Notes

Introduction

1. Audre Lorde, "Learning from the 60s," in *Sister Outsider* (Freedom: Crossing Press, 1984).
2. Ibid., 134.
3. For an astute discussion of the consequences of charismatic leadership in African American communities as well as Black feminist theorizations of alternative modes of political struggle, see Erica Edwards, *Charisma and the Fictions of Black Leadership* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012).
4. Lorde, "Learning from the 60s," 143.
5. Audre Lorde, "Scratching the Surface: Some Notes on Barriers to Women and Loving," in *Sister Outsider* (Freedom: Crossing Press, 1984), 49. Originally published in *The Black Scholar* in 1978.
6. Lorde, "Learning from the 60s," 137.
7. Ibid., 141.
8. Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," in *Illuminations* (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 255.
9. Lorde, "Learning from the 60s," 134.
10. Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 25.
11. Lorde, "Learning from the 60s," 135.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., 136.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.

18. For a discussion of the ways in which the modern subject of liberal democracy is the injured subject, see Wendy Brown, *States of Injury: Power of Freedom in Late Modernity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995). In this book, Brown characterizes race-based social movements of the 1960s and 1970s as entirely organized around this politics of *"ressentiment,"* or injury. While I find her critique of liberalism useful, I depart from Brown's argument in my belief that these social movements were heterogeneous, that the only aspects of these movements that could be narrated as injury became institutionalized in the period of containment in the 1970s to the present, and that women of color feminism provided an alternative notion of subjectivity and community not organized around injury.

19. For a recent articulation of this argument, see Frank Wilderson, "Gramsci's Black Marx: Whither the Slave in Civil Society," *Social Identities* 9, no. 2 (June 2002): 225–40.

20. Lorde, "Learning from the 60s," 138.

21. Ibid., 139.

22. Ibid.

23. I thank Erica Edwards for this reading.

24. Jodi Melamed, "The Spirit of Neoliberalism: From Racial Liberalism to Neoliberal Multiculturalism," *Social Text* 24, no. 4 (Winter 2006): 1–24.

25. For a more sustained discussion of women of color feminism as a comparative method, see the introduction to *Strange Affinities*, in which Roderick Ferguson and I argue that women of color feminism provides an analytic of comparison radically different from that of liberal, nationalist epistemologies, one that takes into consideration the ways in which structures of power produce subjects and groups in relation to each other. Grace Kyungwon Hong and Roderick A. Ferguson, "Introduction," in *Strange Affinities: The Gender and Sexual Politics of Comparative Race* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).

26. For a recent articulation of this argument, see Jared Sexton, "People of Color-Blindness: Notes on the Afterlives of History," *Social Text* 28, no. 2 (2010): 31–56.

27. See Gloria Anzaldúa and Cherríe Moraga, eds., *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (Watertown: Persephone Press, 1981); Angela Davis (interview with Lisa Lowe), "Angela Davis: Reflections on Race, Class, and Gender in the USA," in *The Politics of Culture in the Shadow of Capital*, ed. Lisa Lowe and David Lloyd (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997); Angela Davis and Elizabeth Martinez, "Coalition Building among People of Color," *Inscriptions* 7, http://culturalstudies.ucsc.edu/PUBS/Inscriptions/vol_7/Davis.html; Reagon Johnson, "Coalition Politics: Turning the Century," in *Home Girls: A Black Feminist Anthology*, ed. Barbara Smith (New York: Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, 1983).

28. For an astute critique of the liberal security state's mobilization of Blackness, see Erica Edwards, "Of Cain and Abel: African American Literature and the Problem of Inheritance after 9/11," *American Literary History* 25, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 190–204.

29. In situating the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s as a crisis in "racial capitalism," I follow Cedric Robinson in his monumental study *Black Marxism* in which he coins and defines the term "racial capitalism" as the structure against which Black liberation movements are arrayed. Robinson famously defines the Black Radical Tradition as emerging from "a rather more complex capitalist world system" (4) than Marxism can account for. This system of racial capitalism is organized ideologically around the erasure of Europe's genesis from Africa and the exclusion of the African from history, an ideological formation "commensurate with the importance Black labor power possessed for the world economy" (4). Cedric Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of A Black Radical Tradition* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983). Other scholars of capitalism extend Robinson's argument to demonstrate that racial capitalism is anchored by gender relations. Frances Beal contends that modern capitalism is predicated on the differential gendering of Black men and women, who are held to normative standards but are rendered materially unable to meet them, thus further facilitating their exploitation. Frances Beal, "Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female," in *The Black Woman*, ed. Toni Cade Bambara (New York: New American Library, 1970). In arguably the most brilliant elaboration of Marxist contradiction as theorized through race and gender, Angela Davis observes that the Black woman under enslavement was best able to produce and protect the desire for freedom within her community because her domestic labor for other slaves was both a sign of her exacerbated exploitation *and* the means by which she cared for others, and in so doing performed the only form of non-alienated labor available to the enslaved. Angela Davis, "Reflections on the Black Woman's Role in the Community of Slaves," *Massachusetts Review* 13, nos. 1–2 (Winter/Spring 1972): 81–100. Lisa Lowe has importantly proven the significance of Asian difference as a means of repressing or sublating the contradictions between state and capital in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries; she situates Asian American cultural production as where such unresolved contradictions reemerge. Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996). Building on Lowe, Roderick Ferguson observes that racial, gender, and sexual non-normativity are created by capitalism's need for differentiated labor, and punished and regulated by state nationalism, but that these non-normative subjects exceed the terms of their production. Roderick Ferguson, *Aberrations in Black: Toward a Queer of Color Critique* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004). Kalindi Vora highlights the racialized and gendered nature of contemporary capitalism's dependence on affective and immaterial labor, and traces this dependence as not new but as stemming from an earlier colonial capitalist order that was predicated on the affective and immaterial dimensions of labor. Kalindi Vora, *Life Support: Race, Gender, and*

New Socialities in the Vital Energy Economy (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015). Complicating our understanding of capitalism in this way requires a distinct re-definition of what liberation is to look like, who is to bring it about, and how.

30. Sylvia Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Toward the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation—An Argument," *CR: The New Centennial Review* 3, no. 3 (Fall 2003): 257–337, 262.

31. Ibid., 263.

32. Ibid., 262.

33. Ibid., 263.

34. Foucault's theorization of biopower points to two different ways that the state can legitimate killing. States organized around sovereignty legitimate killing simply as the right of the sovereign to protect himself. Yet the emergence of biopower gives rise to a conundrum—that is, how a power based on the rationale that it protects and proliferates life can legitimate its power to kill. According to Foucault, this conundrum is solved by the invention of modern race. Foucault writes: "When you have a normalizing society, race or racism is the precondition that makes killing acceptable. . . . If the power of normalization wished to exercise the old sovereign right to kill, it must become racist." Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended* (New York: Picador, 2003), 250. Foucault goes on to argue that racism is what finally distinguishes biopower from sovereignty, as racism justifies the putting to death of populations not through war or punishment, but through a *biological* rationale. Foucault recounts such a biological justification in this way: "'The more inferior species die out, the more abnormal individuals are eliminated, the fewer degenerates there will be in the species as a whole, and the more I—as a species rather than individual—can live, the stronger I will be. I will be able to proliferate'" (255). Foucault observes that, in the logic of biopower, "the fact that the other dies does not simply mean that I live in the sense that his death guarantees my safety," as in the logic of sovereignty. Under biopower, "the death of the other, the death of the bad race, of the inferior race (or the degenerate, or the abnormal) is something that will make life in general healthier: healthier and purer" (255). In other words, racism is how power legitimates itself in truly biopolitical ways—that is, by rendering the *quality* of life (rather than the very ability to live itself) dependent on the deaths of others. I would argue that "modern" race always denoted both sovereign and biopolitical legitimations. Thus, I understand these two terms not as discrete and mutually excusive eras, but as modes of power that can and do exist at the same time. If we think of death as always extended by means both sovereign and biopolitical at the same time, I believe that we must center histories of colonialism and race. As such, I depart from Foucault, who, while acceding that racism "first develops with colonization, or in other words, with colonizing genocide" (259), centers anti-Semitism, culminating in Nazism, as the paradigmatic and most brutal example of the racism that enables biopolitical states to kill.

35. For a discussion of the ways in which the mainstream civil rights movement chose middle-class respectability at the expense of African American working-class and non-normatively gendered and sexualized communities, see Thaddeus Davis, "The Color of Discipline: Civil Rights and Black Sexuality," *American Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (March 2008): 101–28.

36. See Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, *Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement* (Boston: South End Press, 1988); Kenneth O'Reilly, *Racial Matters: The FBI's Secret File on Black America, 1960–1972* (New York: Free Press, 1991); Nelson Blackstock, *COINTELPRO: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1975).

37. While the mainstream narrative of post–World War II liberation movements tends to domesticate or criminalize them, a number of important works, both scholarly and otherwise, have radically challenged this historical narrative of these movements as simply nationalist, civil rights–based, or organized around the politics of recognition, and instead have crafted a historiography of a Black radical tradition. See Charles Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Robin Kelley, *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2002); Robin Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists during the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990); Robinson, *Black Marxism*; Cedric Robinson, *Black Movements in America* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Maylei Blackwell, *¡Chicana Power! Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011); Dayo Gore, Jeanne Theoharis, and Komozi Woodard, eds., *Want to Start a Revolution?* (New York: New York University Press, 2009); Dayo Gore, *Radicalism at the Crossroads: African American Women Activists in the Cold War* (New York: New York University Press, 2011); Eric McDuffie, *Sojourning for Freedom: Black Women, American Communism and the Making of Black Left Feminism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011). See also Karen Tei Yamashita, *I-Hotel* (Minneapolis: Coffee House Press, 2010).

38. Aihwa Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Politics of Transnationality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Aihwa Ong, *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); M. Jacqui Alexander, "Not Just Any(Body) Can Be A Citizen: The Politics of Law, Postcoloniality, and Sexuality in Trinidad and Tobago and the Bahamas," *Feminist Review* 48 (Autumn 1994): 5–23; Cathy Cohen, *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999). See also Michelle R. Boyd, *Jim Crow Nostalgia: Reconstructing Race in Bronzeville* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

39. For useful critiques of homonormativity, see Martin Manalansan IV, "Race, Violence, and Neoliberal Spatial Politics in the Global City," *Social Text* 84–85 (Fall/Winter 2005): 141–55; José Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York: New York University Press, 2009); David Eng, *The Feeling of Kinship: Queer Liberalism and the Racialization of Intimacy* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010). Rickke Mananzala and Dean Spade delineate the homonormativity inherent in mainstream gay and lesbian organizing, and identify similar tendencies in organizing within transgender communities. Rickke Mananzala and Dean Spade, "The Nonprofit Industrial Complex and Trans Resistance," *Sexuality Research and Social Policy* 5, no. 1 (March 2008): 53–71.

40. For an insightful discussion of the ways that contemporary homelessness is mobilized to serve the knowledge-production needs of social science and social services, see Craig Willse, "Neo-liberal Biopolitics and the Invention of Chronic Homelessness," *Economy and Society* 39, no. 2 (2010): 155–84. For a comprehensive study of gendered and racialized stigma around welfare recipients, see Ange-Marie Hancock, *The Politics of Disgust: The Public Identity of the Welfare Queen* (New York: New York University Press, 2004).

41. Sohail Daulatzai, presentation at Race, Politics, and Neoliberalism after 9/11, Black Studies Project, University of California, San Diego, March 5, 2014.

42. For a discussion of contemporary precarity and the limits of mourning, see Judith Butler, *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence* (London: Verso, 2004).

43. Roderick Ferguson, *The Reorder of Things: The University and Its Pedagogies of Minority Difference* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2012).

44. Scholars of the global prison-industrial complex, for example, have leveled particularly devastating and irrefutable critiques of a historical narrative that would posit a feudal, repressive, coercive mode of power a thing of the past. In an essay about U.S. carceral modes as a form of "neoslavery," Dennis Childs notes that the "Middle Passage never ended" (281) because of the "unsettling reality that the transition from slavery to freedom would lead to an amplification rather than an abatement of injury, living death, and murder for many former slaves" (284) through their incarceration in prisons. This history, Childs contends, "belie[s] any categorical separation of premodern and modern methods of violence and control" (289). Dennis Childs, "'You Ain't Seen Nothin' Yet': *Beloved*, the American Chain Gang, and the Middle Passage Remix," *American Quarterly* 61, no. 2 (June 2009): 271–97. See also Dylan Rodriguez, who writes, "A genealogy of the contemporary prison regime awakens both the historical memory and the sociopolitical logic of the Middle Passage" (239). Dylan Rodriguez, *Forced Passages: Imprisoned Radical Intellectuals and the U.S. Prison Regime* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006).

45. See Jodi Melamed, "Making Global Citizens: Neoliberal Multiculturalism and Literary Value," in *Represent and Destroy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

46. For a classic critique of "color blindness" as legal doctrine, see Neil Gotanda, "A Critique of 'Our Constitution is Color-Blind,'" *Stanford Law Review* 44, no. 1 (November 1991): 1–68. For a discussion of whiteness as constituted through a narrative of victimization, see Lisa Cacho, "'The People of California are Suffering': The Ideology of White Injury in Discourses of Immigration," *Cultural Values* 4, no.4 (October 2000): 389–418.

47. See Neda Atanasoski, *Humanitarian Violence* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014).

48. Jodi Melamed, *Represent and Destroy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

49. Ferguson, *The Reorder of Things*.

50. See Angela Davis, *Are Prisons Obsolete?* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2003); Beth Richie, *Arrested Justice: Black Women, Violence, and America's Prison Nation* (New York: New York University Press, 2012).

51. See Gore, *Radicalism at the Crossroads;* Blackwell, *¡Chicana Power!;* McDuffie, *Sojourning for Freedom;* see also Kimberly Springer, *Living for the Revolution: Black Feminist Organizations, 1968–1980* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

52. Lorde, "Learning from the 60s," 138.

53. See Kimberly Springer, *Still Lifting, Still Climbing: Contemporary African American Women's Activism* (New York: New York University Press, 1999); Premilla Nadasen, *Welfare Warriors: The Welfare Rights Movement in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Felicia Kornbluh, *The Battle for Welfare Rights: Politics and Poverty in Modern America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Lisa Levinstein, *A Movement without Marches: African American Women and the Politics of Poverty* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Jael Siliman, Loretta Ross, Marlene Garber Fried, and Elena Gutierrez, eds., *Undivided Rights: Women of Color Organizing for Reproductive Justice* (Boston: South End Press, 2004); Rhonda Williams, *The Politics of Public Housing: Black Women's Politics against Urban Inequality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Jennifer Nelson, *Women of Color and the Reproductive Rights Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 2003); Zenzele Isoke, *Black Urban Women and the Politics of Resistance* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

54. Gayatri Gopinath, *Impossible Desires: Queer Diasporas and South Asian Public Cultures* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 20.

55. Kara Keeling, "Looking for M—: Queer Temporality, Black Political Possibility, and Poetry from the Future," *GLQ* 15, no. 4 (2009): 565–82, 566–67.

56. Ibid., 576.

57. See Grace Kyungwon Hong, *The Ruptures of American Capital: Women of Color Feminism and the Culture of Immigrant Labor* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), xxx–xxxi.

58. Zygmunt Bauman, "Wars of the Globalization Era," *European Journal of Social Theory* 4, no. 1 (2001): 11–28.

59. Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*.

60. Ruth Wilson Gilmore, "Race and Globalization," in *Geographies of Global Change*, ed. R. J. Johnston, Peter J. Taylor, and Michael J. Watts (London: Blackwell, 2002), 261.

61. Roderick A. Ferguson and Grace Kyungwon Hong, "The Sexual and Racial Contradictions of Neoliberalism," *Journal of Homosexuality* 59, no. 7 (2012): 1057–64.

62. Robinson, *Black Movements in America*, 134.

63. Derrick A. Bell Jr., "Brown v. Board of Education and the Interest Convergence Dilemma," *Harvard Law Review* 93 (1979): 533; Mary Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

64. Melamed, *Represent and Destroy*, 1.

65. See Wahneema Lubiano, "Black Nationalism and Black Common Sense," in *The House That Race Built: Black Americans, U.S. Terrain*, ed. Wahneema Lubiano (New York: Pantheon, 1997), esp. 248–51.

66. See Hazel Carby, *Reconstructing Womanhood: The Emergence of the Afro-American Woman Novelist* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Angela Davis, *Women, Race, and Class* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983); Sarah Haley, "'Like I Was A Man': Chain Gangs, Gender, and the Domestic Carceral Sphere in Jim Crow Georgia," *Signs* 39, no. 1 (Autumn 2013): 53–77.

67. Candice Jenkins, *Private Lives, Proper Relations: Regulating Black Intimacy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 10.

68. For important critiques of the Moynihan report and similar ideological mobilizations, see Davis, "Reflections on the Black Woman's Role in the Community of Slaves"; Roderick Ferguson, "Something Else to Be," in *Aberrations in Black;* Wahneema Lubiano, "Black Ladies, Welfare Queens, and State Minstrels: Ideological War by Narrative Means," in *Race-ing Justice, Engendering Power: Essays on Anita Hill, Clarence Thomas, and the Construction of Social Reality*, ed. Toni Morrison (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992).

69. One exception is Ferguson's chapter "'Something Else to Be," in his book *Aberrations in Black*. For scholarship on neoliberalism, see Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom: Fortieth Anniversary Edition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), originally published in 1962, which established the key terms of neoliberal thought, in particular the idea that free trade and competitive capitalism enhances political freedoms and liberal democracy. For useful critiques, see David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Gérard Duménil and Dominque Lévy, *Capital Resurgent: Roots of the Neoliberal Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), and *The Crisis of Neoliberalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011); Ong, *Neoliberalism as Exception;* Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, eds., *Millennial Capitalism and the Culture of Neoliberalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001).

70. Ferguson, *The Reorder of Things*.

71. For scholars who have followed Karl Marx's theorizations of capital as a world-historical process, and in particular as a means of understanding the contemporary moment, see Ernest Mandel, *Late Capitalism* (London: Verso, 1978); Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System* (New York: Academic Press, 1976); David Harvey, *The Condition of Post-Modernity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989); Giovanni Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century: Money, Power, and the Origins of Our Times* (London: Verso, 1994).

72. United States Department of Labor Office of Policy Planning and Research, "The Negro Family: A Case for National Action" (Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents, US Govt. Printing Office, 1965), n.p.

73. For important discussions of the connections between social movements and race politics in the United States and decolonization movements abroad, see Robin Kelley, "'But a Local Phase of a World Problem': Black History's Global Vision," *Journal of American History* 86, no. 3 (December 1999): 1045–77; Cynthia Young, *Soul Power: Culture, Radicalism, and the Making of a U.S. Third World Left* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); Gore, *Radicalism at the Crossroads;* Cheryl Higeshida, *Black Internationalist Feminism: Women Writers of the Black Left* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011).

74. Sara Clarke Kaplan, "Love and Violence / Maternity and Death: Black Feminism and The Politics of Reading (Un)Representability," *Black Women, Gender, and Families* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 94–124.

75. As Lisa Lowe has argued, bourgeois notions of intimacy that emerged in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in European and American liberal humanist thought disavowed its dependence on the processes of settler colonialism, indentured labor, and enslavement that produced other, less evident forms of intimacy and admixture among enslaved, indentured, and colonized populations. Lisa Lowe, "The Intimacies of Four Continents," in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006). African chattel slavery on which modern racial capital is predicated was organized around the differential management of reproduction. Hazel Carby demonstrates the ways in which the nineteenth-century Cult of True Womanhood constituted white womanhood as pure, proper, and respectable over and against the figure of the lascivious, unwomanly Black enslaved female, as the context in which Black women novelists emerged. See Carby, *Reconstructing Womanhood*. Jennifer Morgan traces the ways in Black women's reproductive labor, in particular their ability to reproduce capital in the form of their children, became materially and ideologically central to New World slavery in the Americas. See Jennifer Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

76. Jenkins, *Private Lives, Proper Relations*, 24.

77. Melamed, *Represent and Destroy*, 1.

78. For an important critique of military humanitarianism, see Atanasoski, *Humanitarian Violence*.

79. See Alexander, "Not Just (Any)Body Can Be a Citizen." Ding Naifei reveals the complicity between feminism and the state against which sex workers in Taiwan organized in the 1990s in "Parasites and Prostitutes in the House of State Feminism," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 1, no. 2 (August 2000): 305–18. Hans Tao-Ming Huang similarly critiques state feminism in his discussion of AIDS organizing in Taiwan in *Queer Politics and Sexual Modernity in Taiwan* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011). Jodi Melamed critiques the cosmopolitanization of liberal feminism in Azar Nafisi's *Reading Lolita in Tehran* in her chapter "Making Global Citizens: Neoliberal Multiculturalism and Literary Value," in *Represent and Destroy*.

80. Loic Wacquant importantly connects the carceral state and the welfare state in *Punishing the Poor*. For analyses of the neoliberal and U.S. imperialist deployments of the Model Minority discourse, see Victor Bascara, "Cultural Politics of Redress: Reassessing the Meaning of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 after 9/11," *Asian Law Journal* 10 (2003): 185–214; Grace M. Cho, "The Fantasy of Honorary Whiteness," in *Haunting the Korean Diaspora: Shame, Secrecy, and the Forgotten War* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008); Kamala Viswesaran, "Diaspora By Design: Flexible Citizenship and South Asians in U.S. Racial Formations," *Diaspora* 6, no. 1 (Spring 1997): 5–29; Helen Jun, "Black Surplus in the American Century" and "Asian Americans in the Age of Neoliberalism," in *Race for Citizenship: Black Orientalism and Asian Uplift from Pre-emancipation to Neoliberal America* (New York: New York University Press, 2011). For an analysis of Asian class development and U.S. militarism, see Jin-Kyung Lee, *Service Economies: Sex Work and Migrant Labor in South Korea* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010). For discussions of the emergence of the Black bourgeoisie, see Cohen, *The Boundaries of Blackness;* Boyd, *Jim Crow Nostalgia*. For an analysis of the warehousing of poor Black populations, see Ruth Wilson Gilmore, *Golden Gulag: Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008). For scholarship on the criminalization of welfare, see Dorothy Chunn and Shelly A. M. Gavigan, "Welfare Law, Welfare Fraud, and the Moral Regulation of the 'Never Deserving' Poor," *Social and Legal Studies* 13, no. 2 (June 2004): 219–43; Kaaryn Gustafson, *Cheating Welfare: Public Assistance and the Criminalization of Poverty* (New York: New York University Press, 2011); Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward, *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare* (New York: Vintage, 1971); Sharon Hays, *Flat Broke with Children: Women in the Age of Welfare Reform* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

81. See Incite!, *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex* (Boston: South End Press, 2009); Soo-Ah Kwon, *Uncivil Youth: Race, Activism, and Affirmative Governmentality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013); Willse, "Neo-liberal Biopolitics and the Invention of Chronic Homelessness."

82. For useful critiques of homonormativity, see Chandan Reddy, "Asian Diasporas, Neoliberalism, and the Family: Reviewing the Case for Homosexual Asylum in the Context of Family Rights," *Social Text* 84–85 (Fall/Winter 2005): 101–19; Anna Agathangelou, Daniel Bassichis, and Tamara Spira, "Intimate Investments: Homonormativity, Global Lockdown, and the Seductions of Empire," *Radical History Review* 100 (Winter 2008): 120–43; Craig Willse and Dean Spade, "Freedom in a Regulatory State: *Lawrence*, Marriage, and Biopolitics," *Widener Law Review* 11 (2004/5): 309–29.

83. Roderick Ferguson, "'Something Else to Be.'"

84. Patricia Williams, *The Alchemy of Race and Rights: Diary of a Law Professor* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

85. I use the term "women of color feminism" to describe an intellectual and political formation, sometimes used alongside or interchangeably with the term "Third World feminism," that emerged out of and in relation to the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s. In using this term, I am indebted to the work of Chandra Mohanty, who has theorized women of color or Third World feminism not as an identitarian or sociological category that describes a discrete set of people but rather as "imagined communities of women with divergent histories and social locations, woven together by the *political* threads of opposition to forms of domination that are not only pervasive but systematic." Chandra Mohanty, "Introduction," in *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, ed. Chandra Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 4. By using this term, I reference a group of writers, theorists, scholars, and activists including Angela Davis, the Combahee River Collective, Barbara Smith, the Third World Women's Alliance, Frances Beal, Audre Lorde, and Cherríe Moraga, as well as many others. However, I do not mean to imply by my use of this term or my identification of a set of common analytics and politics that there is a clear and definable set of texts, authors, or activists, as these are always contested and fluid categories.

86. Nick Mitchell, "Curricular Objects: 'Women of Color,' Feminist Anti-Racisms, and the Consolidation of Women's Studies," University of California President's Post-doctoral Fellows Retreat, October 6, 2012.

87. "Intersectionality," a term coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989, refers to an idea that predates the term. See Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Anti-Racist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 140 (1989): 139–68. This idea can be seen earlier in, for example, the Combahee River Collective's "Black Feminist Statement," first published in 1978, in which they declare, "The most general statement of our politics at the

present time would be that we are actively committed to struggling against racial, sexual, heterosexual, and class oppression and see as our particular task the development of integrated analysis and practice based upon the fact that the major systems of oppression are interlocking." Combahee River Collective, "A Black Feminist Statement," in *Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism*, ed. Zillah Eisenstein (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1978), 362.

88. A number of scholars, including Kara Keeling, Roderick Ferguson, Fatima El-Tayeb, and others have begun the work of analyzing the intellectual and discursive complexities of women of color feminist theorists such as Audre Lorde, Cherríe Moraga, Angela Davis, Barbara Christian, June Jordan, Toni Cade Bambara, and others, and of theorizing this body of work as a useful analytic for contemporary modes of power. Kara Keeling and Roderick Ferguson have individually used women of color feminism as a means of engaging with but also supplementing classical post-structuralism, in particular Gilles Deleuze (Keeling) and Jacques Derrida (Ferguson). Cathy Cohen first argued that contemporary queer of color critique and activism shares a genealogy with women of color feminism rather than with white queer theory and activism. See Cathy Cohen, "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens," *GLQ* 3, no. 4 (1997): 437–65; Kara Keeling, *The Witch's Flight* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); Ferguson, *Aberrations in Black;* Fatima El-Tayeb, *European Others* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011); Grace Kyungwon Hong, "The Future of Our Worlds," *Meridians* 8, no. 2 (2008): 425–45; Grace Kyungwon Hong, "The Ghosts of Transnational American Studies," *American Quarterly* 59, no. 1 (March 2007): 33–39; Melamed, *Represent and Destroy;* Chandan Reddy, *Freedom with Violence* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).

89. In referencing "queer of color," I follow the scholarship of Cathy Cohen, Roderick Ferguson, José Esteban Muñoz, M. Jacqui Alexander, and Chandan Reddy, who have theorized this term. These scholars helpfully describe the ways in which racialization, colonization, and sexuality are interrelated processes; they define queerness through non-normative sexual formations that do not necessarily correlate with "gay" and "lesbian" identities, queering such figures as Black women on welfare and the Black transgender prostitute; they also insist that queer of color theory and activism can be traced not to white queer/LGBT formations, but what we might more readily call "women of color" feminism, looking to Audre Lorde, the Combahee River Collective, and Barbara Smith as important theorists of non-normative sexualities. See Cohen, "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens"; Ferguson, *Aberrations in Black;* José Esteban Muñoz, *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999); Alexander, "Not Just (Any)Body Can Be a Citizen."

90. Gopinath, *Impossible Desires*, 11.

91. Cohen, "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens," 437–65.

92. Previously, the role of the sovereign was simply to determine life or death, either by recruiting his subjects as soldiers to wage war against external enemies, or by subjecting his subjects to death if they were themselves unlawful. In the eighteenth century, however, a new mode of power emerged, *biopower*, which took as its responsibility the management—and thus the extension of—human life. Such problems as how long people were living, in what state of health, how many children they were bearing, etc., which had previously been the provenance of God, were began to be understood as within the control of men, and the maintenance of life became the responsibility of the sovereign. The sovereign function, then, also extended away from just the state itself to a number of nonstate institutions as sites of knowledge production dedicated to ascertaining exactly how best to extend and proliferate life.

93. Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

94. Ibid., 8.

95. Foucault observes that this attention to the preservation of life has in fact enabled the exacerbation of death: "Yet wars were never as bloody as they have been since the nineteenth century, and all things being equal, never before did regimes visit such holocausts on their own populations. . . . The power to expose a whole population to death is the underside of the power to guarantee an individual's continued existence." Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1990), 137. An important implication of Foucault's theory is that biopower operates productively, creating desires and entitlements, rather than merely through repression. As such, Foucault famously argues that resistance to repression through the expression of a supposedly prohibited desire is not an overturning of power, but is a way of submitting even more fully to regulatory modes of control. In other words, for Foucault, *affirmation* ("power organized around the management of life" [147]), more so than repression ("the menace of death" [147]), is where power inheres.

96. Mbembe uses the examples of the plantation and the occupied territory of Palestine, which he calls "the most accomplished form of necropower" (27), to make the point that the colony is the site of the death and violence that is disavowed by European political culture organized around "reason" but on which this culture is based, materially and ideologically. Mbembe notes that if one takes into account the history of colonialism, one can see the ways in which contemporary regimes of power are based on the active deployment of death, "in the interest of maximum destruction of persons and the creation of *death-worlds*, new and unique forms of social existence in which vast populations are subjected to conditions of life conferring upon them the status of *living dead*." Achille Mbembe, "Necropolitics," *Public Culture* 15, no. 1 (2003): 40.

97. Ibid., 25.

98. Patterson describes social death as constituted through the total domination of master over slave, the slave's natal alienation (or his inability to accrue

or pass on value through kinship, inheritance, and procreation), and the slave's generalized dishonor, a condition that constitutes an economy of honor for those who are not enslaved. Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982).

99. While Patterson observes that slavery as an institution existed prior to the modern era, he differentiates between what he calls personalistic and materialistic idioms of power. Unlike under the personalistic idiom of power in which the hierarchies between people are demystified and acknowledged, societies organized around materialistic idioms of power disavow these hierarchies, instead claiming strict binaries between freedom and enslavement. For Patterson, the separability of social life and physical life is important because it explains how it can be that in Western societies freedom becomes inextricably dependent on enslavement. In contrast, for Agamben, this separation addresses the question of how modern political entities enable mass death through precisely the mechanism that it constitutes to define and protect life. Foucault's interest is not in ruminating on the separability of physical and political life, but rather on examining the moment when the political began to concern itself with biological life, and the consequences of this interest on modern power.

100. This analytic, articulated by feminist and queer scholars of race and colonialism, that centers racialized reproduction as the structure of modern power helps to highlight underappreciated aspects of Mbembe's and Patterson's theories—that is, that they do not posit the racialized, colonized, or enslaved figure as entirely *outside* the structures of Western modernity but rather highlight the ways in which exclusion is the structuring process that creates Western modernity. Patterson's notion of "social death," for example, does not describe a figure outside of society, but instead describes a social position, but one that stands in for *nothingness*. Social death, in other words, must be understood as a category of exclusion or exception upon which modern politics depends.

101. Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, 4.

102. Ibid., 7. Agamben writes, "Bare life has the particular privilege of being that whose exclusion founds the city of men."

103. Ibid.

104. Scott Morgensen, "The Biopolitics of Settler Colonialism: Right Here, Right Now," *Settler Colonial Studies*, no. 1 (2011): 52–76. Scott Morgensen critiques the tendency to erase indigenous histories by scholars who ignore the gendered and sexualized politics of settler colonialism. While the main targets of his essay are Agamben and Foucault, he also demonstrates the ways in which scholars of race and colonialism like Mbembe naturalize settler colonialism, demonstrating the need for a relational analysis across racial and colonized histories that does not perform such erasures.

105. Ibid., 71.

106. Ibid., 53.

107. Ibid., 66.

108. Hortense Spillers, "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book," in *Black, White, and in Color: Essays on American Literature and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

109. Ibid.

110. See ibid.; Carby, *Reconstructing Womanhood;* Morgan, *Laboring Women.*

111. Examining settler colonialism, enslavement, and labor migration and imperialism as relational modes of epistemological, representational, and political difference, simultaneously inarticulable and hypervisible, is not to utilize a comparative model, but a relational one. Yu-Fang Cho's book *Uncoupling American Empire: The Cultural Politics of Deviance and Unequal Difference, 1890–1910* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2013) produces such a relational analytic exactly centering the institution of marriage as that which mediated access to citizenship by race, gender, class, and sexuality. Cho develops a relational analyses of Asian American/Asian immigrant, African American, and U.S. colonial racial formation through what could be called, following Morgensen, "incomplete consanguinity."

112. Spillers, "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe," 224.

113. Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 19.

114. Gayatri Spivak, "Bonding in Difference: Interview with Alfred Arteaga," in *The Spivak Reader*, ed. Donna Landry and Gerald MacLean (New York: Routledge, 1996), 14.

115. Saidiya Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," *Small Axe* 12, no. 2 (June 2008): 1–14, 2.

116. Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 25.

117. Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," 2.

118. Saidiya Hartman, *Lose Your Mother: A Journey along the Atlantic Slave Route* (New York: Macmillan, 2008), 133.

119. Lorde, "Learning from the 60s," 134.

120. Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," 2.

121. Ibid, 11.

122. G. Cho, *Haunting the Korean Diaspora*, 10–11.

123. Lorde, "Learning from the 60s," 135.

1. Fun With Death and Dismemberment

1. Ana Castillo, *So Far from God* (New York: Penguin, 1993), 19.

2. Oscar Zeta Acosta, *The Revolt of the Cockroach People* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989).

3. Ian Haney López, "Protest, Repression, and Race: Legal Violence and the Chicano Movement," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 140, no. 1 (2001): 4.