Şahin Açıkgöz, Howard Chiang, Debanuj DasGupta, Joao Gabriel, Christoph Hanssmann, Rana M. Jaleel, Durba Mitra, and Evren Savcı

Roundtable: Queer/Trans of Color Transits and the Imaginaries of Racial Capitalism

RANA AND EVREN: *Racial capitalism in US scholarship is necessarily and rightfully narrated through the transatlantic slave trade. While this is a globally relevant history for understanding the past and the present of transnational racial orders, what other histories and present modes of capitalist accumulation are relevant to telling a global history of racial capitalism?*

DURBA: As Cedric Robinson ([1983] 2000) shows, there is no other history in the global rise of racial capitalism made possible through the European colonial project that was not touched by entwined histories of slavery and dispossession in the transatlantic world. Systems of domination intimately tied seemingly disparate geographies of colonialism and slavery, to think with Lisa Lowe's potent conceptualization of intimacy across continents (Lowe 2015). In my own work, I ask what global histories might we be able to tell when we place the colonial enforcement of sexual difference and the control of sexuality at the heart of the project of racial capitalism? To understand the concepts, disciplines, and institutions foundational to racial capitalism, I argue we must center the modern "problem" of feminized sexuality, for it is through racialized ideas of sexual deviancy that society

The South Atlantic Quarterly 123:1, January 2024
DOI 10.1215/00382876-10920687

itself became an object and site of knowledge. With research rooted in the colonial domination of the Indian subcontinent, I demonstrate how the study of social life across the modern world—in institutions of law, policing, science, and emerging disciplines of modern social science—was built through the control and erasure of feminized sexuality (Mitra 2020). In thinking the queerness of feminized sexuality, my work builds on wide-ranging traditions in Black feminist thinking about the gendering work of enslavement and enforced reproduction (e.g., Davis 1983; Morgan 2021), postcolonial feminist critiques of the coloniality of sex (e.g., Arondekar 2009), Indigenous feminist theories of the enforcement of settler heterosexuality (Rifkin 2010; TallBear 2013), and queer of color theories that center racial domination in the project of heterosexual white supremacy (Ferguson 2003).

All of the wonderful scholars in our roundtable conversation offering parallel reflections on the obfuscation and elision of race and racism in the study of our histories across area studies geographies, from the Ottoman empire to South Asia, China, and the broader Sinophone world, to Latin America. These forced erasures of racial subjection have created limited understandings of the global nature of enslavement, indigenous dispossession, and interlinked histories of colonial capital. As Indrani Chatterjee (2002) has argued powerfully in South Asia, the history of slavery is always a history of intimacy and the violent hierarchy of the household. We know that, while India seems far from the transatlantic world, its resources as the capital of the empire were essential to the expansion of multiple systems of slavery, ongoing settlement and colonization, and new hierarchies of bonded labor. It was in colonial India that the British experimented and refined multiple systems of resource extraction and perpetual famine, enforced forms of exploited labor based in the permanent settlement of peasantry (the paradigmatic subaltern) alongside the forced migration of workers, and built enduring legal and scientific structures of social domination that traveled across the empire, enduring far beyond the formal end of colonialism. These multiple histories of social reproduction in racial capitalism—the uncounted productive and reproductive labor of the enslaved, the peasant, the colonized, the indentured, the Third World worker—offer a different view of capitalism when theorized together (Bhattacharya 2017).

HOWARD: In comparison to the transatlantic world, the concepts of race and indigeneity are no less socially salient and analytically important in the Asia Pacific. However, they suffer from being doubly marginalized in existing theoretical dialogues. On the one hand, scholars of Asia often ignore these

analytical categories, even though there is a growing body of literature that considers indigenous communities across Asia, such as in the history of Japan, Siberia, the Philippines, and the Indian Ocean. On the other hand, critics of racial capitalism in the West tend to treat the transatlantic slave trade as the overriding framework for understanding the historical formation of race and capitalism. This elevates the conceptualization of racial orders in the Americas to an epistemologically privileged position. One enduring legacy has been the lack of approaching "other" races in the West (e.g., Asian Americans) on an equal footing. Another consequence has been the absence of critical attention to how race (and indigeneity) assumes social meanings and hierarchies that are no less potent in transpacific Asia than they do across the Atlantic.

In one of my current projects, I look at the politics of transness, especially how it intersects with the constructions of indigeneity, in Taiwan. Taiwan is often ignored by mainstream scholarly comprehension for its unstable geopolitical status: is it part of China (thus Chinese), an orphan of the earlier Japanese empire (thus postcolonial Japanese), or the face of right-wing America in the Cold War era (thus hegemonic American)? Further, much of the discourses surrounding queer Taiwan tend to ignore a defining feature of the island's history: it is also home to a diverse group of indigenous communities. According to one line of archaeological research, the tribes in Taiwan are possibly the ancestors of various Austronesian communities scattered across the Pacific.

Most of the Chinese people who migrated to Taiwan belong to the "Han" ethnic group. These Han majorities came to redefine the political landscape of Taiwan in the late 1940s, when Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist regime retreated to the island and "took over" from the Japanese. There are ongoing tensions within the Han majority, including debates over the political meanings of nativity, Chineseness, and Taiwaneseness (for instance, being a "native" Taiwanese is not necessarily the same as being an "indigenous" Taiwanese). This certainly warrants a more careful inclusion into analysis of racial discourses in Taiwan. However, a realm of social tension more germane to my point lies in Han-Austronesia relations. Historically, the settler colonialism of Han Chinese in Taiwan has pushed Austronesia people into poverty. Therefore, I would argue that the history of indigenous subjects in Taiwan constitutes an important part of the global history of racial capitalism. A vocabulary for talking about Han capitalist accumulation is necessary for probing into the ways in which queerness and transness become intertwined with the racial and class hierarchies.

Şahin: As a researcher whose project seeks to rethink and reimagine trans and queer historiography in the Middle East, in particular, and the Global South, in general, I grapple with the workings of racial capitalism through a kindred but distinct history, namely, the East African slave trade and the Ottoman empire's multivalent involvement in it. It is quite frustrating but hardly surprising that the wide-reaching ramifications of this history are largely missing from the global accounts of racial capitalism produced in the Global North under some strands of trans/queer of color scholarship. Certain characteristics and specificities of this history might help explain why it is omitted from the dominant strands of US scholarship on racial capitalism. For instance, the gendered domestic space has historically been conceptualized outside of the domain of capital in hegemonic accounts. The fact that one common manifestation of the East African slave trade in the Ottoman empire was domestic slavery no doubt has played a pivotal role in this history's (and thus gender's) assumed irrelevance to racial capitalism. Furthermore, the East African slave trade was but one part of the Ottoman system of slavery, which, as Ehud R. Toledano (1998) convincingly argues, is best understood as "a continuum of various degrees of bondage rather than a dichotomy between slave and free" due to its complexity and inconsistency. In other words, its so-called incommensurability renders it a poor comparative framework to comprehend the global itinerary of racial capitalism. Neither of these potential rationales (among various others), however, justify or explain why this history is pretermitted from trans/queer of color scholarship, which not only rightly emphasizes the centrality of gender/sexuality to the workings of racial capitalism but also problematizes the presupposed incommensurabilities between discrete structures/geographies/temporalities. I argue indeed that such erasure is the corollary of the unwillingness of trans/queer of color scholarship from the Global North to reckon with the secular as ideology. On the one hand, this unwillingness reproduces the reductive and chronic culturalism that pervades the analyses concerning the particularities of the Global South shaped by the varicolored manifestations of religion. On the other hand, it fails to unpack the imbrication of race and religion in the East African slave trade, which is tantamount to effacing the polyvalent ways in which religious difference configured corporeal valuation, racial-ethnic formation, and gendered normalization. Through a theoretical prism saturated with the secular as ideology, it is difficult, if not impossible, to cognize that one cannot, in many geographies and time periods, narrate a history of racial capitalism without a concomitant history of religion.

CHRIS:

> "There are new and unpredictable modes of dispossession to be understood alongside the centuries-old carnage that moistens the earth beneath our feet."
> —Bhattacharyya 2018, p. x

In the fifth of their ten theses on racial capitalism, Gargi Bhattacharyya (2018) grapples with the imperative to trace its distinct, varied, and often contradictory emergences. The critical project of engaging capitalism's instantiations in, with, and through regimes of enslavement is far from complete. Of course, the "centuries-old carnage" to which they refer incorporates a history that is both longer and more expansive than this. If we are to fully grasp these "new and unpredictable modes of dispossession" we must engage the protracted dynamics of racialization and accumulation that both include and exceed this instantiation.

Let's take Sarmiento Park, the setting for the collective lives of *travesti* sex workers in Córdoba, Argentina, in Camila Sosa Villada's autofiction *Las Malas* (2019).As a workplace, Sarmiento Park is one site from which to engage racial capitalism to connect the violences of both past and present. Not only through the fact of criminalized sex trade among those pushed to the margins of formal employment, but also through the racist history of Argentine nationalism instantiated by the park's namesake, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento.

Sarmiento—Argentina's president from 1868 until 1874—formalized the nation's program of *blanqueamiento*, or "whitening," by promulgating the position he expressed in his 1845 book *Facundo: Civilization and Barbarism*. In it, he claimed that Argentina's postcolonial failure to thrive after its 1816 declaration of independence from Spain could be attributed to racialized "savagery." For Sarmiento, modernization had to do with the alleged failures of those living in the Pampas to sufficiently exploit the land on which they dwelled. He proposed "taming the wilds" of the country by importing the qualities of urban centers to advance order and prosperity. His infamous "Conquest of the Desert" instantiated whitening regimes through genocide and militarized terror, leaving behind "empty" land for privatization.

Moving both forward and back from Sarmiento (the historical figure) and Sarmiento (the park), we might trace the inequitable and unfree relations of labor that we aptly name "racial." Sosa Villada's nocturnal scene of Sarmiento Park—the wild green lung—reveals the textures of persistent racialization, gendering, and sexualization of classed dispossession in Argentina. For it is not only the echoes of colonization and enslavement that marginalize

Afro-descended, indigenous, and non-white Mestiza transfeminine laborers, but also the racist and racializing nationalisms of anticolonial rule. In this milieu, what sense might we then make of an assemblage of racial capitalism comprising Argentine workers' movements, IMF debts, repressive dictatorships, Peronism, and *travesti* rage (*furia travesti*)? In other words, what is racial capitalism from under the shadow of Dante's statue at Sarmiento Park?

DEBANUJ: My research focuses upon how the global governance of migration is felt at the scale of the queer and trans body. Presently my work interrogates the relocations and seasonal migrations of queer and trans communities from and within Latin America, as well as movement of transgender workers along the Indo-Nepal-Bangladesh borders. I conceptualize racialized capitalism through longer histories of Indian Ocean trade, and the ways in which present-day capital and labor circulates across urban centers across Asia, Latin America, and the US. I offer two broad meditations about racialized capitalism through an inter-Asian trans-regional perspective.

I want us to think about racial capitalism through histories of the Indian Ocean world; through scholars such as Aiwa Ong and Ananya Roy's work about worlding cities (Ong and Ray 2011), and Ayona Datta's ideas about Trans-local geographies (Brickell and Datta, 2016). Ong's ideas about flexible capital helps me to think about how owning class communities from East Asia (and, now increasingly from India as well) have been transferring capital following a longer history of feudal wealth, industrialization and present-day global movement of capital. Let us look at the US and Mexico border in Tijuana, where one encounters dense levels of East Asian investments crafted through the landscape of the city. Samsung sponsored huge neon arch welcomes you to Tijuana's Zona Rosa. Thus, one needs to incorporate movement of capital and production through Indian and Pacific Ocean worlds. Secondly, I am thinking about how elite upper caste, racial formations, wherein race and whiteness is being unmoored from corporeality and circulating through achievement, caste, and class status, engendering the formation of owning class migrant communities in the US and UK.

For instance, Rishi Sunak is now the first person of Indian descent to become the prime minster of the UK—the country that once colonized India. Sunak would also be the eleventh PM to have a degree from Oxford and second richest person to be the UK PM after the Earl of Rosebery. Rishi Sunak is Oxford educated, hails from a meritocratic family, and married into one of the richest families of India. As a figure Sunak, gestures toward the rise of upper caste, upper class, English educated Indian elites who are visibly

aligned with white owning class and conservative politics. Sunak espouses an anti-immigrant, nationalist, pro-austerity politics that is akin to white owning class's conservative rhetoric. It is helpful to think about Sunak's figure through a trans-local scale, where capital circulates through the global cities network, while getting hooked to local sites and nationalist politics.

In returning to the question of racial capitalism through such an inter-Asia framework, one needs to think about long histories of Indian ocean trade between Indian merchants and East Africa. Scholars such as Pedro Machado examine the central role of Gujarat's Vaaniya merchants between western India and East Africa. Machado demonstrates not only that the Portuguese imperial infrastructures were dependent on Gujarati merchants but also that Gujarati actions determined European outcomes. Machado shows us how Vaaniya networks disguised slave trading as a "Hindu" activity amid Portuguese injunctions against the continuation of Islamic slave trades (Machado 2015: 220).

EVREN AND RANA: *How do queer hermeneutics reckon with global and transnational histories of social differentiation that ground in other or additional intellectual traditions of what we might expansively call "race"?*

DURBA: I would love to see queer and trans of color theorists more often in direct conversation with wide-ranging theorists in the postcolony who offer essential insights into the study of global domination and supremacy through and in excess of the social scientific concept of "race." In the modern world, because of the global nature of colonial structures of knowledge that organize how we study modern society, all structures of domination are inflected through concepts of race. Yet our analytic language in the study of race and racism is largely inadequate to describe other global structures of subjection. In the study of South Asia, there are many productive ways to imagine a queer materialist analysis of gendered structures of caste, Hindu majoritarianism and anti-Muslim violence, the dehumanization of laboring people, emergency in borderlands, claims to indigeneity, and so much more.

In my view, the insights of feminist, queer, and trans of color critique, particularly by scholars and activists outside of the Global North, help in rethinking the very disciplines we have historically used to study the question of social domination. The social scientific categories of race, kinship, caste, endogamy, and descent offer little analytical insight into the mechanics and experiences of subordination, humiliation, and social violence. Thinking with Şahin Açıkgöz's important suggestion that race must be thought through the question of religion and scholarly critiques of the inadequacies of

secularism, it is clear that the lexicon of concepts available to us is inadequate to understand social and political life in most of the world.

Rather than coining new social scientific concepts that might better describe social systems, what if we were to instead orient ourselves to the experiential and the sensorial, to the workings of domination for example as a project of smell or touch? Açıkgöz's reflection on religion as a place of domination, religious sociality, and embodiment offers ways we might to reorient our conceptual vocabulary. I can for example imagine exciting new directions in transnational queer studies that center the sensorium. Here I think with the extraordinary work of the late theorist of caste Aniket Jaaware (2018), who critiques the reliance on colonial social scientific categories in the study of caste and Hinduism to instead foreground the question of touch, of touching and not touching. He asks: What does it mean to touch? Who always has the power to touch without consent and inflict violence, and how is being *not* touched a profound mode of subjection? The concept of touch stands in stark contrast to the study of endogamy as a project of caste supremacy in the modern social sciences (Mitra 2021). Or as Black feminist theorist Hortense Spillers describes in a lecture, the manhandling of enslavement, the cruel intimacies of touch, in elaborating her earlier distinction between body and flesh. As she describes it, "Touching, here, is not a token of social cohesion or brotherhood or fellowship or fellow feeling, but rather the very breadth and depth of alienation, among other things, alienation from the laws, and perhaps even ways to distinguish human life from bare life" (2018: n.p.).

Alternatively, we might think of domination spatially, in the forced proximity in carceral structures and enforced social distance. What if, instead of foregrounding descriptive sociological categories like race, caste, class, we orient the study of queerness and non-normativity through the phenomenological subjection of confinement?

HOWARD: My work on the history of Chinese eunuchs serves as a good point of entry into this question. In imperial China, eunuchs were male castrated servants for the emperor and his royal family, occupying a range of positions from within the harem to becoming military commissioners and heads of naval expeditions. In certain epochs of Chinese history, most notably, the Eastern Han (25–220), the Tang (618–907), and the Ming (1368–1644), eunuchs rose to unprecedented political prominence. Over time, historians have debated—and often criticized—the political intrusion of eunuchs in state affairs. The eunuch system came to a halt in the early twentieth century, when the last Qing emperor Puyi dismissed the last cohort of eunuchs from his Qing court.

While this seemingly organic narrative of the demise of Chinese castration may appear to be unrelated to our topic, I would argue that a queer hermeneutic, imbued with a critical attention to race and ethnicity, is central to our deconstruction of the narrative. On the one hand, we see time and again—in fact, up to the present—the expression of a strong critique of eunuchs in terms of their bodily biology and socio-political presence. Throughout Chinese history, scholar officials and Confucian literati construed the activities of eunuchs as the antithesis of civic moral values. Han cultural elites would subsequently hold eunuchs, among other feminized agents, responsible for the failings of a Chinese political regime. In fact, the early record of castration in China suggests that eunuchs were enslaved captives, so they had always been deemed as "inferior" to non-castrated men from the very beginning. A queer hermeneutic, then, questions both the kind of sexual normalcy buttressing Chinese heteronormative patriarchy and the political positioning of eunuchs with respect to Han Confucian virtues.

On the other hand, critiques of Chinese castration began to accumulate with mounting evidence by the late nineteenth century, especially coming from European spectators. Some of the most detailed accounts of the Chinese castration operation itself available today came from these late-Qing Western accounts. By turning the castrated body "inside-out," the dissecting tone of these condemning statements associated a distinctively pathological identity with not just the body of Chinese eunuchs, but the Chinese civilization at large. Here, what appeared to be at stake is the entire Chinese "race," a construct that native voices sought to reconcile with, on the one side, white Europeans and, on the other, an increasingly powerful Japanese race. Because the castrated body became a material basis for the dissemination of new (scientific) knowledge about sex and sex change in the Republican period (1912–1949), a trans hermeneutic forces us to reconsider narratives of eunuchs that fail to acknowledge its queerness from ground zero.

CHRIS: Thinking with sex/gender in transnational inquiry about marginalization and subjugation might veer toward attunement and away from intellectual imperialism. These approaches might be called queer hermeneutics, "hemispheric cuir/queer dialogue" (Pierce et al. 2021), "disobedient epistemologies" (Sacchi et al. 2021), or transnational transfeminism (Hanssmann 2023), among others. Regardless of how we conceptualize them, such approaches might guide inquiries within which queer or trans (as well as *cuir*, *transgénero*, trans*, *travesti*, and many others) figure not only—indeed, not primarily—as objects of analysis, but rather as what sociologists call "sensitizing concepts."

As Kathy Charmaz (2003, 259) explains, "Sensitizing concepts offer ways of seeing, organizing, and understanding experience. . . . Although sensitizing concepts may deepen perception, they provide starting points for building analysis, not ending points for evading it."

Moving laterally from queer/trans objects, Kadji Amin (2018), Toby Beauchamp (2013), and Thelma Wang (2022) examine transnational regimes of knowledge production through the sensitizing concept of trans. In other words, "trans" becomes an analytic starting point to trace material and conceptual permeabilities of different orders—including and exceeding paradigms of racialization. In their work, "trans" is not an "ending point for evading" analysis. Neither stable nor confirmatory, it is instead a sometimes faltering means through which to consider diffuse and uneven circulations of power. To this end, Amin, Beauchamp, and Wang trace the workings of power across histories, borders, bodies, laboratories, racial projects, Olympic policies, DIY paradigms of gender affirmation, eugenics, and pharmaceutical manufacture and regulation through the organs (glands) and substances (hormones) of endocrinology.

Even in its methodological anti-determinism, however, sensitizing concepts may reify through their very lines of inquiry. This is central to Geeta Patel's (2006: 27) concerns with "scholars who have crossed borders in the chase to "discover" sex/gender difference" among Aravani or hijra as "reified embodiments of difference." For Patel, the intellectual pursuit of certain arrangements of difference can quietly efface the centrality of capital, state formation, colonialism, property, law, medicine, religion, and much more. Cole Rizki's (2020) work offers a refreshing antidote, taking as its sensitizing concepts both "sex/gender" and "state violence." He examines travesti subjectivity—as both lived experience and metonym for the violence of liberalism—to consider the persistence of Argentine state violence spanning both fascist and ostensibly democratic regimes. Here, queer/trans inquiry refuses reification, and instead traces the unevenly shared calamity of racialized, classed, indigenized, sexualized, and gendered state violence.

DEBANUJ: I have been thinking about how personhood is bestowed in the context of India through ideas of sanguinity, purity and profanity, caste status (broadly through categories such as Jati and Kula-which are ascribed at birth). Blood, sanguinity, caste status, as well as religious background provides frameworks for legitimacy of one's body, and thereby delimiting one's sexual and reproductive capacities. In my scholarship I highlight how caste, class, Hindu nationalism (in the case of India) operate as regulatory regimes

upon diverse bodies and how caste purity bestows livability upon certain bodies, while rendering Dalit and non-Hindu communities as those marked for slow death. Such processes are yet to be fully taken up by queer hermeneutics, as well as by scholars of queer biopolitics.

Secondly, trans*studies as it has emerged in the US academy posits the formation of the trans*subject as a secular project. Majority of the literature considers religion and trans*politics as oppositional to each other (Strassfeld and Henderson-Espinoza 2019). However, in the context of South Asia, the emergence of trans* subject of rights remain entangled with religiosities. Throughout South Asia, each of the countries now have varying forms of legal recognition for diverse gender identities. The legal deliberations are framed through religious discourses about the timelessness of diverse gender identities in religions of South Asia. In Pakistan KhwajaSira is connected with ideas about piety, whereas in India, Hindu mythologies about Hijras, Aravanis, and Kinnars is written into the Supreme Court judgement. Hindu Brahmanical myths, practices, caste hierarchies provide the framework for the arrival of the transgender subjects of rights. Thus, thinking through caste, religiosities, and nationalism is vital to a rethinking of "trans," as a project of secular modernity.

ŞAHIN: I find this question very significant, and I believe that one way to respond to it is by inquiring into what kind of hermeneutics queer theory/critique has persistently deployed in its perusal of variegated texts, bodies, histories, geographies, and matters to make sense of racial difference. It would not be wrong to postulate that queer's predilect hermeneutics has historically been secular hermeneutics of suspicion, which, I argue, has very often resulted in what Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2014) termed epistemicide. Since such hermeneutics has been chiefly oriented toward resistance, demystification, and unearthing, it has tended to read particular global manifestations of difference through a complicit/subversive dyad. This, in turn, has occluded a generative reading of how secular modernity has systematically mystified both the kaleidoscopic self- formations of nonsecular communities/subjects and the coterminous materialization, in certain spaces/periods, of various constitutive analytical categories such as race and religion. As Muriam Haleh Davis (2022) reminds us in her work on Islam and racial capitalism in Algeria, the secular modern attachment to the division between race and religion has kept us from seeing the workings of the racial regime of religion. My own work on the black eunuchs of the Ottoman Empire also underscores the impossibility of fully grasping the gendered

normalization of human proper in that context without rethinking how religious difference found articulation within racial difference. The answer to why there has been a pervasive dismissal of its obverse, namely queer hermeneutics of faith, in queer scholarship is not more complicated than a simple "queer hermeneutics has a faith and religion problem." Roger Rothman (2020) notes that even when Sedgwick acknowledges her debt to Paul Ricoeur in her critique of suspicion, she does not elaborate on what Ricoeur proposed as its antithesis (faith), opting instead for "hermeneutics of recovery of meaning" to avoid using the term "faith." Ironically though, in his own justification for why faith is a more appropriate term than recovery due to its refusal "to suppose a prelapsarian wholeness as the wellspring of meaning," Rothman feels the need to clarify that his understanding of faith is secular as opposed to religious. Although I completely agree with Rothman's argument that hermeneutics of faith is about imagining and recognizing that alternative frames exist, his clarification strikes me as odd given that the secular, as many scholars have shown (Strassfeld and Henderson-Espinoza 2019; Sanchez 2019), is not secular but itself a religious formation. To recapitulate why this matters for queer's relationally with race, I should note that early queer hermeneutics, on account of its reductive (and colonial) privileging of sexuality, had, inter alia, a race problem, which has been brilliantly taken to task by queer of color scholarship. Nonetheless, the "religion problem" still persists, obfuscating a much needed appreciation of the divergent formations of race and racialization across the globe. In that sense, in its complex reckoning with race, queer hermeneutics would no doubt benefit from having more "faith."

RANA AND EVREN: *How would queer of color critique as an analytic be useful to question the very making of abject and abnormal bodies, the structures of knowledge and regimes of truth that produce them, and the political economies that necessitate them?*

HOWARD: There is a thriving literature that addresses this question in Western queer studies. A queer of color critique is not limited to the deciphering of how such binaries as white/black and heterosexuality/homosexuality had been co-produced in the scientific literature from the start—from George Cuvier's depiction of Saartje Baartman to the eugenics vision of early-twentieth-century European sexologists. Asian American critics have also expanded this approach by exploring the interconnection between sexual and racial difference in concrete political-economic terms: the way queerness figures into the construction of Asianness in the history of railroad labor, immigration exclusion, bachelor societies, wartime internment, and

beyond. More recently, historian Laurie Marhoefer has bridged these two seemingly separate approaches by bringing to light sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld's relationship with his Sinophone lover Li Shiu Tong. In so doing, Marhoefer demonstrates the way racism and ideas about race enabled both prejudiced and subversive conceptualizations of queerness.

I would like to bring the conversation back to the Sinophone Pacific again. There are numerous examples to which one can point, but the work of Francisca Lai deserves special mention in light of the groundbreaking nature of her work on Indonesian migrant lesbian workers in Hong Kong. Although not always couched in the language of race or ethnicity, the difference between native Cantonese Hong Kongers and migrant workers from the Philippines and Indonesia became particularly acute within local queer communities. One particular area where this can be seen is the rise of migrant lesbian activism at the grassroots level since 2006. Prior to this, migrant activism had mainly focused on issues such as underpayment, excessive working hours, and unsuitable accommodations for domestic workers. However, with the founding of migrant organizations devoted to LGBT rights, such grassroots activism began to pitch the problems of capitalist exploitation as sharing a set of challenges faced by LGBT people within the larger framework of human rights.

When gender and sexual politics served as the common denominator, Hong Kong and Southeast Asian activists came together to develop strategies for deepening transnational LGBT solidarity in this British postcolony. The difference between Hong Kongers and Southeast Asian workers is of course racialized (whether we consider skin color as a superficial phenotypical marker or language as a normative code of culture), but the point is that in the context of migrant labor activism, the line may very well be drawn across class lines. This exposes the artificiality of how abject/abnormal bodies are made within resistant movements to capitalist globalization. A queer of color critique in the context of the Sinophone Pacific enriches the dialogues about queers of color that have typically emanated from the West.

ŞAHIN: It is quite challenging to cogitate on queer of color critique as an analytic without simultaneously pondering the question of the Global South. I am particularly interested in interrogating how the Global South, which, in Roderick A. Ferguson's (2015) words, provided the invisible ink for Aberrations and indeed did constitute the unread genealogy of queer of color critique, has continued to be instrumentalized and deployed as an alibi in certain strands of queer scholarship to preserve the international division of

knowledge production. The political economy of this queer instrumentalization has, I argue, substantially manufactured the asymmetrical financialization of the globe on an epistemic level. The Global North has crystallized as the fountain of episteme and theorem while the Global South has been transformed into a rich and productive reservoir of case studies and raw materials. The upshot of this hegemonic arrangement has not been limited, unsurprisingly, to the cementing of the assumed universality of the Global North's epistemic macrocosm. The economic and ideological attachments as well as biases of that universe, the secular being one of the principal ones, have also been exported, concealing the polymorphous workings of capital in both engendering regimes of normalcy/deviancy and legitimating acceptable patterns of knowing and representing. At this juncture, I should clarify that the intention of my abovementioned characterization is not to portray the Global North or the Global South as a monolith, nor is it to ascribe a perennial and culturalist subalternity/indigeneity to the Global South. It is, I maintain, precisely the very unpredictable formations that emerge from those complex convergences that queer of color critique should grapple with while being attentive to the North/South entanglements. If, for instance, capital is not secular and if formations of capital cannot be comprehended independently of religion, how did their historically contingent co-formations precipitate certain structures of truth and normative frames of bodily intelligibility in Ottoman empire and post-imperial Turkey? Such inquiry enabled by queer of color critique as an analytic would exhume the imperial commingling of religious and racial difference in configuring somatic valuation. It would also disinter an associated postimperial and national historiography within which capital weaponized ethno-religious alterity in administrative and bureaucratic layers as well as visual and textual media not only to ungender certain bodies/communities but also to rationalize wealth transfer, economic dispossession, and political disenfranchisement.

DEBANUJ: Queer of color critique develops an analytics of how the creation of racial surplus is simultaneously a gendered and sexualized process. It is arguably a US-centric project, since the field interrogates how US liberalism is formed through the displacement of indigenous communities, slavery, and ongoing displacement of migrant workers. The undocumented drag queen, Muslim migrant is rendered as a perverse figure within the normative politics of LGBT recognition, and often left to die at the gates of the US nation-state. Queer of color critique appeared as an important and timely intervention during the consolidation of the national security state in the

US; however, it falls short to rethink the formation of abject and abnormal bodies in a context other than the US. Yet, thinking about racialization and sexualization through both the analytical and hermeneutic strands within continental philosophy is a very important epistemological project. In our introductions to *Queering Digital India* Rohit Dasgupta and I lay out how queer of color critique provides a framework for bringing together post-colonial thinkers (such as the Subaltern Studies school, as well as Membe and Fanon) with continental philosophy.

Decriminalization of sodomy and trans/gender recognition projects in South Asia take on sexual modernity in assuming that "I," as an individual, is legible to the state as a rights-deserving subject. I find scholars such as Marquis Bey's argument about how cisgender as the binary opposite of trans/gender is a project of white supremacy very helpful in thinking through questions of caste, indigeneity, and gender identity in India. Certain bodies (such as Dalit/Adivasi bodies) are not ascribed gender historically. Adivasi (or those marked as tribal in the Indian census) were considered criminal tribes under British colonialism and so were "Hijras." Thus diverse gender expressions and the "tribal body" were the savage, criminal bodies in need of arrest, containment, and reform. The question of LGBTQ recognition in India has taken a very upper-class Hindu framework of recognition from the family and the nation-state. The Indian nation-state occupies and terrorizes people in Kashmir and many of the North-Eastern tribal communities. Surely, the North-Eastern communities are not seeking inclusion or recognition but rather seeking freedom from military occupation. Queer of color critique, especially scholarship that thinks through the biopolitics of surveillance, control, and settler colonialism, remains vital in writing about communities living under military occupation in India.

JOAO: A queer of color analysis can enrich understanding of the power structures produced by capitalist modernity, showing how "homosexuality," as a category and signifier, is now the language of North/South conflicts. Numerous works by queer thinkers of color such as Paola Bacchetta (2017), Fatima El Tayeb (2012), Jin Haritaworn (2015), and Jasbir Puar (2013) have shown historical and present-day uses of "homosexuality" as a way to differentiate the human from the nonhuman, the white from the non-white, the lives that deserve or not to be lived with dignity.

Queer of color critique's usefulness resides in the fact that it can question the heterosexual dimension of these racist and imperialist processes. However, French decolonial intellectual and political circles (to speak of a

context that I know) reduce sexual imperialism to homonationalism. Heterosexual modernity, when it is mentioned, does not at all give rise to an analysis as rigorous as that to which these circles subject minority sexual identities.

Heterosexuality as it is experienced today in the West, by whites and people of color, even in a differentiated and of course hierarchical way, is also a product of the so-called capitalist modernity: the number of children one has, the age at which one has them, the hegemony of a romantic conception of love, the transformations of the labor market and the changes concerning the place of women in the productive sphere, the multiplication of divorces, new procreation techniques (not accessible to all of course), the effect of migration . . . These transformations are of course not uniform according to race and class, but they affect all social groups. The rise of sexual minorities as social groups (whether culturally or politically) is a by-product of these transformations. Yet, these sexual minorities are specifically designated as symbols of whiteness, even in radical circles, which seems to refuse to challenge this perception.

We must remember one essential thing: heterosexuality does not need to be named or to be self-claimed as an identity to be hegemonic, because it is set as a norm. For sexual imperialism in its homosexual version to work, one must declare oneself homo pro homo, because homosexuality as the transgression needs to be explicitly legible. For instance, threaten such African countries with sanctions if they do not change their laws on homos, or use LGBT flags in Qatar, etc. On the other hand, imperialism in its heterosexual version does not need to announce itself loudly as heterosexual. It suffices for instance to say, among other examples, "African women must have fewer children." Because reproduction has always been an issue in colonialism; we have repeated episodes in different places of colonialism of forced sterilizations on African, Caribbean, or indigenous women. This is heteronationalism—the need to transform the Global South population to fit new labor regimes and consumer markets. But many decolonial thinkers will fail to see this as part sexual imperialism.

Sexual imperialism in the hetero version is also, again without having to say it as such, the imposition of shopping centers in the major African capitals, which transform consumption patterns, create desires assimilated to forms of life associated with the West, transform the relationships between families, men and women. This extension of the capitalist market is the most powerful vector for the assimilation of the populations of the South to Western family models, mostly heterosexual, and then homosexual. Euro-American culturalist documentaries on the South, if they include

more and more the figure of homos oppressed by so-called backward cultures, already included long before the idea that "the young" (read: straight), can't love each other freely, marry whoever they want, "over there."

CHRIS:

> "¡Ni Una Menos!" (Not one [woman or travesti] less!)
>
> "¡Nos Queremos Vivas!" (We want ourselves alive!)
>
> "¡Vivas y desendeudadas nos queremos!" (We want ourselves alive and unindebted!)

These are some of the slogans that have appeared on protest signs in Argentina and throughout the Spanish-speaking Américas at Ni Una Menos protests. The movement has gained considerable momentum in its confrontation with the often fatal violence resulting in what have been called "femicides" and "travesticides," or the classed, racialized, sexualized, and gendered targeting of women and *travestis*.

The first Ni Una Menos demonstration took place in Argentina in 2015, in response to the discovery of a pregnant teenager who was murdered by her boyfriend in the province of Santa Fe. The movement quickly proliferated to other regions, with feminists from Chile, México, Brazil, Perú, Uruguay, Guatemala, and El Salvador joining ranks. The Marea Verde (or Green Tide) movement soon expanded its demands beyond an end to gendered violence, asserting support for bodily autonomy, economic freedom, and the elimination of debt.

Following the threads that link assassination with indebtedness also requires following those that link feminist anti-violence with feminist anti-capitalism, anti-racism, anti-colonialism, and anti-imperialism. Queer of color critique, in its refusals to isolate paradigms of sexualization and gendering from those of racial and national formation, offers capacious analytic terrain. Alongside Marea Verde feminists' own geopolitically expansive reflections on and refusals of abjection, such an approach might partially guide us toward questions that investigate the material conditions of the production of subordinated difference in a transnational register.

Argentine feminists and Marea Verde activists Lucí Cavallero and Verónica Gago open their 2021 treatise *A Feminist Reading of Debt*, with an introductory chapter entitled "Taking Debt Out of the Closet." For them, this means amplifying the tangible and everyday effects of what they call the "financial terror" of global finance and structural adjustment policies (2021:

13). However, it also means engaging the private debt incurred by those—whether waged, informally paid, or unpaid—who have borne the brunt of neoliberalism's more forward-facing extractions. Marea Verde feminists dwell in the intricacies of how women, trans people, and travestis navigate the subordinating relationships between husband and wife, banker and borrower, sex worker and john, factory worker and boss, owner and renter, police and subject of surveillance. These relations are thoroughly heterogenous, and differentially formed in the crucible of colonial invasion, populist nationalism, the persistent reach of the Washington Consensus, and broader economies of extraction. After all, "capital is a formation constituted by discourses of race, gender, and sexuality" (Ferguson 2013: 11). Examining individual and national debt through these discourses lays bare how "the creation of categories of value and valuelessness underpins contemporary racialized necropolitical regulation" (Hong and Ferguson 2011, 16).

DURBA: In *Aberrations in Black* (2003), Rod Ferguson sets an ambitious agenda for queer of color critique to center the history of knowledge in the study of queer life and denaturalize disciplinary norms that shape the study of our social worlds. As he shows, the history of knowledge about the excluded, abject, and the abnormal is always racialized and racial subjection is constituted through sexual abjection, and it is this twinned process of racial queering that makes possible capitalist institutions of the family and the state. In my work, I build on these insights from queer of color critique alongside women of color feminisms to demonstrate how the project of modern social knowledge is made possible through the control of feminized sexuality, produced by and through colonial racial subjection and neocolonial structures of knowledge that undermine the radical project of decolonization. The modern study of social life—the basis of social policy, law, policing, economics, institutions like marriage—is built on the queer, the abject, the abnormal. Queer and trans of color critiques are at their core, to me, about the undoing of knowledge and rethinking the categories we inherit in how we write our social worlds.

When I reflect on Howard Chiang's important intervention on the peculiar spaces of Taiwan and Hong Kong in thinking belonging and coloniality and Christoph Hanssmann's invocation of the total abjection of indebtedness, I feel that we must think with the methods of queer of color critique to understand the violent exclusion of subjects like workers whose abjection is rendered invisible. Migrant workers, sex workers, urban workers, they are rendered powerless in systems of economic dependency. To be

queer, abnormal, abject is to live in conditions of impossibility where people must migrate under difficult conditions, far abroad, or locally move from rural spaces to the city, now because of climate crises. People are incarcerated as stateless subjects in the lands that they travel to for labor, from Dubai to Singapore to streets of a city. Their passports are taken, they are locked in tenement housing, marked as diseased vectors. Queer, gender nonconforming, and trans people are harassed and locked up by the police for their gender presentation, for loitering, for trespassing; they are harassed just for existing. It is a set of conditions that will soon affect much of the world more and all of us, as Sunil Amrith (2022) reminds us that, to be a migrant is to be simultaneously moving and incarcerated in a place that is not home. Queer of theory critique may offer powerful methods to critically assess our current conundrum of the simultaneity of forced migration and forcible capture in an increasingly uninhabitable world.

EVREN AND RANA: *To what extent does positioning queer and trans of color critique as methods objects and subjects, "beyond identity politics" or even "the Human," alleviate or otherwise reconfigure these issues?*

CHRIS: For the last decade, I've followed trans depathologization, or the efforts that trans people undertake to access gender-affirming care affordably and without undue scrutiny or barriers to care. Depathologization activists resist varying rules, laws, and guidelines defining sex/gender non-normativity as pathological. These differentially but persistently structure gender-affirming care, requiring psychiatric diagnoses and coercive assessments to access hormone prescriptions, surgeries, or other treatments and procedures. In their search to bring about what some have called "care without pathology," activists instead insist that they can assess their own needs, and that sex/gender non-normativity is not equivalent to unwellness—mental or otherwise.

During my fieldwork in Buenos Aires, one of the respondents with whom I spoke recounted his experience at a presentation on depathologizing health care to a group of officials. This longtime trans activist, who also had disabilities, described listening to a fellow activist beseech the audience about the need for depathologization by forcefully asserting that she was not ill, but was rather a human being. He laughed at her stark disavowal of disability, as well as her audacious insinuation that people with illness—himself included—were disqualified from humanity.

Disqualifications from humanity, in Sylvia Wynter's terms, spring from the imperialist and universalizing currents of Western epistemology.

Wynter's (2003) account of "Man-as-human" is a particular project of colonial erasure and domination masquerading as universal truth. In it, a bevy of self-replicating systems install, rationalize, and reproduce colonial knowledge to define who counts as human (and more pointedly, who does not). Walter Mignolo (2015: 122) is drawn to what he sees as Wynter's decolonial insistence that those who are excluded from humanity need not insist upon admittance within the terms of these systems, but must instead ask, "What does it mean to be human?"

From this perspective, trans disavowals of illness might be a frantic bid for admittance (see also Awkward-Rich 2022). Starting instead with what it means to be trans and/or Human might provide a more capacious approach to the problem of pathologization. Wynter's decolonial theorizing might inspire a shift away from appeals to wellness on medicine's own terms, and instead toward questions about how pathologization instantiates across regimes of colonization, racialization, or racial capitalism.

The multilayered and imbricated accounts of pathologization also underscore the nuances and asymmetries of colonization and capital accumulation, within which ascriptions of illness, abjection, criminality, and abnormality stick to different bodies in different ways, at different times, and in different sites.

DURBA: It seems to me that the field of transnational queer studies is essential for understanding rising authoritarianisms and forms of state violence that define our present. I believe that the best, most internationalist queer and trans of color critique offer theories of living: living in spite of, living with, living uncomfortably, sometimes the painful impossibility of living. We exist in a time of alarming authoritarianisms around the world, enacted again and again through the violent control and disappearance of women of color, queers, and trans people.

In thinking about queer of color thought as a resource against authoritarianism, I see Neferti Tadiar's (2022) theory of human dispensability and the life that is made outside of the calculus of economic productivity most profound. People in much of the world, seen only as laborers, seek to survive and thrive. They again and again seek the possibility of what Tadiar calls "becoming-human" against a global economic and political order that wages a "war to be human" in the violent paradigms of modern perpetual war in the form of policing and privatized war. These are the wars that are taken up on behalf of the select few who get to be human, for a supremacist vision of "freedom" and "democracy" in the aftermath of 9/11. These wars are waged

by the police and military in America, Nigeria, India, Brazil, and around the world that render poor people, migrants, women, religious minorities, and queer, gender-nonconforming, and trans communities as outside of the domain of humanity. They are uncounted casualties, targets for drones, justified deaths, people "eliminated" because of their threat to public order. Sylvia Wynter (1994) so brilliantly theorized the urgency of the violence around the exclusionary category of the human, to undo the narrative status of dispensability through the LAPD's designation of N.H.I.: "No Humans Involved." Despite these narrative condemnations, the most marginalized people in the world engage in ongoing projects of living. They work, create art, and find community in impossible conditions of displacement and exploitation.

In my current work on the history of Third World feminism and anti-authoritarian thought, I analyze how the feminist study of social and political life in the decolonizing world has shaped a complicated postcolonial economy of knowledge in the form of everything from NGO reports to radical manifestos, diverse genres that shape how we write and argue for the rights of women, queer, and trans people. These critical theories—Third World feminisms, abolitionist and anti-carceral thought, and queer of color and transnational queer and trans studies—are resources for understanding the limits and possibilities of projects of dissent and how we might envision sustained movements against authoritarianism in our times.

JOAO: To move beyond a purely identity-based approach, through a queer and trans of color critique, I think that questioning the place of queer and trans people in production relations is crucial.

Are queer and trans people a "class"? The answer would be a priori no, since the social relationship that opposes them to heterosexuals or cisgender people is not strictly speaking a direct exploitative relationship in the same way as a boss who exploits a worker, but takes more the form of oppression: stigmatization, attacks, discrimination, etc. This does not mean that there are no economic consequences to the oppressions of gender and sexuality, but that we cannot speak of a "heterosexual class" in the face of a "non-heterosexual class," or from a "cisgender class" to a "trans class." But, how can we then understand this economic dimension?

The interest of materialist thought, unlike a purely identity-based approach, is to understand that this situation meets the needs of capitalism and is not the simple result of an anti-trans ideology that is corrected by speeches, even punching actions against transphobia. Jules Gill-Peterson (2018) invites us for instance to think about the economic dimension of the

US-based current anti-trans politics. Clearly, as long as capitalism needs to rely on this gendered, binary, and hierarchical principle in its functioning, transitioning will pose a problem. This does not mean that we should not fight against transphobia in particular, but that we must succeed in understanding the economic bases of transphobic oppression.

This reality of the economic consequences of transphobia combines with those of racism, which is why it is non-white trans people (including men) who are highly represented in the category of "marginal" condemned to the parallel economy whether it is prostitution (especially for women), the sale of drugs, or other forms of illegal and criminalized work. Analyzing homophobia, and especially transphobia, in its relation to capitalism forces us to understand why a question that supposedly only refers to a small number of people, is actually at the core of social and economic orders.

ŞAHIN: Since queer and trans identities, when they circulate transnationally as modern technologies of self-identification, always carry the risk of becoming complicit in the teleological and neoliberal reordering of the incommensurable, such identitarian transplantation is also very likely, as trans and queer of color scholarship has showcased, to eventuate in the racist reproduction of sexological violence and the concurrent act of locating the genesis in the medical archive sanitized of its secular, pecuniary, geopolitical, and necropolitical attachments. How would it be possible, for example, to talk about a trans historiography predicated on the black eunuchs of the Ottoman empire without such strategic positioning? How would it be imaginable for a trans or queer historiography to start with race and/or religion instead of gender? One might no doubt ask myriad analogous questions contingent on discrete geographic spaces and histories. When it comes to positioning queer and trans of color critique beyond the Human, however, I have some reservations not because I do not see its value or urgency but because I also would like to remain wary of its potential hegemonic deployments/consequences. On the one hand, I concur with queer and trans of color scholars such as José Esteban Muñoz (2015), who, in his theorization of the sense of brownness in the world, underscores the importance of thinking incommensurate queer inhumanity to not only unsettle conventional anthropocentric formations of knowledge production deemed universal but also "attune oneself to the potential and actual vastness of being-with." I recognize its conspicuousness and cruciality within the conceptual framework of my own work on slavery as well when I reflect on how the inhabited land, territorial proximity to the empire, and geographic situatedness intersected with racial and religious difference to create conditions of enslavement and

violence. These insights and interpretations only become conceivable through an analytical reckoning with the inhuman/nonhuman. On the other hand, despite the significance of both identifying anthropomorphism as a colonial/capitalist/extractivist project and moving beyond the Human, I find the critical interventions of scholars such as Zakiyyah Iman Jackson (2015, 2020) and Jinthana Haritaworn (2015) invaluable as they remind us how the desire to move beyond the human may indeed betray the desire to move beyond race and reproduce the Eurocentric transcendentalism unless this desire is simultaneously invested in decolonizing the interconnected and persistent processes of dehumanization and racialization.

Overall, all of these substantial engagements with the potential implications of positioning queer and trans of color critique "beyond" categories accentuate the necessity to be in conversation with as well as learn from critical race studies, religious studies, and indigenous studies.

HOWARD: When scholars such as Lisa Lowe note the displacement of the African slave by the Chinese coolie in the 19th-century Atlantic world, they have documented a conceptual eclipse in the modern emergence of liberal humanism in which the fraught racialized division of labor re-justifies—and thus reconceals—itself through a seemingly "post-slavery" rhetoric. If we work with this definition of (modern) humanism, queer and trans of color critique offers methods, objects, and subjects that further trouble "the secular European tradition of liberal philosophy that narrates political emancipation through citizenship in the state, that declares economic freedom in the development of wage labor and an exchange market, and that confers civilization to the human person educated in aesthetic and national culture, in each case unifying particularity, difference, or locality through universal concepts of reason and community" (Lowe 2006: 192) The point that Şahin makes about bringing the black eunuchs of the Ottoman empire into a dialogue about "the global itinerary of racial capitalism" exemplifies such a possibility. Another congruent "subject," which has not been elaborated in this conversation yet, is the hijras of South Asia. The fact that race is decisively implicated across these various exemplars of "eunuchs," including the Chinese eunuch I discussed earlier, suggests that the critique of modern humanism can be strengthened when "intimacy"—in the way Lowe invokes it—becomes a queered modality of investigation in a transcultural framework.

What is at stake concerns the origins of definitions, whether around particular sets of identity or assemblages of the human, as well as the challenge to route theory and critique beyond binary constructions, including the West and the Rest, male and female, black and white, and so forth. That

the instability of gender and sexual configurations provide an axial approach to rethink the accrued value of identity and the human questions the enduring labor performed by conceptual attachments to these constructs from the start. In my book *Transtopia in the Sinophone Pacific* (2021), I genealogize a Chinese category of trans inhumanism, *renyao* ("human-monster"), which squarely places geopolitics at the heart of trans history. From the viewpoint of Western trans studies, the *renyao* figure is explicitly othered and racialized in relation to the canon of trans historiography. Thus, the positioning of queer and trans of color critique demands a space of post-identitarian and post-humanisitic thinking, which would otherwise be similarly "eclipsed" by a persistent obsession with identities and humanisms defined around the tradition of European liberalism. Let me be absolutely clear: "European" here does not automatically stand for whiteness. Yet the implicitly racialized construct of the "European," perhaps standing more for the proper human, has been imitated across the Pacific, such as when the Japanese sought to lead a definition of the pan-Asian race in the early twentieth century or when the Han Chinese claim Han-ness as a property through capitalist accumulation.

References

Amin, Kadji. 2018. "Glands, Eugenics, and Rejuvenation in *Man into Woman*: A Biopolitical Genealogy of Transsexuality" *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly* 5, no. 4: 589–605.

Amrith, Sunil. 2022. "Life, Moving: Notes from a Small Island" talk delivered at the Mahindra Center for the Humanities, Harvard University, November 28.

Arondekar, Anjali. 2009. *For the Record: On Sexuality and the Colonial Archive in India*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Awkward-Rich, Cameron. 2022. *The Terrible We: Thinking with Trans Maladjustment*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Bacchetta, Paola. 2017. "Murderous Conditions and LQT POC Decolonial-Anti Capitalist Life Imaginings in France" In double special issue on "Postcolonial Queers in Europe," *Lambda Nordica*. 22, nos. 2–3 :153–73.

Beauchamp, Toby. 2013. "The Substance of Borders: Transgender Politics, Mobility, and US State Regulation of Testosterone" *GLQ*, 19, no. 1: 57–78.

Bhattacharya, Tithi. 2017. *Social Reproduction t\Theory: Remapping Class, Recentering Oppression*. London: Pluto Press.

Bhattacharyya, Gargi. 2018. *Rethinking Racial Capitalism*. London; Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield International.

Brickell, K., and Datta, A. 2016. *Translocal Geographies: Spaces, Places, Connections*. Burlington, VT : Ashgate Publishing.

Cavallero, Lucí, and Verónica Gago. 2010. *A Feminist Reading of Debt*. London: Pluto Press. Translated by Liz Mason-Deese.

Charmaz, Kathy. 2003. "Grounded Theory: Objectivist and Constructivist Methods." In Norm. K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Strategies for Qualitative Inquiry* 2nd ed., 249–91. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Chatterjee, Indrani. 2002. *Gender, Slavery and Law in Colonial India*. London: Oxford University Press.

Chiang, Howard. 2021. *Transtopia in the Sinophone Pacific*. NewYork: Columbia University Press.

DasGupta, Rohit, and Debanuj DasGupta. 2018. *Queering Digital India: Activism, Identities and Subjectivities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Davis, Angela Yvonne. 1983. *Women, Race, and Class*. New York: Vintage.

Davis, Muriam Haleh. 2022. *Markets of Civilization: Islam and Racial Capitalism in Algeria*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

El Tayeb, Fatima. 2012. "'Gays who cannot properly be gay': Queer Muslims in the Neoliberal European City." *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 19, no. 1: 79–95.

Ferguson, Roderick A. 2003. *Aberrations in Black: Toward a Queer of Color Critique*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Ferguson, Roderick A. 2015. "Queer of Color Critique and the Question of the Global South." In *The Global Trajectories of Queerness*, edited by Ashley Tellis and Sruti Bala, 49–56. Leiden: Brill.

Gill-Peterson, Jules. 2018. *Histories of the Transgender Child*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Hanssmann, Christoph. 2023. *Care Without Pathology: How Trans- Health Activists Are Changing Medicine*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Haritaworn, Jin. 2015. "Decolonizing the Non/Human." *GLQ* 21, nos. 2–3: 210–13.

Haritaworn, Jinthana. 2015. *Queer Lovers and Hateful Others: Regenerating Violent Times and Places*. London: Pluto Press.

Hong, Grace Kyungwon, and Roderick Ferguson. 2011. *Strange Affinities: The Gender and Sexual Politics of Comparative Racialization*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Jaaware, Aniket. 2018. *Practicing Caste: On Touching and Not Touching*. New York: Fordham University Press.

Jackson, Zakiyyah Iman. 2015. "Outer Worlds: The Persistence of Race in Movement 'Beyond the Human.'" *GLQ* 21, nos. 2–3: 215–18.

Jackson, Zakiyyah Iman. 2020. *Becoming Human: Matter and Meaning in an Antiblack World*. New York: New York University Press.

Lowe, Lisa. 2006. "The Intimacies of Four Continents." In *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, edited by Ann Laura Stoler, 191–212. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Lowe, Lisa. 2015. *The Intimacies of Four Continents*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Machado, P. 2015. *Ocean of Trade: South Asian Merchants, Africa and the Indian Ocean. C.1750–1850*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mitra, Durba. 2021. "'Surplus Woman': Female Sexuality and the Concept of Endogamy." *Journal of Asian Studies* 80, no. 1: 3–26.

Mitra, Durba. 2020. *Indian Sex Life: Sexuality and the Colonial Origins of Modern Social Thought*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Morgan, Jennifer L. 2021. *Reckoning with slavery: Gender, kinship, and capitalism in the early black Atlantic*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Muñoz, José Esteban. 2015. "Theorizing Queer Inhumanisms: The Sense of Brownness." *GLQ* 21, nos. 2–3: 209–10.

Ong, A., and Ray, A. 2011. *Worlding Cities: Asian Experiments and the Art of Being Global*. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Patel, Geeta. 2006. "Risky Subjects: Insurance, Sexuality, and Capital," *Social Text* 24, no. 4 (89): 25–65.

Pierce, Joseph M., María Amelia Viteri, Diego Falconí Trávez, Salvador Vidal-Ortiz, and Lourdes Martínez-Echazábal. 2021. "Introduction: *Cuir*/Queer Américas: Translation, Decoloniality, and the Incommensurable." *GLQ* 27, no. 3: 321–27.

Puar, Jasbir. 2013. "Rethinking Homonationalism" *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 45, no. 2: 336–39.

Rifkin, Mark. 2010. *When Did Indians Become Straight? Kinship, the History of Sexuality, and Native Sovereignty*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Rizki, Cole. 2020. "No State Apparatus Goes to Bed Genocidal Then Wakes Up Democratic": Fascist Ideology and Transgender Politics in Post-dictatorship Argentina." *Radical History Review* 138: 82–107.

Robinson, Cedric J. 2020. *Black Marxism: The making of the black radical tradition*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Rothman, Roger. 2020. "Anarchism and the Hermeneutics of Faith." *Modernism/modernity* 27: 429–45.

Sacchi, Duen, Dana Galán/David Aruquipa, Ochy Curiel, Marlene Wayar, John Michael Hughson. 2021. "Disobedient Epistemologies and Decolonial Histories: A Forum on Latin American Praxis." *GLQ* 27, no. 3: 329–4.

Sanchez, Melissa E. 2019. *Queer Faith: Reading Promiscuity and Race in the Secular Love Tradition*. New York: New York University Press.

Santos, Boaventura de Sousa. 2014. *Epistemologies of the South: Justice Against Epistemicide*. New York: Routledge.

Sosa Villada, Camila. 2019. *Las Malas*. Buenos Aires: Tusquets Editores S. A.

Spillers, Hortense. 2018. "To the Bone: Some Speculations on Touch" lecture delivered March 23 at Studium Generale Rietveld Academie, Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Viewed on April 30, 2023. https://youtu.be/AvL4wUKIfpo.

Strassfeld, Max, and Henderson-Espinoza, R. 2019. "Introduction: Mapping Trans Studies in Religion." *Transgender Studies Quarterly* 6, no.3: 283–96.

Tadiar, Neferti XM. 2022. *Remaindered Life*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

TallBear, Kim. 2013. *Native American DNA: Tribal belonging and the false promise of genetic science*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Toledano, Ehud R. 1998. *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Wang, Thelma. 2022. "Becoming with Hormones: DIY Feminizing Hormone Therapy of Trans People in China." Unpublished manuscript for Thinking Gender Conference workshop, UCLA.

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

Wynter, Sylvia. 1994. "No Humans Involved: An Open Letter to My Colleagues." *Forum N.H.I.: Knowledge for the 21st Century* 1, no. 1.