the while retaining a powerful trace of itself as Europe reexperiences the Orient but never as something wholly new or alien" (Ibid., 545).

[6] Said, "Islam through Western Eyes."

[7] Anthropologists in Asian Studies and Middle East studies have produced several important ethnographies probing Islam as an embodied and discursive tradition. While these texts address the asymmetries of empire and anthropological representations of Muslim and Islam, they have paid less attention to how global anti-Muslim racism shapes and informs everyday Islamic practice. See Mahmood, *Politics of Piety*; Hirschkind, *The Ethical Soundscape*; Agrama, *Questioning Secularism*.

[8] Sylvia Wynter, "Beyond the Word of Man: Glissant and the New Discourse of the Antilles," 639.

[9] Walter Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs*; Nelson Maldonado-Torres, *Against War.*

[10] For more on the centrality of the figure of the Muslim in late medieval, and therefore also early modern, European formations of race, see Arjana, *Muslims in the Western Imagination.*

[11] Daulatzai, *Black Star, Crescent Moon*; Jamal and Naber, *Race and Arab Americans Before and After 9/11*; Junaid Rana, *Terrifying Muslims*; Razack, *Casting Out.*

[12] Asad, *Formations of the Secular*.

[13] Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation—An Argument."

[14] For a more detailed discussion on the intimacies between race, religion, and secularism, see Fernando, *The Republic Unsettled: Muslim French and the Contradictions of Secularism*; Lloyd, "Introduction: Managing Race, Managing Religion" in *Race and Secularism in America*; Nasir, "Mad Kids, Good City: Counterterrorism, Mental Health, and the Resilient Muslim Subject."

[15] Junaid Rana. "The Story of Islamophobia."

[16] Ibid.

[17] We make this argument based on the work of several scholars of religion and the anthropology of religion. Gil Anidjar argues that while Europe constructed the Jew as the internal theological enemy, it deemed the Muslim its external political enemy. Since Jews have increasingly been folded into the political position of whiteness, particularly after WWII, the figure of the Muslim has come to occupy both positions as at once an internal (theological) and external (political) enemy, particularly in the context of the US-led Global War on Terror. In this regard, the figure of the Muslim is foundational to the development of discourses and practices of colonial difference-making that created the conditions for racial domination, including the transatlantic slave trade and settler colonialism in the Americas. Furthermore, given that the figure of the Muslim is at the

center of the more recent US-led Global War on Terror, we make this argument to show that scholarship on race and empire must critically think about how the specter of Islam informs and sustains the ontological and epistemological foundations of the so-called West. For more, see Hussein Ali Agrama, 2016, "Thinking with Saba Mahmood," *The Immanent Frame*; Gil Anidjar, *The Jew, the Arab: A History of the Enemy*; Sylvester A. Johnson, *African American Religions, 1500–2000: Colonialism, Democracy, and Freedom*; Tomaž Mastnak, *Crusading Peace: Christendom, the Muslim World, and Western Political Order*; Leerom Medovoi, "Dogma-Line Racism: Islamophobia and the Second Axis of Race"; Junaid Rana, "The Story of Islamophobia."

[18] Rana, "The Racial Infrastructure of the Terror-Industrial Complex."

[19] Daulatzai and Rana, "Introduction" in *With Stones in Our Hands,* xv–xvi.

[20] The theory of Muslim racial becoming depends on the interrelated concepts of preemption and ontopower. Preemption operates on the basis of a "threat-matrix" that deems potential threats not only imminent to the present but more importantly to the future. The epistemology of preemption rests on complete uncertainty, for present-future threats are always "in potential" or in a state of "becoming." For this reason, preemptive power returns to "life's unlivable conditions of emergence in order to bring life back, redirecting its incipience to alter-emergent effect" (Massumi 41). Brian Massumi terms this security formation "ontopower" because its point of application is at the level of nature and ontology rather than territory and population—as is the case with biopower. For a more detailed discussion of preemption and ontopower, see Masco, *Theater of Operations*; Massumi, *Ontopower: War, Powers, and the State of Perception*.

[21] Soham Patel, "Policing Insurgents: Race and Security in the Forever War" (unpublished manuscript, May 2021), typescript.

[22] Daulatzai, "Introduction" in *Fifty Years of the Battle of Algiers,* xvii.

[23] For a discussion of the Muslim ummah as a diasporic formation, see S. Sayyid, *Recalling the Caliphate: Decolonization and World Order*, 114–116.

[24] Mignolo and Walsh, "On Decoloniality: Concepts, Analytics, Praxis," 125.

[25] Daulatzai, *Black Star, Crescent Moon*, xxii–xxiii.

[26] Sharma, "Rap, Race, Revolution," in *Audible Empire*.

[27] Daulatzai and Rana, "Introduction" in *With Stones in Our Hands*, x.

[28] For more on this, see Abdul Khabeer, *Muslim Cool*; Grewal, *Islam is a Foreign Country*; Kashani, "The Audience is Still Present."

[29] Maldonado-Torres, "Race, Religion, and Ethics in the Modern/Colonial World," 7, 16.

Bibliography

Abu El-Haj, Nadia. "Edward Said and the Political Present." *American Ethnologist.* 32 (2005): 538–555.

Abdul Khabeer, Su'ad. *Muslim Cool: Race, Religion, and Hip Hop in the United States*. New York: NYU Press, 2016.

Agrama Hussein Ali, "Thinking with Saba Mahmood." *The Immanent Frame,* February 25, 2016. https://tif.ssrc.org/2016/02/25/thinking-with-saba-mahmood/.

Amaney, Jamal and Nadine Christine Naber. *Race and Arab Americans Before and After 9/11: From Invisible Citizens to Visible Subjects*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2008.

Anidjar, Gil. *The Jew, the Arab*: *A History of the Enemy.* Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2003.

———. *Semites: Race, Religion, Literature*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2007.

Asad, Talal. *The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam*. Center for Contemporary Arab Studies 1 (1986): 1–30.

———. *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.

———. *Formations of the Secular*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2003.

———. *On Suicide Bombing*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.

Aydin, Cemil. *The Idea of the Muslim World*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017.

Bouteldja, Houria. *Whites, Jews, and Us: Toward a Politics of Revolutionary Love*. Pasadena: Semiotext(e), 2017.

Daulatzai, Sohail. *Black Star, Crescent Moon: The Muslim International and Black Freedom Beyond America*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012.

———. *Fifty Years of the Battle of Algiers: Past as Prologue*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016.

Daulatzai, Sohail and Junaid Rana. *With Stones in Our Hands: Writings on Muslims, Racism, and Empire*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018.

Deeb, Lara. *An Enchanted Modern*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.

Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press, 2005.

———. *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York: Grove Press, 2008.

Felber, Garret. *Those Who Know Don't Say: The Nation of Islam, the Black Freedom Movement, and the Carceral State*. Raleigh: University of North Carolina Press, 2020.

Fernando, Mayanthi. *The Republic Unsettled: Muslim French and the Contradictions of Secularism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2014.

Gomez, Michael. *Black Crescent: The Experience and Legacy of African American Muslims in the Americas.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Grewal, Zareena. *Islam is a Foreign Country*. New York: NYU Press, 2014.

Hesse, Barnor. "Racialized Modernity: An Analytics of White Mythologies." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30, no. 4 (2007): 643–663.

Hirschkind, Charles. *The Ethical Soundscape: Cassette Sermons and Islamic Counterpublics*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.

Johnson, Sylvester A. *African American Religions, 1500–2000: Colonialism, Democracy, and Freedom*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Kashani, Maryam. "The Audience is Present: Invocations of El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz by Muslims in the United States." In Sohail Daulatzai and Junaid Rana eds., *With Stones in Our Hands: Writings on Muslims, Racism, and Empire*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018.

Kahn, Jonathon Samuel. *Race and Secularism in America*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2016.

Kundnani, Arun. *The Muslims Are Coming!* London: Verso Books, 2014.

Mahmood, Saba. *The Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Maldonado-Torres, Nelson. *Against War: Views from the Underside of Modernity*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.

———. "Race, Religion, and Ethics in the Modern/Colonial World." *Journal of Religious Ethics.* 42, no. 4 (2014): 691–711.

Mamdani, Mahmood. *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War, and the Roots of Terror.* New York: Pantheon Books, 2004.

Masco, Joseph. *The Theater of Operations: National Security Affect from the Cold War to the War on Terror*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2014.

Massumi, Brian. *Ontopower: Wars, Powers, and the State of Exception*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2015.

Mastnak Tomaž. *Crusading Peace: Christendom, the Muslim World, and Western Political Order*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Medovoi, Leerom. "Dogma-Line Racism Islamophobia and the Second Axis of Race." *Social Text.* 30, no. 2 (2012): 43–74.

Mignolo, Walter. *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.

Mignolo, Walter and Catherine E. Walsh. *On Decoloniality: Concepts, Analytics, Praxis*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2018.

Nadine, Naber. *Arab America: Gender, Cultural Politics, and Activism*. New York: NYU Press, 2012.

Nasir, M. Bilal. "Mad Kids, Good City: Counterterrorism, Mental Health, and the Resilient Muslim Subject." *Anthropological Quarterly* 92, no. 3 (2019): 817–844.

Patel, Soham. "Policing Insurgents: Race and Security in the Forever War." Unpublished manuscript, May 2021, typescript.

Rana, Junaid. *Terrifying Muslims: Race and Labor in the South Asian Diaspora*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2011.

———. "The Story of Islamophobia." *Souls*. 9, no. 2 (2007): 148–161.

———. "The Racial Infrastructure of the Terror-Industrial Complex." *Social Text* 34 4, no. 129 (2016): 111–138.

Razack, Sherene. *Casting Out: Race and the Eviction of Muslims from Western Law and Politics*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.

———. "Islam through Western Eyes." *The Nation*, April 26, 1980. https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/islam-through-western-eyes/.

———. "Islam and the West are Inadequate Banners." *The Guardian*, September 16, 2001. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/sep/16/september11.terrorism3

———. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1994.

———. *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts See the Rest of the World*. New York: Vintage Books, 1997.

Sayyid, Salman. *Recalling the Caliphate: Decolonization and World Order*. London: C. Hurst & Co., 2014

Sharma, Nitasha, "Rap, Race, Revolution: Post-9/11 Brown and a Hip Hop Critique of Empire." In *Audible Empire: Music, Global Politics, Critique*, eds. Ronald Radano and Tejumola Olaniyan, 292–313. Durham: Duke University Press, 2016.

Wynter, Sylvia. "Beyond the Word of Man: Glissant and the New Discourse of the Antilles." *World Literature Today*. 63, no. 4 (1989): 637–648.

———. "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation—An Argument." *CR: The New Centennial Review* 3, no. 3 (2003): 257–337.