

# Critical Muslim Studies (Part I)

January 29, 2021

00:08 Maura Cunningham

Hi, everyone, I think we're going to get started now, as participants are still trickling in via Zoom on this Friday afternoon. Thank you so much for joining us for today's AAS Digital Dialogue. My name is Maura Cunningham, and I'm the Digital Media Manager at the Association for Asian Studies in Ann Arbor, Michigan. And this Digital Dialogue is our first 2021 conversation in a series that we started last year. In the middle of the year, as the pandemic was getting underway, we pivoted to doing online events. And we're really excited that doing these online events can open up new conversations, such as this one. Today's discussion is Critical Muslim Studies, Part I, it's the first of a mini series that we're going to be running throughout 2021. And so, I will put the link to the AAS Digital Dialogues page in the chat during the conversation and I encourage you to keep an eye on that page for announcements about future events in this series. I would like to start by thanking the Henry Luce Foundation, which funds the AAS Digital Dialogue series. We're very grateful to them for their support. And I would also like to thank today's moderator, Stan Thangaraj, who organized this series for us brought the idea to the Association for Asian Studies, and is making all of this happen. So we're really appreciate all his all of his energy, and his interest in promoting these discussions of interdisciplinary topics in Asian Studies. So during the discussion today, we encourage you to put questions in the Q&A. And also, just let us know what you're interested in hearing in the future. We are always we always welcome proposals for new Digital Dialogues. And that information is on the AAS website. Again, I'll put a link to that in the chat during the session so that you can see what kinds of discussions we've had in the past and think about maybe what sorts of conversations you have you would like to bring to our audience in the future. So with that, I'm going to turn the moderation over to Stan, thank you so much for attending today.

02:24 Stan Thangaraj

Thank you, Maura, very, very much for everything you do to make this possible. Thank you, everyone for joining us today. These months have been tough and tiring. But I am grateful for all of you who have joined us for this important conversation with rising scholars across a wide swath of fields. I hope this space offers the space to engage intellectually create community that crosses over disciplinary boundaries, and take pleasure in such amazing work as we live in uncertain times. It is a time to engage in knowledge production and celebrate. This has been the product of conversations with

the Association for Asian American Studies, the Association for Asian Studies, and the Arab American Studies Association. Thus, this would not be possible without the incredible leadership, vision and brilliance of Jennifer Ho, Christine Yano and Amira Jarmakani. Thank you Asian Studies for giving us this space via Digital Dialogues to have this conversation. Thus, I am very thankful to Hilary Finchum-Sung, Maura Cunningham and Molly DeDona, who have been wonderful in managing all the schedules and the logistics, and they have crafted this great space that we're in right now. As such, I also want to acknowledge that we cannot cover the entire spectrum of Critical Muslim Studies in our series or just in today's panels. So what this is, in many ways is a call to action to think about what Critical Muslim Studies can do as a certain type of space for knowledge production, and for various projects for justice moving forward with the ways in which Muslim has become a floating signifier and loaded signifier, meaning many things in capturing a wide swath of people. This session and others that follow engage in Critical Muslim Studies by looking at how Muslim as an object, as a subject, as a category, as an experience, as a history, as a social formation circulates across race, gender, sexuality, class, ethnicity, and nation, while showing the many ways that Muslim communities and those interpolated as Muslim manage their relationships to race, caste, nation, class, gender, and sexuality with the ways that various ethno nationalist projects have foreground the Muslim as the key site of repudiation, or or for that matter, the formation, the papers address how critical Muslim studies become such an important site for knowledge production. Thus, we hope to put Asian Studies, Asian American Studies, and Arab American Studies in conversation through this space, while cultivating an intellectual, pragmatic and necessary toolkit that incorporates the theoretical influences of area studies, ethnic studies, and Gender and Sexuality Studies, while pushing against the very act of canonization. Thus, Critical Muslim Studies is about a future and thus a space of respect space of dialogue and a space of knowledge production. It is a space to support these scholars as we think through the many intersections, and thus each presenter will offer their thoughts with between eight to ten minutes, and then we will open it up for questions and comments from the virtual audience. So before we begin, I will introduce the panelists briefly. So Dr. Sanobar Umar is a Assistant Professor in the Department of Politics at York University. She's interested in the global histories and politics of gendering and racing Islam as a religion. Her upcoming work explores the relationship and critical differences between caste and racial hierarchies and how they subsequently inform the figure of the Muslim in Indian and world politics. She refers to the institutional denial of oppressed Muslim caste histories, and the complex self genealogies of historically marginalized Muslims as quote unquote, "racialized declassification", which critically intersects with racialized capitalism, border and surveillance regimes and the rising phenomenon of Aryan nationalisms in both the global north and south. Her work therefore, foregrounds caste is an important, yet overlooked lens of analyzing Muslim identities and societies in a transnational framework. Dr. Hareem Khan is an Assistant Professor of Anthropology and Ethnic Studies at California State University, San Bernardino. She holds a PhD from the Department of Anthropology at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and

a BA in Anthropology and Global Health from Northwestern University. Dr. Kahn's current research examines the emerging South Asian beauty industries in Southern California, focusing on the integral entanglements of race, labor and the commodification of cultural aesthetic practices. A portion of this project appears in an edited volume on transnational migrant labor titled *The Migrants Body* published by Amsterdam University Press. Dr. Khan has also been published in an anthology on global raciality, organized by the UC Center for New Racial Studies, the *Journal of Asian American Studies*, *Wear Your Voice* digital magazine and the *New Ethnographer* digital blog. And finally Dr. Adam Ali is an Assistant Professor in the Faculty of Kinesiology and Physical Education at the University of Toronto. His current research interests include exploring the politics of sporting cultures in the post 9/11 era, wherein he specifically studies the burgeoning area of sport for deradicalization. His dissertation, *Something Got Into Their Minds: Sport and the Rise of Radicalization in Canada* investigates the growing interest in sport as an ostensibly important factor for deradicalizing projects. His other main areas of interest concern sustainable development, policy and sport as it pertains to the physical environment. His collaborative research project focuses on the role of sport within the sustainability objectives of major international organizations such as the UN and the International Olympic Committee, and thus it is with such great joy we have in 2021 a chance to celebrate and engage critically in Critical Muslim Studies. So thank you, everyone, and I will let the panelists take it from here in the order that I introduce them. Thank you and welcome.

09:32 Sanobar Umar

Yes, interesting times, pardon my technological skills. I'm so- Stan, should I go ahead? Yeah. Okay. So thank you for bringing all of us together, Stan, and Critical Studies on Muslim Studies and Asian American Association. This is such a needed platform, and I'm really grateful for being in this panel with other junior and upcoming scholars. Moving forward, I think one of my key understandings of the intervention made by Critical Muslim Studies compared to earlier studies of Muslim, economic, political, social and intellectual thought, which have focused primarily on Muslim dominant societies and diasporas, is to fundamentally unsettle the assumption of who is constituted as the figure of the Muslim. And what is the Muslim world to begin with? Like Stan said, the burgeoning questions of this emerging field is how do we bring together interdisciplinary knowledges, but also challenge the canon or prevent the field from being canonized? This also clearly has implications not just for critically examining the figure of the Muslim but to also critically investigate ideas of space, identity, and Muslim-ness. My upcoming project seeks to interrogate these questions through both transnational and India-centered contexts. My dissertation, which I am editing at the moment as a manuscript, examines the systems of racialization that produced the Indian Muslim subvert and discursively, historically and biologically while bearing in mind the material

consequences for the group circumscribed within such frameworks of interesting slip, I demonstrate that the Indian Muslim was produced through legal, civic and normative routes between 1947 to 1992. When the Babri Masjid was infamously demolished by Hindu nationalist militants. In the end, my work strives to reconsider the legacy of colonial vocabularies that have entered mainstream ideas of "South Asian Studies." And to interweave these approaches with critical race studies, caste studies and subaltern studies, we are the site of the Indian Muslim. Over here, I'd like to note that there is largely a presumption that global not discourses of Islamophobia, Islamist Muslims impact the global south, however, in the process such neoliberal ideas of knowledge circulation reinforced conceptions of post colonial innocence, and water down the complex trajectories of Muslim racialization in global South societies, a subject that must be complicated through and reverse, such as critical Muslim studies, I believe. My work also follows upon and builds upon the crucial works of two well known scholars Gyanendra Pandey, and Vazira Fazila-Yacoobali Zamindar. In 1999, while critiquing the exclusionary boundaries of Indian nationalism, Gyanendra Pandey provocatively asked the question: can a Muslim be an Indian? 20 years later, as India's Muslims undergo police brutality, systematic segregation, and surveillance through acts such as the anti-Love Jihad Act and the citizenship Amendment Act, which will leave millions of Muslims stateless? My work returns to Pandey's question and flips it and instead asks, can an Indian be Muslim? Therefore, this work also continues in the timeline of what Zamindar has compellingly termed as the long partition in its investigation of majority Indian politics and the coded discrimination of secular language in India that transpired in local context as Muslim bodies, kinship ties and properties got policed in the decades right after India's independence, particularly in regions like Uttar Pradesh, which is a notorious region and has witnessed several anti muslim massacres over the past few decades. For those who are interested in looking at the intersections of caste and racialization in the South Asian Muslim context, a short version of my article has appeared in one of my chapters has appeared in the *Journal of Caste and Global Exclusion*. I would also like to quickly give a shout out to my friend and fellow scholar Shaista Patel, who I think will be also presenting in the upcoming series for Critical Muslim Studies and the interventions she is making with regards to the question of caste in Pakistan. Um, coming back to my work specifically, I look at the 1950s state-setting era of Indian constitutionalism to demonstrate how seemingly disparate sides of language politics and the denial of affirmative action policies for some of India's most marginalized Muslims, the so called untouchable Muslims or Dalit Muslims, coalesce together to both racialized Muslims as foreigners to India, and institutionally deny them socio economic policies for the emancipation. These politics were rendered even more complex in lower castes and Dalit Muslim genealogical construction sometimes, as they sought to trace their ancestry to Middle Eastern or Central Asian backgrounds, with the hopes of eclipsing the stigma of caste. But as I show in my work, not only has casteism pervaded and remain in a lot of Muslim societies, particularly with the dominance of certain elite and upper caste Muslims in Indian politics, but also Islamophobia in India is has itself been

shaped by caste dynamics. These caste erasures, unfortunately continue to operate in modern academic studies across borders when inquiring about South Asian Muslim context. In other work of scholarship that I'm currently engaging with, is the deterritorialized essential idea of the "Muslim world" and the imprints such nebulous and universalizing tropes bear for Muslim minorities, especially in global South countries such as India, Burma, China, and a much less talked about Central African Republic. How does the circulation of the idea of a Muslim world important both global north and global South conceptions of the gendered and racialized figure of the brown Muslim body and whom do these constructions seek to proactively erase and why? How do Muslims themselves partake in the idea of a so called Muslim world beyond ideas of ummah solidarity and shared beliefs. And particularly in interested in exploring these facets from a gender discursive analysis, tracing the post 9/11 Imperial feminist discourse of saving Muslim women from Muslim men to the unfolding discourse of Muslim women as key actors and partners to Muslim men in anti terrorism discourses? I humbly feel that this topic also critically intervenes in neoliberal notions of area studies that have centered the Middle East are at best Pakistan and Afghanistan as the heart of the Islamic world to the exclusion of millions of other Muslims. Even global Islamophobia studies has centered anti Muslim discrimination in Europe and the West, including their ties to the Middle East. However, here too, for example, the events such as the events that took place during the mo- Bosnian War, for example, get overlooked. It is imperative to examine academic and mainstream conceptions of the Muslim world by fundamentally unsettling the category of who belongs to the Muslim world in order to examine vertical hierarchies, horizontal oppressions, erasures, hyper visibility, and asymmetrical power dynamics that both brings together and exclude certain members of the Muslim community, especially along the axioms of sectarian beliefs, race, ethnicity and global location. Lastly, I have begun my preliminary research on exile or diasporic public intellectuals with a comparative approach on how the international community has reacted to academic dissent and persecution of scholars in Turkey and India. And how does our consumption of supposedly universal human rights discourses in the era of far right global populism, and social media disinformation networks interact with neoliberal conceptions of Orientalism and Eastern spirituality, given the unique histories and politics of both these countries and their unique relationship to the Western world? After all, I argue not all Orientalisms are the same. In some, I see Critical Muslim Studies interacting with Asian Studies in a manner that complicates and perhaps even decolonizes global south and transnational constructions of the Muslim vote tangibly in relationship to land and governance, but also in tangibly in our abstract deconstructions of the Muslim world. Thank you.

19:49 Hareem Khan

Thank you for that. That was, that was great. I'm so happy to be here. I hope you can see me, okay. And I just wanted to again, sort of echo what Sanobar was saying about,

you know, thanking Dr. Thangaraj, of course, for bringing us here, but also this Digital Dialogue series, I think, at least when I was preparing for this dialogue, it really pushed me to ask questions of my work that I don't think I was thinking as critically about. And so I hope to continue and grow in that direction. So thank you. So how I've set this up is, I'm just going to contextualize my research first, and then at the end of the talk, I'll make some openings and connections through which Critical Muslim Studies can inform some of the questions I'm asking. So I'm an Anthropologist, a Cultural Anthropologist, and to, to start off, I'll place myself ethnographically, that helps ground what I'm going to talk about next. But I started my fieldwork in 2015. And what I loosely identified as the South Asian beauty industry and the greater Los Angeles area, and by that I mean, you know, salon supply stores, training institutes, where products and services are marketed as Eastern, Indian, Asian, or really any other variation of other. And these services include services like threading, hair removal, henna, and the sale of Ayurvedic products and services, which which have a particular salience in the wellness industries, as I'm sure are seeing. And for folks who don't know what threading is, it's a hair removal technique that uses intertwined cotton threads that are rolled across the face and pulling hair out from their roots. And it's become a really popular service that has a really interesting history in LA, specifically. So I worked at these salons, I worked at three different threading salons in the area. And I was a front desk receptionist. So taking appointments, handling disputes, which wasn't, isn't my strong suit. And then also just taking note of the ways that certain ideas around race were encountered during interactions in the salon. So that's sort of where I was. And that's sort of what I was doing. But through this research, I became really curious about sort of three sets of questions. For one I was interested in how ethnic aesthetic practices, whether they be services, like thriving hair removal, or henna artistry or Ayurvedic facials, how these ethnic aesthetic practices developed an appeal that transcended out of diasporic markets, and how these practices become associated with particular racialized groups and even more particularly their labor, right? So from there, I started thinking about, okay, what can this tell us about the ways authenticity is produced and configured in relation to the market, the state transnationalism and global raciality? And sort of the third set of questions I was thinking about was, you know, how do we understand this authenticity as enacting certain racial formations, particularly for migrant women from South Asia who are hyper visible in these salons, as you know, as threading technicians as business owners, and they are there when the market when the services are marketed and sold? And then lastly, sort of what is this perhaps reveal about the mechanisms of state multiculturalism, under Global Capitalism is sort of the overarching inquiry here. So as an ethnographic jumping point into some of these questions, I wanted to just illustrate a very common occurrence that would happen during the time I was working at one of these salons. This one particular salon I was at where I was a front desk receptionist, it was a company that considered itself to be an Indian as well as a modern company. That's how they branded themselves and so they also drew in a more multiracial clientele. They had folks who were hired as threading technicians who are not just South Asian, which didn't reflect the other salons in the area where South

Asian women are more visible. But here at the salon when I would work, there were two South Asian women, to Black women, one Armenian woman, and two women who identified as Persian. They were, they made up the, the threading technicians, so they would rotate in their shifts. Often what I observed was that clients and white clients, also including South Asian clients, would come into the salon explicitly requesting someone who is Indian or Asian, right, and in some cases, Persian. So this racialized preferencing, of course, worked against threading technicians who were not read as other in the same way. So, for example, the Black employees, they had a much more difficult time building clientele, because they weren't racialized, what I'm thinking through as they weren't racialized, as authentic in the same way. So at this particular site, these kinds of occurrences were almost daily. And they led me to think about how labor is authenticated by particular workers. And really what processes of racialization are at the core of this. And to understand ethnographic moments like this, I applied racialized authenticity as a way to understand how these mechanisms work, and the ways that they inducted migrant women into racialized subjects positions as authentic. And so I've been drawing from scholarship on authenticity within cultural anthropology, of course, and cultural tourism. And then also shifting from an emphasis on self commodification, to think about the structural processes that really activate and are shaped by racialized authenticity. And of course, I'm drawing from South Asian American studies that has critically examined the ways working class migrants from the subcontinent are racialized, and how these processes are mediated by both belonging and not. And so that was something that was consistently emerging in my own field work. So of course, like racialization, the patterns of racialized authenticity I was observing on a regular basis in these salons were all were very fluid, first of all, but we're also often disrupted they were encounters that were that were disrupted in some ways. So, for example, not all South Asians or those read as South Asians were subject to this kind of preferential treatment afforded to those who were encoded as appropriately authentic. And one of the ways this was disrupted was through the presence of Muslim women in the industry, were business owners and who were also technicians. So in 2016, I met one Pakistani Muslim woman who was marked as Muslim because she wore hijab. And she was working at a threading salon for 11 years. And she in our interview, she explained to me that she noticed a significant decline in the number of clients that were coming to her shortly after the November 2015, Paris terror attacks. And so she, she could very clearly lay out the scene where she knew that people had been coming to her for three, four or five years. And now all of a sudden, she sees them going to other people in the salon who are also, you know, some of them were also Muslim, they just weren't marked in a way that you know, clients were confronting. So, you know, she linked this loss of clients to her marked identity. And here we see the ways you know, Muslims are associated with the racialized authenticity that is not consumable, or is inassimilable in a post sort of 9/11 state, which stands in contrast to a kind of global South Asian business as signified by Ayurveda and Hindu iconography in the marketing and selling of these services, which is itself understood to be consumable and an appropriate model of cultural difference. So, the question is,

what does this tell us? You know, for one, Muslims in the industry illustrate the complexity of South Asian racialization by pointing how select forms of South Asians are desired in certain contexts, such as those that are non threatening and consumable, because this is in relation to the market as well. And here, they're, they're positioned in a racial predicament where they might embody the cultural capital that typically benefits South Asian women in the ethnic service industry, and at the same time are marked as Muslim, and therefore sort of cast into foreignness. So this is where I see my work being strengthened by critical Muslim studies, and I see it happening in two significant ways. For one, I'm trying to think through the ways these categories that constantly were presenting themselves in my work, whether it be authentic, Ayurvedic, ethnic, Eastern, Indian, is not simply a means through which I can critique Orientalism or New Age Orientalism by pointing to the commodification of otherness in the global marketplace. Like that's all there, but also how these categorical formations can configure relationships between power, knowledge, and US Empire. So for example, what is the structural production of authenticity tell us about the global flows of labor, capital and information, whereby many of the workers saturating these diasporic markets are working class women from the global south. And so, you know, those are the questions that I'm trying to think more deeply on as this work grows. And the second way I see Critical Muslim Studies it puts pushing me to think critically about these questions is how to see the processes of racialization that place the quote, unquote, "authentic ethnic subject", in particular histories of racial formations. So for example, you know, what are the racial formations part and parcel of multiculturalism in that assert a kind of worker and consumer unmarked by racial stigma, even while it reinforces particular forms of racism, systemic violence against those who are read, as in this case, Muslim women in the ethnic beauty industry. So in other words, while I work with and interviewed some Muslim woman during the course of my research, the project isn't so much about the Muslim subject as such, but about situating Muslims or Orientalism or commodified otherness within the context of global racial raciality. And so I think I'm done with time. Right. So yeah, I appreciate again, being here. And thank you for inviting me. I'll pass it to Adam.

31:25 Stan Thangaraj

Adam, Adam, I think you're still on mute. Adam. Your mic isn't working? No, no, we can't hear you. Just take your time. You know, we have time.

31:49 Adam Ali

How's that?



31:50 Stan Thangaraj

Perfect. Thank you.

31:52 Adam Ali

Found it. Alright. Cool. Thanks. Thanks for that, Stan. So yeah, before I my technical issue happened there, I just wanted to quickly thank you, you know, Dr. Thangaraj, for the invitation to present today, to the Association for Asian Studies. And all of those who who made this happen, you know, I'm very, I'm very humbled and privileged to be able to share this panel with with Sanobar and Hareem. It's quite an honor to be able to present alongside such accomplished scholars. So a bit of a preamble, I think my plan for the next 10 or so minutes is to just give a bit of a brief rap background about the dissertation research that I did, which I completed a couple of years ago, but which is unsurprisingly, still within the knowledge dissemination process. So to speak a little bit about that work. And then I'll talk about a project that I'm on the cusp of beginning. And so I work within the Kinesiology department, the faculty of Kinesiology and Physical Education at the University of Toronto, which obviously is not a department you would necessarily think is associated with, with those who study this topic. But like myself, like Dr. Thangaraj, and many others, who, who writes, write about sport from a critical perspective, I really tried to use sports as an entry point into the analyses that I that I conduct, which include obviously, you know, the role of sports, in the production of particular, in this case, racializations, genders, class, etc, but also the larger context in which, in which sport is situated. And in, in the context of the work that I do, the work that I do, is really the growing utility of sports within the larger ever omnipresent, global security and surveillance apparatus that continues to that continues to materialize both of the borders and, and within them. That my work really is, is situated. And so the the dissertation that I that I wrote was called as Dr. Thangaraj has mentioned, Something Got Into Their Minds: The Rise of Radicalization Discourse in Canada. And really the few objectives that I had with this work was to understand how and with what effects is radicalization constructed, understood, rendered knowable within Canadian mass media, and academic research specifically done by Canadian scholars and done within Canada. And what assumptions underpin popular understandings or popular constructions of what we understand as violent extremism, radicalization, but also deradicalization and deradicalization strategies? What's the role, specifically of sports in the in the construction of deradicalization. And finally, what can be learned by studying the more effective and material dimensions of radicalization, particularly, particularly in the projects as they have begun to materialize?

35:12

And so, all that to say I was really focused on the the genealogy of radicalization and discourse, specifically through its uptake in Canada over the last five to seven years, with sport sort of representing a small piece of that, and really just one chapter actually,

of the entire dissertation. And I'll speak a little bit about that in a moment. But in terms of, you know, the theoretical frameworks that I leaned on, obviously, a lot a lot of this was informed by post 11 post 9/11 renditions of Said's critique of Orientalism, but also feminist critiques, particularly from scholars, scholars, such as Meyda Yegenoglu, Sara Ahmed, Sherene Razack, and many, many others. And so, one of the objectives here was really to try to identify and phrase prevailing definitions and understandings of radicalization and in addition to that, try to understand the way in which radicalization comes to be understood as already racialized as already pointing to a particular figure of fit the figure of the Muslim. And one of the ways I tried to do that was to do an archival analysis of news and popular media discourses and scholarly discourses of radicalized definitions of radicalization in Canada. And some of the, I think the major findings was, was the way in which the way in which mundane behaviors, signs thoughts, were transformed from quite banal, banal processes or banal behaviors and thoughts into so called indicators of suspiciousness of riskiness amongst specifically Muslim looking people of color, and how those then inform these larger frameworks which came to be known as as scientific, as objective, as evidence-based that we see being being deployed through through many deradicalization programs. And another I think, important piece of the work that are of the results that came out of the dissertation was that the construction of Muslims but also Muslim diasporic communities, within Canada as suspicious allies, and by suspicious allies, I mean, in one in one token, a neighborhood that is always already under suspicion, but that but whose consent is required from the state through through various methods through various tactics in order to actually extend sort of the surveillance apparatus of the state into into those neighborhoods. And so, the consent of community leaders of imams of several, you know, important members of various neighborhoods of various communities in order to actually gain access and increase again that that wave of surveillance and in some cases securitization. And I think the turning to you know, the role of sports, which is, you know, sort of how I lay claim to being in a kinesiology department. And this might not come as a surprise to many of you, but what we what we tend to see in sports as Critical Sports Studies is this sort of benevolent, universally positive construction of sport. And one of the, the ways in which we try to unsettle that is by really unpacking the ways in which sport is deployed towards, towards oppressive, oppressive national strategies, and in the case of radicalization what we're seeing is an increase of support for deradicalization or support for countering violent extremism activities, where sport is seen as the conduit through which through which those who are considered either at risk of at risk or who are radicalized through their connection to ostensibly extreme forms of Islam. That that is the the conduit through which they can overcome overcome that riskiness or overcome that radicalization, or the potential in terms of being radicalized. And, of course, the sport is constructed here as a key catalyst for these interventions, but at the same time, continues to augment colonial discourses that align with Imperial myths of benevolence, Western constructions of Muslim culture, as consistently in need of modernizing and of course, the construction of Muslim or Muslim looking people as, as constant outsiders.

And of course, this is always done, always, I'm always trying to make sure that I'm aware and mindful that you know, the context in which this in which these programs are being created, specifically within the Canadian context, where we continue to see growing hostilities towards Muslims towards Muslim looking people, neighborhoods, communities, that reached reached an unfortunate heights in 2018, with the with the murder of six worshippers at the Islamic Cultural Center of Quebec by by white nationalist Alexander Bissonnette. And so, in terms of a some of the set dissemination that's come out of this, there's a one of my articles is coming out in in the *Sociology of Sport Journal* and in a few months, based on specifically the role of sport in countering violent extremism and deradicalization. And one of the things that that we try to do within that within that article is trace the emergence and effects of deradicalization, deradicalization discourse, by putting it into conversation with war on terror and anti muslim racism, making visible the increasingly prominent place of sport programming in constructing both the psyche and embodiment of the so called Muslim subject at risk of radicalization. And in conversation with the Sports Studies literature, trying to show how these modernization projects that attempt to ostensibly deradicalize migrant youth from their alleged terrorist tendencies, prompt reckoning with the surveillance logics of the larger sport for sport for development tradition, which as we, as many of you may know, has been going on for quite some time and is very much founded upon colonial discourses in colonial logics. And so just turning quickly to the current project to know and we got a couple of minutes left, how I'm sort of springboard from the dissertation is into a study of the the global sport for countering violent extremism movement. And really, the objective here is to unravel the role in place of sport within specifically the United Nations turn to countering violent extremism through sports. There, what we've seen in the past two to three years is a is a spearheading of a couple of particular programs, the lineup live up program, the technical guide for the utilization of sports for preventing violent extremism, and its dissemination through its UN partner organizations, for US in from the level of coaches, to educators, to trainers, and, and many into many other outlets as well. And so the the questions that I'm asking as I'm, as I'm closing up here, is what are the social, political and ideal ideological processes and mechanisms by which sport has come to be understood as an effective tool for countering violent extremism within the UN and its partner members. How our countering violent extremism programs deployed in the service of emerging underclasses including the displaced, the marginalized and asylum seeking communities, and how our prevailing understandings of violent extremism, extremism affected by anti Islamic racism and hostility towards Muslim communities. And in thinking thinking through this, when it comes to the connections between the work I do and the critical field of Muslim studies, I think understanding the representation of the Muslim body within the within these programs, and how these intersect with increasingly more powerful security apparatus and surveillance structures, and what might the role of sport be supporting interventions be in fortifying the spaces of surveillance, and secondly, through in particular a more effective lens trying to understand the more

material and visceral effects of these interventions In the every day, asking the question, how does it how does it feel disrelated to be subjected to surveillance? How does it feel to be not just Muslim but tagged as a Muslim racialized as Muslim? And specifically, how might communities subvert or resist these interventions within both their home and neighborhood spaces and spaces of worship? I think I'll leave it. I'll leave it there. So thank you very much, everyone, and looking forward to the conversation.

44:49 Stan Thangaraj

Thank you. Thank you, everyone. Just a great, great conversation. And why don't we give a minute for the audience to put their questions here. So one, Iftikhar Malik has shown, the Musliminstitute.org is a site for really engaging and publishing in critical Muslim studies for those in the audience, and for our panelists, you know, a site to check out and Dr. Shaista Patel writes, I don't have a question, but just want to sincerely thank you all, for holding this space for so many of us who need it and are always on search for such critical conversations. And I'm also envisioning Dr. Umar and Khan, having so many conversations about articulations of Muslim-ness through caste and race, so much happening, especially in how beauty is conceptualized in strictly casteist weighs in South Asia and race and caste in the diaspora. Much gratitude once again. So let's see. So why don't we take questions if folks have questions that they would like to ask other questions, comments, we can take it I you know, I have plenty of questions and comments for you three. So as we wait, why don't I offer a question for each of you? So for Dr. Umar. So your work is really, really fantastic and complicated. And I wanted to think like when you're thinking about how do Muslim communities in use the ummah is this process of social formation and form of politics that go against the very formation of the nation state right, or at least what the guarantees and the right giving properties of the nation state are? So I would like to know like what are the discursive practices, and the world mapping by these lower caste Muslims and Muslim communities that asks us to really think about space, geography, and the cartographies of Muslim ness that both work inside and outside of the nation state? And then for Dr. Khan, what are the ways that gender and sexuality play into the spaces? Right? In, particularly the ways in which consumption work? How does class become a marker of gender and sexuality and authenticity of the knowable, Muslim subject? Right? In particular, I'm thinking about how do they perform a South Asian authenticity, that is also a refusal to be visibly, visibly recognizable as Muslim? Right? And so there is a class component here, like who can sell it and on what terms and and then for Dr. Ali, your work makes me think a lot about a realm of study that has not been engaged enough in Sports Studies, and that is queer of color critique, and queer diasporic critique. So here I'm thinking specifically about Rod Ferguson's incredible book *Aberrations in Black* where he lays a critique of mainstream American sociology and they methodology of quantitative and metric science, right. And so here I want to, you

know, I would love for you to think about how does the Muslim become a knowable object and unknowable political policy? Through the very field of racial hetero patriarchy, right? How does the Muslim then tell us about the very maintenance of our structures of racial hetero patriarchy that make the unmarked subject cisgendered white affluent Christian, fit, able, and so on?

49:27 Sanobar Umar

Yeah, so I guess I'll try to attempt to answer your complicated question too. That's a great question, Stan, thinking about the discursive practices while mapping and how our lower caste Muslims articulating themselves and placing themselves with the idea of the ummah, which, like you said, is not nationally, your territorially bounded. That's such a great question. Something that comes to my mind immediately is the emergence and currency of the term pasmanda Muslim that's a term that many Muslims including people like me are using now, because the term pasmanda means oppressed, but a lot of Muslims which scholars like [indistinguishable] Alam, Tanweer Fazal and Remy Delage have showcased in the works. A lot of Muslims, as I mentioned, tried to move away from by creating their self genealogies of caste lessness, so that they could avoid the stigma of casteism that they were facing in India, in Hindu society, and even from other so called upper caste or elite Muslims. But what's interesting is that this practice was not unique to Muslims. You also have Dalit identities which scholars like Rama and Guha and others have explored in the works on Omar's of Uttar Pradesh, for example, who also used caste genealogies of claiming to be upper caste, especially when they're migrated to other regions of India or even in the diaspora. So it's it's interesting how these were strategies of resistance where you didn't rely on the prejudices of Hindu majority Aryan slash casteous state, but in the process with the emergence of Hindu nationalism, what has happened is that these discourses that pasmanda Muslims are using initially to distance themselves from casteism has now been used to racialize them as foreigners as not belonging to India. And then these questions in turn are intricately tied to India's nation state project particularly under Hindu nationalism and the BJP. So the Hindu *rashtra*, or Hindu country is the main goal of Hindu nationalism. However, for this project, cost is a very important aspect by decastifying Muslims, and by racializing them as foreigners, it makes it easy through acts such as the Citizenship Amendment Act, to render them as illegal to India. And as the *Guardian* reported recently, right now, there are detention centers being set up in northeast India, particularly the size of 10 football fields. And these detention centers are going to be major sites of labor, the labor of poor Muslims, who are already working in heavily discriminated heavily corporatized market sectors. This also invariably ties to the question of Kashmir, which is more about land, we're purging the Muslim body more than the laboring Muslim body is required. And Kashmir is also important from a global capitalist perspective for India to because Kashmir has the five major rivers of India emerging from it. So I'm seeing that in conjunction with the ongoing climate crisis and so

forth. So there are multiple frontiers within the nation state and outside the nation state that has impacted the discursive self perception and narratives of pasmanda Muslims. Yeah, so and what's also interesting is that live you have certain pasmanda Muslim scholars such as Khalid Ansari who claimed that when Muslims are killed today moan about the demolition of the Babri Masjid. It's an upper caste Muslim project. What they're failing to recognize is that the Gujarat massacre in 2002, took nearly 10 years after the Babri Masjid. So that symbolic gesture of demolishing Muslim heritage sites in India and saying that's the exact place where the mythological Lord was born and so forth. It is tied to the idea of the Muslim body not belonging to India. So Muslims find themselves in India in this very interesting juncture where the Indian constitution as espoused by the Dalit thinker, and chair of the constitutional drafting committee on Ambedkar to be a very important document in asserting this citizenship right, but also living with the complex reality that the constitution was used, especially article 341, clause three to deny them the caste heritage. So it's a very complicated relationship with the nation state and outside the nation state. And again, with the ummah and outside the ummah in their own constructions of their genealogies.

54:47 Hareem Khan

I can I guess I can respond to Dr. Thangaraj's comments, and it's a really important question where you know, this, the space that, you know, the microcosm, is the threading salon in this space becomes a site for me to explore racialization, but it is also a class and feminine feminized space as well. And so, you know, I think to sort of explain how I'm thinking about this question is to think of the ways that this, what I call an industry didn't necessarily look like that two decades ago, right? So it was often you know, garage and laundry room, Kuhn sort of thread, threading salons, where people would frequent homes, it wasn't the primary income for those families. And in the last decade, you see a, you know, a commercial shift. And, and there's reasons for that, you know, one being that threading is in California deregulated. And so what was interesting was, when I was speaking, when I was interviewing business owners, who were really pushing forward, deregulation, were pushing it forward through this, this rhetoric of empowerment, because for them, it was, you know, you know, we have our community members like, or we have our other, you know, folks coming from India, Nepal, most increasingly, in recent years coming, looking for work, and they don't have the money to get a license. And they, the state doesn't even know how to teach threading. So why would it make sense for them to get licensed? Now, the deregulation has, of course, benefited them financially, right. So it's, it's a, it's a reason to extend sort of exploitative conditions for migrant women. So I use that to kind of set up sort of where the space is now. And thinking about, you know, the salons, where I was working, there was, I talk about a Muslim, someone who I interviewed who was Muslim, but it was often also class that came through and how clients were decoding workers or rather, expecting certain kinds of performances, right, that were scripted within certain boundaries of how

an appropriate global worker should behave. Right? So it wasn't so much. It's like, yes, you want someone to authenticate your labor. But you also want someone who speaks English, knows how to abide by certain customer service etiquette, someone who is hygienic, to your sort of standards of what hygiene means. And so all of those sort of that was also happening within this space, which was then sort of being surveilled and monitored by other South Asian women who were business owners who were training these workers to not just, you know, I remember one really interesting session, where, you know, the, the training instructor was saying, if you want to, you know, bring Nepal in, she said, choose the Hindi sort of, she said, lift karkat, bring it in, you know, like, like, lift, okay, like, don't let go of it, because that's currency here. Don't like don't want to go, but bringing in in such a way that you're not like, the other end of the spectrum, right. So this was this was actually sort of, like, you know, pedagogies of authenticity in a way where it's like, how do we sort of present someone who fits a kind of really messy, racialized sort of position and gender position as well. And so I think that's all I'll say, for now, move on to Adam. But it's a really interesting question. So thanks for that Stan.

58:48 Adam Ali

Thanks a lot. Yes, I will. I will also do my duty and take on Dr. Thangarajs question that I've had a bit of time to think about. So and I'm also I'm also seeing Lizabeth Piel's question as well. I think there's a connection between hers and yours. So I'll just quickly read her question. So we're all on the same page. Dr. Ali, have you considered the use of sports in 19th century Christian British US private schools for socializing boys, to meet in an ideal idealized norm [of] teamwork, citizenship, discipline, you can see applied to the so called delinquents in the formation of say, Boystown. And so, you know, if we're speaking to your question more directly, Stan, I mean, the first thing that comes to mind is Jasbir Puar and Terrorist Assemblages. Right? And you know, the way the ways in which I think the Muslim becomes knowable in some ways through particular, I think racialized signifiers, racial signs, the skin, the turban, the cloth, etc. but also at the same time is rendered knowable through being unknowable and being ambiguous. It's the conflation of particular racialized ended identities into sort of the Muslim. That actually is how in some cases, they're rendered global such that it's, we've changed from Muslim to Muslim looking. Right. And so I think that's, that's a big, that's a big piece of it. I'm also thinking of the ways in which we're talking about surveillance, the ways in which those are captured in particular ways within within, you know, the corridors of indignity of airports, within the increasing surveillance states, in surveillance smart cities, as well, right, the ways in which there those racialized qualities are digitized and then recorded for later use. So I'm so I'm thinking about it in those in those types of ways as well. And then getting to the questions specifically about the unmarked cisgendered fits able. White subjects, I think that's what it bringing in. The big question from the audience member, I think works you know, I, Samaya, Samaya, I believe that's her name. Just double checking here. I want to make sure I give her get it right. Yeah,

so Samaya Farooq has actually done a bit of work on that works from the concepts of muscular Christianity. But she talks about in terms of the muscular Islam were in the ethnography is that she does with with teenage footballers in that they use soccer as a way to resist these sort of larger terrorist stereotypes, but in doing so are still invoking a very sort of heteronormative sense of masculinity that then aligns with what we know is problematic when we talk about that. That unmarked cisgendered heteronormative male body. And so I've been thinking more about that specifically within within the context of deradicalization. And what the starting point is ostensibly supposed to be and what the endpoint is supposed to be, what is the deradicalized Muslim subject look like versus the ostensibly radicalized or on the brink of being radicalized Muslim? So I've been thinking about that, through through those, those lenses a little bit. Hopefully, that gets tested to some of what you're talking about.

1:02:03 Stan Thangaraj

Yeah, and I and I think, you know, one of the things as we engage with critical Muslim studies, is an interdisciplinary formation has to also engage with, you know, the ways in which queer theory at times disappears from how we even think about and theorize how sexuality is a very critical, you know, element of the very foundation of the colonial practice of, you know, cre-, dig into creating the noble Muslim. And I think that that's where that noble Muslim is then marked so heavily, that it unmarks, the very particular hetero patriarchal structures of the nation and of the labor practices and have kept capitalism and so I think there's something that could be done there. But I want to go to the question. So here we are in the chat feature. Dr. Umar, if you could address this, Dr. Hafsa Kanjwal asked a curious to hear about the ways in which the frameworks of Islamophobia that we use more in the global north relate or do not relate in the global south, especially when thinking historically and not necessarily in the post 9/11 context, where the war on terror was utilized by many countries in the global south. I was especially intrigued by your reference to post colonial innocence, and wanted to hear more about that.

1:03:33 Sanobar Umar

Thank you. That's that's a great question, Hafsa, I hope I'm pronouncing your name right. Forgive me. If I'm not I, as I'm thinking through what you've asked, in what ways I first go into the issue of post colonial innocence. So the framework that I'm borrowing over here has been set by some scholars like say, Sylvia Ang, who has very wisely noted that it's often there is a tendency to think that post colonial nation states are merely replicating colonial legacies, but in the process, what we forget or downplay is that post colonial nation states are indeed modifying, creating and reproducing their own hegemonic classifications and discursive understandings of disempowered and marginalized groups in their respective nation states. So that's where I think we have to



attend to these issues with caution where we do recognize colonial legacies, but we also recognize post colonial modernities as well as post colonial constructions as well and new and arising in a new and different contexts regarding global Islamophobia, currency in the global south, so I specify the field that I'm most familiar with is in India. And one of the things we can see unfolding in India before 9/11 was and many Indian Muslims will tell you this, often you are asked the question, Are you a Muslim first or are you an Indian first? This is a very interesting question. Never mind the fact one is a nationality other is a religion. But the two are seen as juxtaposing each other, you're either Muslim or you're Indian. And this discourse has existed prior to 9/11. Scholars like Faisal Devji would say, well, it's the ghosts of Pakistan, persisting into Indian citizenship discourses after 1947. But then, other scholars like Zoya Hasan have argued that India is such a diverse country, along linguistic lines, regional lines, ethnic lines, that even this fundamental premise should not be of religion, whether you're Indian first or Muslim first was not a given. It was created through discursive regularities, you know, in media, mainstream Bollywood and other mediums of constructing identities as well as the state as I mentioned constitutionally, so on so India has its own unique trajectory of Islamophobia. Like I mentioned a lot of lower caste, according to some public figures like Ejaz Ali, who is the founder of the Pamanda Muslim Mahaz, a lower caste Muslim society or political platform in India, about 75% of India's Muslims are from lower caste or Dalit backgrounds now most Indian Muslims are from convert backgrounds. But that when you see discourses in the global north, particularly of vegetarianism of reciting Sanskrit shlokas of yoga, what happens in the process is that it is the body of the Muslim that is excluded because Muslims have traditionally before 9/11 even witnessed caste informed Islamophobia. They eat meat, many of them are one, not allowed to attend schools that taught Sanskrit even right now, recently, a Muslim professor in Uttar Pradesh had was suspended for teaching Sanskrit. So these are all embedded in India's unique trajectory of Islamophobia, which of course, then gets a lot of currency and legitimacy from global north Islamophobia as well. Post 9/11, it gained a kind of legitimacy, especially with regards to Muslims who are migrating to the Gulf to often do working class jobs. And this idea that these Muslims are going to come back to India with terrorist discourses that they are learning from the Gulf, which is also again, kind of interesting, because you are not allowed to use the term saffron terror with reference to Hindu nationalist violence against Muslims in India. So even the way language is policed is also interesting in its intersection with both national and global Islamophobia. I hope that answers your question.

1:08:11 Stan Thangaraj

Yeah, thank you very, very much. And I think it also, you know, asked us to think about, you know, what are the ways in which Islamophobia then gains traction as a certain type of global discourse of race, right, that also erases the ways in which various forms of sub- subaltern identity and subaltern practices of resistance are folded into what is

seen as a noble Muslim, when that itself is multiple. Right. And I think, I think Dr. Kanjwal's question is really, really important that we don't import that term Islamophobia as the answer for every, you know, practice of state violence or so on against Muslim communities. Um, so, some more questions that came. So one of the questions here is, one I would love for all of you to answer this and it's going to be an intersection between Misha Choudhry and Schuyler Marquez's questions which is basically like how does gender play out in constructing, you know, in unsettling these Western notions of the Muslim world, be it through state practice of surveillance, the beauty industry cast violence, right? And how does this How does gender then also allow us to really disrupt singular monolithic conceptions of the Muslim? Or the Muslim body?

1:09:49 Hareem Khan

I can, I can start and, and then I'm sure the others will really add on to this. But I think these are interesting sort of ways to think for me when I think about, you know, a singular Muslim subject, whether it's through an interview or through someone that, you know, in my field work, I really try to challenge myself to say, okay, in this particular instance, it was about sort of the way that an individual was perceived. But for me, what's interesting is, you know, what are the types of social narratives or the practices that position not just Muslim women, but South Asian women in particular working class South Asian women, in like particular formation. So even I brought up an interview with a Muslim woman, but it wasn't just a Muslim woman who's whose bodies were policed in the space of the salon. It's also the ways that for example, you know, women who were Indian who may presented themselves as Indian by certain, you know, sartorial choices or their hair. But if they, for example, if they're if there's some part of their body that didn't conform to a manager's expectations, that was not just told in a way where it was, oh, this person needs to fix X, Y, and Z part of themselves, it actually was was linked to certain racial logics, right? Where it's like you, you come here to, to the US, this happened in a training institute, you come here to the US stop watching Zee TV, which is an Indian satellite TV, watch American TV, right, his idea of not jettisoning your culture, whatever that means, but also sort of integrating it. And for me, you know, I know that Sanobar had earlier mentioned Gan Pandey's work. But I was also in early stages in my work thinking about this sort of gendered subject in the context of multiculturalism, right. And so this idea that multiculturalism is also sort of, it enacts, I think, the reach of US Empire, right through the sort of logic of diversity and inclusion, and especially inclusion within the economic space. So it's like it is about job creation, it is about doing what you love. And it's sort of this way that it it, it shields, the actual mechanisms of multiculturalism. So in Gan Pandey's work, and he's talking about the relationship between vernacular prejudice and universal prejudice, and sort of thinking, okay, the universal prejudice, which sort of presents this modern subject that isn't, you know, inhibited by race, or class or gender, what that does in relation to vernacular prejudice, where a person is marked as all of those things, and is also within a

consumer space, where we're, they're not just selling a product, the product is them in a way where they're doing the service. So I'll stop there, because I know we're cutting close to time and leave some time for the others to comment as well.

1:13:21 Adam Ali

I can quickly jump in as well. I don't have as much to add. I think you know, the short answer, Stan is I don't know what I'm working on it. But the spec, the speculation that I have and the things I think about when you ask a question like that is, you know, what we're seeing particularly in, you know, mainstream commercialized sport Olympics. You know, those types of those types of events are, you know, that this, this celebration of, you know, the emergence of the of the Muslim sportswomen that very much ties into nationalist and colonial logics, right, this sort of modernizing of the Muslim woman from the Middle East to United States to Canada to parts of western Europe. And then the propping up of them as the, you know, the ideal the ideal minority the model minority model Muslims for Women's to which others should aspire. Right. And I think that in some ways that speaks to the continuing just narrow sense of how we understand sports through such a sort of heteronormative and white Western lens. But one of the ways in which I've, I'm thinking about [indistinguishable] right now in the work that she that she did with, with her on aunties and tea time and and walks and those types of things, what are the ways in which those everyday resistances are already actually happening? And how do we leverage those in ways that are a bit more transformative? Because we don't do it as much as we probably should? I would argue within our within our sort of Sports Studies niche and then how do we also get to a place where we can celebrate those you know, those sort of breakout performances, but are ones that are done through a very much a lens of what Hareem was saying around diversity, multiculturalism and those types of things? How do we how do we celebrate you know, those performances but in ways that are that are just different than that. So that those are the kinds of things that I think about.

1:15:24 Sanobar Umar

Yeah, um, regarding the question of gender as a lens that is that messy, some of global Islamophobia is both in the global north and global south. So I think at this point, many of us are very familiar with Lila Abu-Lughod, *Do Muslim Women in Need Saving?* and of course, are during the Cold War, and particularly in the war with Afghanistan after 9/11 that discourse of saving Muslim women from Muslim men was quite intensely packaged across media across the world. What I find very interesting in the Indian context is that you have something similar when it comes to Indian Muslim women, particularly with regards to regressive practices of divorce or triple talaq where a Muslim man could instantly divorce or an Indian Muslim woman simply by reciting the word talaq thrice. That law has since then been challenged. I would like to note over here by Indian

Muslim feminists using Islamic texts, not Hindu nationalists, though Modi likes to pretend that he's the one who saved Muslim women from Muslim men by intervening in such acts and making sure this practice is not legally recognized anymore in India. But another discourse that I think of might seem contradictory, but I don't think it is contradictory. In fact, it is used quite replaced quite interchangeably, is that currently last year, sorry, we are in 2021. So in 2019, there was a public resistance, organized mostly by Muslim women who took up public squares and neighborhoods in protest against the citizenship Amendment Act. And what is interesting over there is that these women were in some senses, protecting Muslim men who get more often scrutinized by the police, who often face more public spectacles of violence and lynching. But what, but simultaneously, they were also portrayed as partners of Muslim men in terrorism. And not only were they seen as co partners of Muslim men in inciting terrorism in India, but they are also often viewed as baby factories. So there's this idea that India's 11% Muslim minorities are somehow going to take the Hindu overtake the Hindu majority through this reproductive project, a project where Muslim women's bodies are so fertile. And that's why they have so many children and there are these devious intentions behind it. I think you can see something happening in a similar as the different trajectory in the Western world as well, because now we are witnessing the rise of mainstream popular sitcoms like *The Bodyguard*, where the main villain of the show is the Muslim woman in a hijab. So you're no longer just saving the hijabi woman the happy woman is probably a complicit actor with the Muslim man. And you know, ISIS, jihadi brides and so forth have also kind of made those discourses of saving Muslim women more complicated, but it's very interesting how interchangeably be it in India or be it in the West, these discourses are used. So sometimes you're saving Muslim women and sometimes Muslim women themselves are a danger to you. So I think it's very interesting how these gender dynamics are working in this context. And I'll quickly just make a note of how the comrades have noted that we can learn from the theory of the South. We can learn from global South examples to see how it will transpire in the unique context of the global north because there's often a tendency to see the global North were it happens. And then and the global south follows. So I think it's also interesting to flip that around and to see that flow the other way around. Thanks

1:19:26 Stan Thangaraj

Yeah, thank you. Thank you, everyone. I mean, what an incredible panel, I can't wait for, you know, the conversations that we're all going to have moving forward. I want to thank everyone in the audience that was able to come. Thank you for your questions and your comments. Thank you Association for Asian Studies, Association for Asian American Studies, and Arab American Studies Association. And without any doubt, thank you, Dr. Hilary Finchum-Sung, Dr. Maura Cunningham, and Molly DeDona, for your incredible labor to give us this space and to give us an opportunity to build. So thank you, everyone, and have a great, great weekend. Thank you, panelists.

1:20:13 Maura Cunningham

So thank you again, to everyone who attended. And as I said at the beginning, you can always check out the Association for Asian Studies website for information about upcoming Digital Dialogues, including the next session in this mini series that we'll be running throughout 2021 on Critical Muslim Studies. Thanks to all of our panelists. Thank you so much to Stan Thangaraj for organizing this mini series. And I hope everyone has an excellent day and a wonderful weekend.

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