feral feminisms
Transnationalizing Homonationalism
issue 11 · summer 2022

The Revolutionary Wonderings of Queer-Feminist Egyptians and Muslims

Mohamed Abdou

This article showcases revolutionary anti-homonationalist trajectories emergent from a historical-archival and ethnographic-activist-based Ph.D. Transcending the genealogy of popular nationalist-statist and religious enforcements of postcolonial cisheteronormativity in Egypt, the fieldwork demonstrates my narrators' decolonial resistance to the former. The participants illuminate the neocolonial/neoimperial conditions that frame the circulatory geopolitical relationship between Islām and queerness in franchise-colonial Egypt and settler-colonial U.S./Canada, in an age where sexual-gender diversity is a hallmark of neoliberal 'secular' modernity, whose advent historically exposed all non-Europeans to a plethora of false competing dualisms such as secular/religious and heterogeneity/homogeneity, as well as homonationalism (al-qawmiyyah al-mithlīya) and pinkwashing (al-ghasīl al-banafsajī).

This contribution draws on my completed interdisciplinary and transnational historical-archival and ethnographic PhD dissertation, titled *Islam & Queer Muslims: Identity and Sexuality in the Contemporary* (2019). In the course of my research, I interviewed queer Muslims in Turtle Island and, amongst others, queer Nubian and Sudanese-Egyptians in Egypt. The research offers decolonial, gender-based readings and formulations of queerness through my participants' diverse and complex experiences, which evade the apparent tidiness of narrow homonationalist Euro-American LGBTIQA categories that characterize queer scholarship.

While the spiritual initiatives of diasporic queer Muslims in the settler-colonial context of the United States and Canada clarify the urgent need for a radical, decolonial reinterpretation of Islām, the revolutionary participation of queer Egyptians during the so-called 'Arab Spring/Islamist Winter' offers crucial challenges both to discourses on gender/sexuality in the South West Asia and North Africa (SWANA) region, and academic-activist literatures on revolutionary social action. Transnationally, queer Egyptians and Muslims in particular appear as single theorists and actors of radical political activity, not the co-opted and duped pawns of the "Gay Empire" as they negotiate the racist, Islamophobic, and anti-feminist pitfalls of homonationalism that I enumerate here. This exploration should force radical social theorists to consider postcolonial/decolonial queer-feminist politics as a primary basis for determining the shape and course of future revolutionary theory and praxis in this current xenophobic and Islamophobic geopolitical moment. The first section of this article highlights the research's theoretical/methodological foundations, and gaps in the literature that the work seeks to fill. In the following section, and prior to concluding, I share some of my participants' voices that illuminate homonationalism's patriarchal, statist, anti-spiritual, and anti-BIPOC foundations and, in turn, the ethical-political commitments they elucidate that are necessary for a decolonial conceptualization of queerness if we are to embrace it.

Theoretical and Methodological Foundations

The multiple positions that emerged from the original 30 interviews with 15 participants from both sites of the research, Egypt and Turtle Island, are too rich to be essentialized. They can only be interpreted by adopting open-ended theoretical positions that recognize the participants' dynamic and infinite capacity to morph in non-totalizable ways. The individual semi-structured interviews offer accounts too fragile to be captured in clichéd statements about same-sex SWANA and Muslim desires. But when the range and strands of the participants' views are translated, interpreted, and collectively examined without pre-impositions they expose a political-decolonial ethos that the work supports. The fieldwork participants did not offer competing claims. Instead, their differences demonstrate why centring a critique of cis-heteropatriarchy's impact on gender and the creation of autonomous, decolonial, land-based alternatives, rather than an explicit focus on sexual identities and rights, yields a comprehensive strategy for liberation more so than any single narrative could. The PhD research participants do not perceive their identities as being static but rather as ever-exhibiting a condition of metamorphosis and (r)evolutionary *becoming*.

The participants and I were undoubtedly entangled in asymmetrical power relations that can be delineated but never eliminated. Mine include male-privilege and my familiarity with patriarchal/matriarchal practices, access to education, pedagogy, discursive knowledge, my Euro-American accent, and my two-decades of radical social movement experience as a non-ideological, anti-authoritarian, and anti-capitalist Muslim anarchist. I concentrated on the participants' linguistic contortions when they theorized their desire to unravel alternative ethico-political derivative meanings and commitments in relation to how they define themselves, their relationships to each other and Islām, and why, when, and how they chose to embrace or transcend Euro-American LGBTIQA categorizations.

Arising from the research is a method I refer to as "queer Muslim critique," which cannot be underestimated, given its engagement with theological debates pertinent to *fatwās* (jurisprudential adjunctions) and Muslim communities as to the (il)licitness of same-sex practices. This way, queer Muslim critique builds on Muslim scholarship that argues that while Islamic practices and Muslim cultural practices may intersect, the two practices are not to be conflated (Al-Barghouti 2008; Hallaq 2014).

A queer Muslim critique is not only necessary to discern what Islām claims for itself in relation to gender and sexual ethics, but also to analyze how U.S./Canadian "conquistador" settler colonialism weaponizes racialized queerness through homonationalism underpinned by Euro-American Christian secular humanist assumptions that works in the service of empire to designate BIPOC peoples as non-humans (King 2019). This critique facilitates the interrogation of the nexus of racial, sexual, colonial, imperial, and gendered identities that situates queer SWANA and Muslim subjectivities in both settler and franchise colonial societies. A queer Muslim critique seeks to directly intervene in current debates within transnational queer people of colour and feminist scholarship, while remaining attentive to the ways in which they are part of the settler-colonial context. Queer Muslim critique employs a decolonial method of discourse and narrative analysis to search for and interpret what is unspoken or normalized and left in place in the case studies and interviews due to shame, fear, anxiety, and angst. It also explores the violence and liberation that arrives with and beyond the (neo)Conservative/Orientalist reproduction of queer Muslim subjectivities and Islām. The objective of the critique is to affirm the intellectual ethnographies of often-silenced "disappeared" voices and foster debates that expose differences, not as interruptions of—in this instance—queer and Muslim politics, but

rather as formations worthy of study, such as contentious, geopolitical, border-crossing deliberations. As a subject and subject-less critique, queer Muslim critique challenges neo-orthodox Muslim scholars who argue that same-sex practices are immoral Euro-American imports. It also challenges Muslim LGBTIQA stances that uphold homonationalism. Queer Muslim critique is based on the understanding that the Euro-American instrumentalist notion of desire attached to the word "queer" cannot explain queer Muslims' lives and desires in Islām. Queer Muslim critique contends that it is impossible to study gender and sexuality without engaging critical race, anti-racist feminist, and ethnic studies.

To this project I bring my years of research involvement under the auspices of Dr. Richard J.F. Day's *Affinity Project* between 2002-2011, which includes twenty years of activist research centring on Palestinian, Black, and people of colour liberation. I also draw on my experiences with the Mohawks of Tyendinaga, the Indigenous Zapatista movement in Chiapas, Mexico, and participation in the Egyptian uprisings of 2011. The *Affinity Project* focused on decolonial, anti-pink-washing, anti-homonationalist, non-statist and non-capitalist, local, regional, and transnational social justice movements animated by a "politics of affinity." In other words, a politics anchored in "non-universalizing, non-hierarchical, non-coercive relationships" as well as "mutual aid and shared ethical [queer-feminist] commitments" (Day 2005, 9). Amongst the concerns these movements address are abolition and land-based struggles bent on the intentional building of self-reliant and sustainable militant communities whose ethical-political commitments are premised on self-determination in opposition to capitalist nation-state paradigms.

My PhD research demonstrates that in the absence of a decolonial trajectory to illuminate Islām, gender and queerness' entwined geopolitical relationship to nation-state and citizenship politics, progressives, liberals, and leftist academics, and activists have reproduced anti-intersectional, homonationalist strategies based on identity of interests or positions. We have not seen nearly enough analysis of the interplay between colonization and imperialism, nor how global Orientalism is pitted against settler-colonialism. The PhD participants were central to illuminating decolonial queer-feminist narratives/analyses that address the circulatory dynamics of racialized Muslims' gender and queerness and their functioning in the entwined relationship between settler-colonial (United States/Canada) and franchise colonial societies (like Egypt) that are symbolically, spiritually, historically, and materially interrelated. This is critical given that settler-colonialism, homonationalism, and cis-heteropatriarchy in the United States/Canada fuels imperialism and the upholding of secular-military and religious dictatorships abroad that result in the subjugation of entire peoples in "postcolonial" nations such as Egypt who become gendered/queered by Euro-American sexual and racial civilizationalism. What generally follows is a diasporic yearning to migrate to the United States/Canada by legitimately oppressed queer-feminist SWANA people of colour who are then pressured to become good settler subjects who participate in settler colonialism, and hence contribute to the ongoing colonization of Indigenous peoples as well as "afterlife of slavery" projects that sustain anti-Blackness (Hartman 2008).

Settler-colonial power targets queer-feminist SWANA Muslims as outsiders (i.e., through global Orientalism). However, what facilitates and nourishes homonationalism and this Western imperial Orientalizing are the other forms of white supremacist Othering that precede or intersect with it, such as the Othering of Indigenous people or anti-Black racism. My research explores the divergent and mutual neocolonial/neoimperial modes of medical, judicial, and militarized nationalist control in Egypt as well as in the United States/Canada that influence queer Muslims' and Egyptians' ability to engage in effective local, regional, and transnational solidarities. Egypt serves as a useful site of study, not only because of the way it captured the

world's attention with the Tahrir uprisings, but also because it represents the wellspring of pan-Arab and pan-Islamist thought and possesses a historically and geographically unique geopolitical strategic location within the SWANA region. What politically effervesces in Egypt affects and ripples across Arab and predominantly Muslim societies globally.

Anatomy of the Argument: Filling in the Gaps

Homonationalization demonstrates that queer-feminist integration into a nation-state does not necessarily undermine society's cis-heterosexual structure, or more critically, its patriarchal one. In fact, it supports and conceals the "anti-intersectional" sexist, classist, racist, and colonial/imperial citizenship axes and politics that structure the latter, while simultaneously rendering queer-feminism and spirituality as contradictory terms (Brandzel 2016). This way, queer Muslims and queer Egyptians are only permitted to exist in the Orientalist fantasy of perversely sexualized-gendered terrorist corporealities that are already queer, and improperly so, because their queerness (as well as feminism) is perceived as contradictory to Islām (Puar 2007).

The majority of queer of colour studies have focused on expanding the interrogation of sexuality's contemporary carnal and dynamic relationship to citizenship, nationalism, race, and gender politics. They have done so while undermining the triumph of individualist neoliberal marketplaces that obscure conflicts between global capital, labour, and the biopolitics and necropolitics of gendered, racialized, and sexualized bodies in a post-9/11 era (Duggan 2012; Gopinath 2005; Agathangelou, Bassichis and Spira 2008; Mikdashi 2012).

A growing amount of diasporic queer of colour scholarship is beginning to address anti-Blackness and engage queer Black studies. However, save for a minority of exceptions, they often refrain from explicitly responding to queer Indigenous studies' decolonial demands for land rematriation and critiques of how liberal and progressive aspirations for assimilation and discourses centred on civic rights by diasporic queer of colour peoples ostensibly implicates them in settler-colonialism and in turn homonationalism (Jackman and Upadhyay 2014; Minai and Shroff 2019). Queer of colour critiques continue to naively undertheorize settler-colonialism as a structure, and are dismissive of anti-statist social movement works/theories that are necessary for conceiving land-based allyship and liberation beyond rhetorical anti-imperialist, post-colonial, and anti-colonial critiques. This undertheorizing also undermines homonationalism's seductive circuitries relating to queer rights, marriage, and assimilationist calls for "democratic" reform in both settler-colonial and so-called "postcolonial" nations in the name of the liberal and progressive legitimizing of representative democracy (Nair 2010; Spade and Willse 2015). Furthermore, queer of colour studies shy away from directly addressing what Michel Foucault referred to as "political spirituality" and political-theological discourses, and therefore remain within what M. Jacqui Alexander refers to as the "spiritual closet" (Foucault 2007, 375; Foucault in Afary and Anderson 2005, 186; Alexander 2006, 15).

There are crossover discussions between scholarship on racialized and gendered/queered Islamophobia and queer of colour critiques (Minai and Shroff 2019; Gopinath 2005). These crossovers are also arguably relevant to even queer Indigenous and queer Black discourses that have sought to address how Indigenous-Black relations are creased by white settler-colonialism, whose divide and conquer strategies pit native against native and black against black (Amadahy and Lawrence 2010; King 2019; Tuck and Yang 2012; Jackson 2012). Whereas historically both entities were mutually engaged through treaty and other forms of cooperative relationships, the impact of white colonialism resulted in fraught conflicts as some

Native people enslaved Black people, and some Black people participated in Indigenous extermination, expulsion, and land theft. And yet, in other instances, we see how fused Afro-Indigenous identities are a living embodiment of these two worlds and the intertwining of Indigenous and Black peoples' fates and futurities. My fieldwork sought to theoretically and practically fill the aforementioned major gaps.

Generally speaking, thus far, scholarship on queer Muslims can be divided into two broad streams, though there certainly exist intersections between both brooks. The first consists of the work of "religious" queer scholars who are keen on theologically reconciling queer and racialized Muslim identities while adopting an explicitly identitarian focus that perceives pre-modern queer terms and gender-dissident practices as congruent with contemporary modern Euro-American identities (Kugle 2010; Safi 2003; Jahangir and Abdullatif 2016; Prado 2007). The second stream of research consists of "cultural" approaches that identify historical-sociological descriptive accounts of same-sex practices in pre-modern Muslim societies and trouble the historiographical assumption that modern and pre-modern terms relating to gender-dissidence can be understood as synonymous.

From a cultural and spiritual perspective, both approaches are necessary in affirming diverse gender-queer expressions to mainstream Muslims in what is often a sterilized and sanitized history that spans 1442 years. However, both approaches are also often equally disengaged from decolonial social movement theories/studies, as well as queer of color, queer Black, and queer Indigenous critiques and radical politics. Despite the fact that the cultural critiques are more conscious of the problem of being ahistorical, both religious and cultural scholarships are anchored in liberal and progressive politics. They ultimately fall into the analogical pit-trap relating to the "politics of translation" as *assimilation*, or the ontological/epistemological assumption that there can be congruency between contemporary sexual identities and pre-modern gender-dissident practices (Spivak 1992; Mahmood 2005; Massad 2015a). Now, transliterated terms such as queer (*kwīr*) or gender (*jindr*) are prevalent on Arabic websites, and often mistranslated or associated with judgmental notions of deviance, or peculiarity (*shudhūdh*), and even phrases such as *al-hawiyāt al-jinsī ya al-la namaṭiya*, more or less equivalent to "atypical sexual identities." The terminologies recur in relation to other dehistoricized modern and medieval terms such as *khawal*, *mukhannath*, *mujun/majin*, *ma'bun*, *lūṭi*, *mu'ajar*, *amrad*, and *hulaqi* (Kamal 2008; Babayan and Najmabadi 2008).

Neither of the literatures gives enough consideration to homonationalist politics in framing their conversations about queer Muslim lives. After all, contemporary homonationalist politics are not only anchored in racial capitalism but, in a neoliberal age, they are also inseparable from nation-statist "politics of recognition" (Coulthard 2014, 9). However, pre-modern Muslim societies cannot be understood from the vantage of modern capitalist systems or nation-state discourses since both are Euro-colonial products of a purported secular modernity, as scholars on Islamic anarchism, historians, and political scientists have argued (Abdou, 2020, 2009; Hallaq, 2014; Al-Barghouti, 2008). This recognition-based approach contributes to a particular toothless deployment of decolonization and intersectionality in ways that strip the power of these concepts. It stands in stark contrast to what decolonization explicitly entails: an anti-statist, anti-capitalist, social justice, spiritual trajectory centered on land-based struggles. This shortchanging of anti-statist critiques underestimates homonationalism's reliance on statist politics and is dismissive of Indigenous feminist-queer works that explicitly address how land affects the meaning of what constitutes private and public property, mobility, and movements across Empire's imperial and colonially produced settler and franchise-state borders (Tuck and Yang 2012; Walia, 2013). Indeed, how land defines our spiritual, gendered, and sexual

communitarian interrelations, kinship, taxonomies of desire, and reproductive and transformative justice, as well as the realms of the "private" (*khuṣuṣiyāt*) and "public" (*ʿumūmiyāt*) that have also ceased to exist in a totalitarian post-Snowden surveillance age.

My PhD work sought to re-centre Islām from both a historical-socio-cultural as well as a political-theological perspective. Though Islām operates as a quintessential racialized signifier, its spiritual significance and significations are ignored within queer-feminist literature and broader social movement struggles except when culturally referencing the "War on Terror" and its codified racial/gendered implications. Muslim experiences and the racist depictions of them as "savages" and "heathens" stretches back to three crusades that sought to racialize/sectarianize Islām. This was prior even to the expulsion of Muslims and Jews from Spain and the Reconquista Fall of Granada in 1492, that ironically, is in serendipitous tandem to the Columbian conquistador invasion of the Americas and the ushering in of an imperialist settler-colonial project (Sayyid 2014; Grosfoguel 2006). Moreover, a significant number of transatlantic slaves to the Americas were Muslims from the Iberian Peninsula prior to their forced conversion to a Euro-American conceived Christianity.

Black and non-Black Muslim scholars have argued that Islamophobia and anti-Blackness are not necessarily mutually exclusive (Wheeler 2015; Auston 2015; Beydoun 2013; Abdul Khabeer 2016). This is similarly the case with Indigenous and Muslim struggles and the history of relations between Islām and the Caribbean and the growing number of Latinx peoples and their descendants choosing to embrace Islām in the Americas (Khan 2020). Though secularism "weld[s] the two ends of modernity/coloniality," often enough diasporas in Turtle Island buy into the myth that the United States/Canada are secular despite their founding on white supremacist religious pillars like Manifest Destiny, Doctrines of Discovery, and individualist Protestant laws that inform private notions of property and kinship (Yountae 2020). These pillars are antithetical to radical BIPOC discourses and, arguably, to Islamic notions of a global borderless community (*Umma*) of Muslims and non-Muslims grounded in a *politics of responsibility* as opposed to a rights-based politics. In this sense, my work seeks to politically-theologically unsettle contemporary anthropological understandings of religion as a spiritual category tainted by a Euro-American individualist, universalist, "rational" understanding of it. To do so I build on transnational feminist and critical race scholarship such as Sylvia Chan Malik's work which argues that it is impossible "to do religion without race" or "race without religion" (2020; Anzaldua 1987; Shohat, 1992).

My research also draws on scholar-activist works that have established links between the experiences of Indigenous and Black peoples in Turtle Island and Palestine (Olwan 2015; Salaita 2016). Palestine is significant to all Muslims for three reasons. First, from a spiritual-social justice perspective it is the first qibla (direction) that Muslims initially prayed to, prior to the Qur'ānic commandment in verse 2:149 that Muslims shift their praying gaze towards Mecca's cubic stone structure (*al-Kaʿbah al-Musharrafah*) in the middle of the Haram Mosque (*al-Masjid al-Ḥarām*). Second, it is a divisive wedge internally fracturing the Liberal and Democratic parties in Canada and the United States. Third, Palestine is also central given that some queer Egyptians participate in pink-washing under the perception that settler-colonial and white supremacist Israel is a queer safe haven. Fourth, Egypt is one of the two central jailers of Gazans and has been complicit in Palestinian occupation since the 1978 Camp David peace accords between Israel and Egypt. Dismissing our diasporic Muslim role in settler-colonialism and buying into hyphenated-American/Canadian identities in the name of multicultural assimilation makes us arrivant Muslims no different from Zionist settlers in Palestine. Denying that role irresponsibly constitutes an active refusal to acknowledge how we live on and benefit from stolen

land, the true wealth and capital (Wolf 2007). Instead of appealing for settler-colonial state recognition, I suggest that diasporic Muslims divest from anything to do with the settler-state (including voting) and instead reinvest their efforts in land-based struggles centred on Indigenous and Black Power projects, such as free clinics and schools. The goal is to undermine Empire from within in order to disrupt the settler-colonies' ability to uphold repressive regimes abroad, such that Egyptians and global Others can liberate themselves.

The ethnographic narrators in my research were opposed to Gay Internationalist victimhood narratives. My interviews with Egyptian participants included a gay conscript in the Egyptian military, a Coptic Christian, a transgender sex worker, Sunnis, Sufis, Shi'ites, and in some cases non-denominational, yet spiritual queer-feminist activists in Egypt. Themes that emerged from the research included lamentations on: patriarchal, socially constructed perceptions of *ḥarām* (what is regarded as Islamically forbidden), and shame (*ʿār* or *ʿeib*); my participants' inception of alternative knowledge production, anti-gender-based sexual harassment, and queer-feminist abolitionist and spiritual alternatives; the reproduction of asymmetries of power in relationships (online/offline); the general absence of *thaqāfa* (cultural consciousness) and *ijtihād* (the Islamic right to spiritual reinterpretation); Arab Supremacy; and Black on Black ethno-centrism in the particular context of the United States/Canada.

The Anti-Homonationalist Revolutionary Rise of Queer-Feminist Egyptian and Muslim Social Justice

Some of the participants in my research identified with queer strategically, others tactically, and yet others prefer local, even historical, pre-modern native terms. By tactical I mean that they embrace the label as an interim decision that is spatially and temporally specific and hence malleable. This tactic is a socio-political, even cultural and spiritual move that is deployed to gain a momentary objective. In contrast, a strategy of identifying or disidentifying as queer implies engaging in socio-political, cultural, and spiritual positions that are components of a movement that involves complex operational patterns, activities, and diverse tactics and decision-making elements.

Though Euro-American macro-political hegemony is undeniable, scholars like Guy Burak, Rud Peters, Khaled Fahmy, and Liat Kozma have paradoxically shown how the false binary framework of the "East/West" is in fact limited, given that global culture has been interconnectedly forged through polyvalent encounters, across pre-modern and modern history. The participants in my research prove their micro-political agentive capacity by engaging in disidentifying political actions relative to queerness and Islām as a means of "managing and negotiating the historical trauma and systemic violence[s]" to which they have been exposed (Muñoz 1999, 161; Pêcheux 1982).

Anti-Homonationalist Conceptualizations of Queer

Aisha, who describes herself as "Sudanese, African, Arab, Egyptian, Black" and a "90% lesbian woman" does "not like the identity queer," because "to me, it's a label for no label." She notes, her "identification follows through from her practices" and what she "does and not the other way around." It is the ethical-political commitments that determine her "embracing or rejection of particular identities [...] whether in the bedroom or in public." She states that her "politics in general and queerness, if I am to accept it, emerge from active choices that are grounded in

anarchistic practices." Although Aisha rejects most pre-modern terms, she prefers "*ẓarīf-a*." It is a pre-modern "Muslim fluid term, denoting wit and emotional intelligence" beyond that which is physically objectifying, as it does not overtly sexualize her and is not particularly derogatory and, yet, is feminist (Habib 2012). Aisha believes that the institutionalized "idea of gay marriage within itself reasserts male dominance and dominion," as it "reproduces a hegemonic patriarchal paradigm [*haymana abawīya*]" that is embodied in "capitalist nation-states" (or *al-dawla al-rasmālīya*). She is opposed to "militarized interventionist and neoliberalized schemas of queer globalization, as well as the (dis)empowering NGO-ization and economic development paradigms pertaining to queer, feminist and human rights issues." Aisha notes, "some queers in Egypt turn to Islamic interpretations while others go to the other side," embracing atheism (*ilhād*), even "homonationalism" (or *al-qawmiyyah al-mithlīya*) and "pink-washing" (or *al-ghasīl al-banafsajī*). They may even become staunchly Islamophobic as they try "to find safety in learning their options." Here, Aisha rejects queerness as a sexual identity and recognizes its emergence as a critique of all identity politics prior to its globalist mainstreaming as a sexual identity that revolves around gay marriage, (neo)liberal rights, and Orientalist coming out narratives, as queer-feminist Indigenous, Black, and queer of colour scholarships argue (Ferguson 2004; Driskill et al 2011).

Sudanese-Egyptian Mariam prefers identifying as '*mithlīyat al-jins*,' although she is not averse "to the label queer." To Mariam, "the Arabic term *mithlīya* is more expressive than English terms and labels of her "local, geographic, political, and linguistic situating." Mariam, like Aisha, appreciates the term *ẓarīf-a*, as it represents a "return to terms within our histories and traditions," and hence entails a "recovery and reclaiming of her identity."

Tanzanian-born, and refugee to Turtle Island El-Farouk Khaki, co-founder of the explicitly queer-positive, anti-racist, feminist, and "non-hierarchical group and inclusive prayer space *El-Tawhid Juma Circle* and before it *Salaam*," attributes his identification with the descriptor "gay" to a generational and cultural trend growing up. El-Farouk states, "the term queer wasn't relevant then" and there was "not even a notion that there was any sort of [a queer Muslim] identity." El-Farouk's queerness is anchored in his interest in anti-authoritarian socially just practices as they pertain to his race/ethnicity as a refugee, and his belief in egalitarian gender relations. El-Farouk also emphasizes his affinity with the "word *ǧarīb* (or strange), as being or becoming queer as Other, or that which is other." El-Farouk believes that "as a political frame the word queer is beautiful because it shifts the paradigm of otherness and centralizes otherness in that analysis," and highlights how "at the same time, every other person seems to be queer today." El-Farouk's notion of queerness is anchored in spirituality as well as in the anti-identitarian philosophy of "embracing your labels to let go of them, because they are just ways of understanding as opposed to ways of separating, and what closed societies do is they use labels as a way of separating, and that's what the difference is." El-Farouk is emphasizing the dynamic mobilization of liberationist struggles through a conjunctive "and" logic, as opposed to a disjunctive, binary "or." El-Farouk's queerness speaks to not only the tactical utility of identity politics, but also their strategic constraints when deployed, given the incumbent Islamic challenge to value, but also transcend, identitarian constructs.

Irrespective of their identitarian/non-identitarian preferences in relating to the term queer, Aisha, Mariam, and El-Farouk have fluid understandings of identity politics (*siyāsāt al-hawīya*) that disrupt homonationalist circuitries that rely on compartmentalized LGBTIQA identities.

Queerness as Anti-Patriarchal, Anti-Statist, Feminist, and Holistically Just

Mariam notes some same-sex practicing Egyptian men "feel that due to social pressures and their own fears, bisexuals will choose to practice only a part of their sexual identity that coincides with an acclimating sexuality that is more secure and easier to deal with socially in a heterosexist society." She continues, "it's like having someone be a part of you (your community or group) but at the same time isn't—it feels like betrayal, but for me that's a mental component of our struggle, and it has to do with feeling betrayal and *khizlăn* [deep disappointment]." Mariam elaborates, "gays and lesbians in Egypt, well, they don't even realize that their identity is constructed upon binaries" and this "system's existence for them is important" because it gives a false sense of inner peace and stability. It also reifies their oppression, severed as they are from others with whom they share a mutual struggle. Mariam states that in Egypt, "there have to be clearly defined categories of women and men, and so the system and all the minds socialized by it can't wrap its head or absorb fluidity." In other words, "gays and lesbians undergo immense violent mental health pressures that they have to always be specific in terms of categories [...], so there's always a reversion to binary systems." Mariam is "aware and empathizes that gay marriage is a matter of priorities of people in different contexts." However, it also needs to be seen in relation to local people's priorities, and there are far more imminent and pressing social justice concerns in Egypt, such as "poverty/classism, heteropatriarchy, sexism, racism [*al-ʿunṣuriya al-ʿurqīya*]." Here, Mariam is elucidating an intersectional conceptualization of queerness relating to feminism, Egyptian anti-Blackness, and social justice in general. Mariam's understanding of queerness would not lead necessarily to gay marriage but to:

> a society that respects people's private affairs, the freedoms of others [*ḥuriyāt al-ākhar*], a society that doesn't privilege or distinguish between its members, a society that isn't fundamentally based on any kind of hegemonic ordering and if I'm to speak of a hegemonic order [*niẓām muhaymin*], I'd say it's a paternalistic order that is also heteropatriarchal and so to me all this concerns a dream that I want and that is that *mithlīyīn* in Egypt and Sudan achieve real change in the way people collectively think and conceive of the idea of privacy and patriarchy.

Coptic Christian Michael, who uses the terms queer, gay, and *mithlī* interchangeably, given his aversion to identity politics, also notes the way queer Egyptians involved in social movements (*ḥarakāt ʿijtimāʿiya*) replicate cis-heteropatriarchal binaries. He notes, "when parents find out that their son is a homosexual, they ask them if they give or take. And if they do give and are hence active, the parents then think it's no problem." "But," Michael continues, if an individual takes, "because women are seen as less (whether in terms of their sexual appetite or even socio-political and economic roles) than men, then the parents usually say, why do you want to debase and lower yourself to become a woman when you have so much privilege having been born a man."

Beyond repressive socio-political and economic conditions (*qahr*), state security entrapments, and persecutions in Egypt, Michael points to how the reproduction of patriarchy within queer circles, as well as gossip, (*namīma*) organizationally undermines the trust (*thiqa*) of queer-feminist Egyptians in creating community. This is exacerbated by the reproduced prevalence of internalized shame (*ʿār*), sexism, racism, cis-heteropatriarchy, biphobia, transphobia, and Islamophobia.

Michael further notes how modern colonialism/imperialism "divided our lands as *Dawlas* [i.e. the problematic Arab term applied to postcolonial nation-states] arbitrarily as well as the earth through international statist borders that are a catastrophe." Islamic anarchistic discourses similarly argue that in the wake of postcolonial independence movements, Muslims altered the meanings in their own language to correspond with European definitions, ontologies, and terminologies associated with 'the nation' and capitalist states.

Centring gender, Mariam and Michael recognize that the Euro-American binary segregation of queer and feminist discourses is one of the reasons behind the homonationalist lateral reproduction of patriarchy amongst queer men and their discrimination (*ʿunṣuriya*) towards bisexuals and transgender Egyptians.

Queerness as Spiritual

Unsettling homonationalism's anchoring in anti-spiritual/Muslim politics, Shi'ite Sudanese-Egyptian Malik, who identifies as a "queer Muslim" with an emphasis on feminist and anarchist politics is adamant about the complementary unity of this identity. Malik believes that two interrelated extremes of Islamophobia in Egypt together explain why attempts to fuse queer and Muslim identities in Egypt are rare. The first is "an internalized Islamophobia that believes that this [rejection of queerness] is an inherent problem within Islām and its inability to tolerate and accept the Other." The second reason is "based in denial, where people here who engage in same-sex practices see something inherently immoral and sinful in what they're doing, that they'll be punished by God, that they are *ḥarām* [forbidden]." Malik notes that "the problem isn't with or about Islam," but rather with the absence of a "revolutionary way [*al-ṭarīqah al-thawriya*] in which it is interpreted, engaged, and read." Malik points to how Muslims have become accustomed to dysfunctionally trying to emulate (*taqlīd*) the West which has contributed, along with authoritarianism and neoliberal impoverishment, to the spread of the diseases of illiteracy and mass ignorance (*jāhilīyah*), and an intellectual paralysis, as opposed to an engagement with revolutionary renewal (*al-tajdīd al-thawry*). Internalized Islamophobias demonstrate the dominance of liberal-progressive, neo-Orientalist/fundamentalist disfigurations of Islām.

Discussing the role of spirituality and challenges to it, Sana neither identifies as a queer Muslim nor as religious, though she was raised in a Muslim household. After the age of 16, Sana discovered there was nothing regarding her identity that "related to Islām." In part, her rejection of Islām was on account of her anger towards God, and hence not an internalized Islamophobia, but rather her "skepticism of institutionalized and authoritarian religions in general." Although there is a body of Muslim feminist and queer literature that states otherwise, Sana claims that her understanding of Islām is informed by the perception that "there are also verses in the Qur'ān that are against being sexually active and different, the themes of Heaven and Hell, fear or punishment; but what about the love of God, this earth, others and life?" Despite Sana's sentiment, she recognizes the indissoluble vital influence of Islām culturally, and the indivisibility of her queerness from internalized wars and agonies of reconciliation, adding that she "appreciates Ṣūfism a little when life is difficult, despite" ultimately feeling "a great deal of anger at God regarding 'Why the world is so fucked up?'"

In fact, Sana is rejecting what Mariam refers to as the "patriarchal disfigurement" of Islām. Muslim feminist scholars have disputed the view that the Qur'ān is against sexual activity and difference, and have demonstrated the role of women scholars as narrators (*muḥadithāt*) in Islām (Nadwi 2007). Furthermore, Muslim feminist scholarship has argued that Qur'ānic verses

have been problematically patriarchally misinterpreted, leading to domestic and sexual violence, and essentialist understandings of blasphemy laws (Chaudry 2013; Shaikh 2003).

Mariam attributes the rarity of queer-feminist and holistic social justice reinterpretations of Islām in Egypt to "insular environments," "decimating neoliberal educational policies," and what Joseph A. Massad refers to as the "destructive legacy of Arab" and Muslim liberalism (2015b). Distinguishing between the postcolonial conditions in Egypt and settler-colonial environments in the United States/Canada that tend to animate "We're here, we're queer narratives," Mariam states:

> We in the East don't honestly want to deal with most of the issues in our lives (not just the issue of sex and sexuality) and which fundamentally includes religion's role and thought and this involves reading, and we usually interpret religion in terms of control instead of social justice and hence the very meaning of respectability and piety and being faithfully religious is different, in addition to the way we always privilege culture over religion or at least can't distinguish between them.

In Egypt, Mariam adds: "*Thaqāfa* has become one of *thaqāfat al-naql* [a culture of emulation], and not that of *thaqāfat al-ʿaql* [a culture of thinking, reflecting and learning], a *thaqāfa* of oral regurgitation of what is learned as opposed to *tafkīr* [critical thoughtful reflexivity], and this is what constitutes a central part of the problem."

El-Farouk attributes the relative success of queer Muslim projects in the United States/Canada to their context in what he refers to as a "settler state" and its imaginary environment and horizons of upward mobility that "allow[s] spaces to dream and explore," indeed where "we learn to re-dream and become different people." El-Farouk states that "many of us who are newcomers here [must] recognize our role in part of the settler state and that if you are asking for or you are demanding and rightfully so, certain rights and certain treatment, then how are we as newcomers here perpetuating the injustice that is being perpetrated against the First Nations folk."

El-Farouk also identifies a global Muslim desire to emulate (*taqlīd*) Euro-America's geopolitical, economic, and cultural frameworks ever since "the industrial revolution that facilitated the founding of empire's settler-hood, which didn't happen in the geopolitical South the same way," although it did "come in with globalization and corporatocracy and so what we have done through our own poverty, through colonization, through post-colonization dictatorships is to actually limit our imagination." El-Farouk states that even at the height of Third World liberationist movements "we never engaged in decolonization. We just adopted the same models as the West and what we see today so much in the Muslim world is this problem of what it is to be authentically Muslim, particularly to be authentically Sunnī Muslim, is to be Arabized." Beyond "land acknowledgments," the *El-Tawhid Juma Circle* that El-Farouk co-founded is keen on centring Indigenous-Muslim relations. Discussions within the space often revolve around Muslims' responsibilities as caretaker (*khulafā*) to (non)human life. El-Farouk, who believes in centring land in struggles, draws on the Islamic "notion of extending…as a continuum of spirituality" in "building these bridges of understanding and community." When El-Farouk "brought [Indigenous elder Lisa] Wabigoon into" *El-Tawhid*, where she regularly visits, she "smudged" and did "a teaching around that… because a lot of folks did not have access to that knowledge." In so doing, congregants related smudging with the Islamic practice of "carrying out *Tayamum* (or dry ablution)."

Tawḥīd is a central creed (ʿ*aqīdah*) of the *El-Tawhid Juma Circle*, Islām, and Islamic anarchism, in which the Creator is the sole sovereign, with the deification of any other entity (be it wealth, an authority figure, a nation-state, the worship of one's tribal allegiances, family, and children) referred to as polytheism (*širk*).

Though Nubian-Egyptian Khadija identifies with heterosexual attractions she identifies as a queer Muslim and an anti-colonial feminist and sees "Islām as inherently a political and social justice-based egalitarian movement." Khadija is able to reconcile her queer and Muslim identities through the concept of "ʿ*aqīdat al-naqd*" (or the doctrine of imminent critique), similar to Laila Bakhtiar and amina wadud's decisive use of the concept of *furqan* (the criterion), named after the 25th chapter of the Qur'ān, alongside the Islamic right to ijtihād (2007, 1995). Khadija argues "all religions are and have been abused—look at the medieval and modern period and the Crusades, yet no one called it political Christianity but the fact is all paradigms have political opinions and not just with Salafist (or *uṣūlī*) and traditional Islām." Khadija notes the fact that "Islām embraces sex acts and sexual practices as acts of worship, and hardly as an orthodox reproductive model" or as a "means to populate the earth, because sex is considered to be an act of worship [ʿ*ibādah*] in Islām."

The ways that Malik, Sana, Mariam, El-Farouk, and Khadija situate Islamophobia and, arguably, the need for more *anarchistic* political-theological interpretations of Islām, are disruptive to homonationalism's anti-Muslim anchoring (Puar 2007).

Unsettling Homonational Queerness' Racist Anti-BIPOC Anchoring

Located at the intersection between Islām and Blackness, Khadija is regularly exposed to sexual and anti-Black racial harassment in Egypt. Reminiscent of Sarah Baartmen or "Hottentot Venus," she is confronted with racist commentary like, "I love you because of how you've been well baked in the oven" and comments on how her "afro-hair isn't presumably washed the way it ought to be." Critiquing the Arab renaissance (*an-Nahḍah*) that failed to address the persisting problem of colonialism within cis-heteropatriarchal postcolonial capitalist nation-states, she notes how growing up she was exposed to intense "xenophobic-nationalistic fervor" and the logic of "*Arab qawmiyyah* [pan-Arab nationalism] that originally rejected the association of any other racial/ethnic identity with that of Egyptian." The Qur'ān explicitly states in numerous verses: "The Bedouin [Arabs] are more severe in disbelief and hypocrisy, and more liable not to know the limits [ordained] in what God has sent down unto Their Messenger" (the Holy Qur'ān 9:97, 9:101). Khadija states, "We, Nubians, are not ʿ*abīd* [slaves] and if that's the case then as far as Islām is concerned, we're all slaves to God and so how can you claim unity as Arabs, as Egyptians or even as Muslims?" It is not only Arab hegemony that has shaped Egyptian racial/ethnic identities in ways that erase Black Arabs; rather, white neocolonial/neoimperial influences also affect "Egyptians' [legal and socio-political and economic] perception of themselves as whites" in the United States (Beydoun 2013). The Egyptian population reflects conquest and colonization by the Hyksos, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Ottomans, French, and British, and a more recent influx of Sudanese, Ethiopian, Somali, Iraqi, and Palestinian refugees.

While discussing anti-Blackness, Malik claims that "Black resistance is global because black is no longer just a colour, but rather a lifestyle of resistance and a lot of people are white but are Black inside and there are lots of Blacks that are white inside." Here, Malik echoes Frantz Fanon's work in *Black Skins, White Masks* (1952) and Malcolm X's description of the distinction between the "house" and "field" negro (1965). Malcolm X distinguished between the "house" and

"field" Negro, and critiqued the desire of Black people and also arguably people of colour to assimilate into whiteness and white multicultural society. Malik distinguishes between whiteness (as a racial/ethnic category) and liberal "cultures of whiteness," which refers to ontological white values, conceptualizations of civility and progress, as well as epistemological practices and paradigms. Arguably, Malik's statement can be extrapolated to apply to others with red, yellow, and brown skins, yet who don white masks (Coulthard 2014). However, Malik's assertion regarding the global nature of Africanicity and Blackness as a culture of resistance and liberation problematically homogenizes and essentializes the landscape of Blackness that functions across the Pacific and Atlantic, whether within and between Africa, African nations, and their peoples themselves, or even in the settler-colonial context of the United States. This perspective also obscures, if not erases, the existence and position of Afro-Indigenous peoples (Amadahy and Lawrence 2010; Lethabo 2019).

In the case of the United States/Canada, Malik's projection potentially erases, or at minimum obscures, the exceptional experience of descendants of people who were enslaved and brought to the Americas via the Middle Passage, as well as Indigenous peoples and their struggles relative to the internal dynamics of settler-colonialism's Euro-American Christian conquistador-secular-humanist founding in the United States/Canada. It is not about an oppression Olympics or a competition between struggles. Although newcomer diasporic people of colour to Turtle Island may share experiences of contemporary racism and white colonialism/imperialism with transatlantic Black and Indigenous peoples, they must understand that they have not been subject to the same racializing projects of external/internal subjugation and displacement in the settler-colonial context of the United States/Canada. Malik's assumption that Blackness symbolizes a global culture of resistance not only ignores the realities of anti-Black/anti-Indigenous sentiments within communities of people of colour, it further obscures the singular historical struggles of Indigenous, non-Black communities, and other people of colour in the United States/Canada. Given Malik's earlier views on the limits of liberal identity politics, his comments demonstrate the opposite problem, in the reduction of difference to Blackness, as opposed to building pan-people of colour relationalities across inter-ethnic/racial belongings, whether in the context of the Pacific and Atlantic, or within and between African states, and the settler-colonial context of the United States/Canada. Malik's comments also indicate the tension between essentialist-identitarian blood-quantum logics, or alternatively, what Philip Deloria refers to as "playing Indian," and what Lousie Fellows and Sherene Razack refer to as a "race to innocence" (Deloria 1998, 183; Fellows and Razack 1998, 335). This highlights the need for more crossover conversations between Black Muslim studies (Wheeler 2015; Auston 2015) and queer-feminist Indigenous-Black studies on gender, sexuality, race, and spirituality.

In addition to Samah's identification as queer-Muslim Nigerian-American and a person of colour, Samah identifies as Black. She notes that her "Black" identity is activated whenever she's not in Nigeria, her "home country." In Nigeria, she stops "being Black and it frees" her "in a lot of ways to just be who" she is. Discussing how in her encounters with others in the United States, whether descendants of people who were enslaved and brought to the Americas via the Middle Passage, racialized minority people of colour, or white allies, she is cast as an African-American. Samah states: "Personally, I don't use the term African-American because [it doesn't] accurately reflect the experience of [her family] [and] calls up immediately a particular history that is not" hers. Furthermore, Samah states that "growing up there were ways that my mother or other people who were Africans would talk about Black Americans and there is clearly a rift there, when you look at the economic and educational piece of the puzzle" and "so how do I make

sense of all that and stand in solidarity, because at the end of the day if a police officer is going to do something crazy, they will not stop to ask, where did your family originally come from?" In terms of phenotypical appearance, Samah passes, yet her experiences challenge assumptions regarding the uniformity of Blackness, a Black condition, and a culture of resistance.

Samah's identification of her Americanness by circumstance and the distinction between her Nigerian home and present belonging, echoes Sara Ahmed's notion of "migrant orientations" and the values diasporas adopt in their manifested transplantation into the settler-colonies (Ahmed 2006, 10). Samah's words also gesture to Gerald Vizenor's (2008) work on "survivance" and survival in terms of how striving to reconnect with one's indigeneity can become an active presence in which social mobilization (*al-ḥarakāt al-ʿijtimāʿiya*) manifests, rather than being strictly conceived as a loss of home. Here indigeneity is distinguished from racial/ethnic Indigenous peoples such that indigeneity can only manifest and unfold through anti-colonial/anti-imperial sacred and decolonial, place-based, ecologically literate, symbiotic relation to land and (non)human life. In this sense, as Zainab Amadahy notes, indigeneity involves going beyond "bloodlines, skin colour, or cultural heritage" without drifting into multicultural liberalism either as it seeks to instead centre non-statist, non-capitalist, ethical-political, spiritual commitments, and a politics of responsibility (2015, 39). Samah's words speak to ethnic tensions between normative-striving Black immigrants and African-Americans that inform claims to Blackness and their different perceptions by whites within their settler-colonial environment (Greer 2013). Samah's geopolitical entanglement in race, nationality, and ethnicity delimits and hinders the imagination of a larger *Umma*, a dream of many Muslims, and also speaks to Edward Kamau Brathwaite's poetry (1988) on the notions of vulnerability, pain, and the shock of dispossession in a migrant's displacement and the shaping of their arrival and how they came to be there. Samah's comments illuminate how the newcomer arrivant is further constituted by and entangled within Anglo-imperialism and settler-colonialism that act as an always-incomplete racial capitalist project anchored in the continued dispossession of Indigenous people, an afterlife to slavery, and the upholding of gender and sexual differences. This entanglement, according to Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, serves to not only uphold continued injustices within the local, settler-colonial context of the United States/Canada but also transnationally, where it secures the seizure of Third World wealth and resources, as well as "military recruitment, low-wage and high-wage labour recruitment (such as agricultural workers and overseas-trained engineers), and displacement/migration (such as the coerced immigration from nations torn by U.S. wars or devastated by U.S. economic policy)" (2012, 7). Samah's words regarding displacement, home, and belonging speaks to Jodi Byrd's work on the arrivant, who would not be an arrivant without the continual erasure of Indigenous concerns and Black peoples who also underwent the experience of chattel slavery (Byrd 2011). Byrd's work as well as Samah's life unsettles and complicates the terrains of diaspora, indigeneity, colonialism, and race/ethnic relationalities that could be built, and also disrupts and complicates the settler-Indigenous-Black triad.

Khadija, Malik and Samah expose how homonationalism thrives on anti-BIPOC racism and pits races/ethnicities against one another.

Conclusion

The unrestrained geographic effects of queerness, feminisms, and Islām as global migratory signifiers have led queer Muslims to collectively attempt to transnationally move from an explicit

focus on sex/sexuality towards what Mariam refers to as a "compassionate, feminist-centred" egalitarian anti-homonationalist/anti-pink-washing Islām. Theirs is informed by a politics of responsibility to the Other, and not one necessarily centred on political reform (*iṣlāḥ*) or a politics of assimilationist rights. They emphasize ethical-political commitments informing identities, not (neo)liberal identitarian politics within themselves. The question remains as to whether this approach will suffice, or whether a decolonial, anti-imperial/anti-colonial, non-statist, and non-capitalist trajectory that mobilizes anti-authoritarian Islamic anarchistic concepts such as communal consensus (*ijmāʿ*) or public social harmony and welfare (*maṣlaḥa*) is also needed, given that Islām is inherently political. A decolonized non-statist Islām, as opposed to a liberal queer-feminist Islām, doesn't only bear the potential for social movement mobilization. Rather, it also disables the possibility of its own liberal-progressive homonationalist appropriation because of the non-authoritarian, horizontalist commitments that inherently define it through anti-authoritarian concepts as *Tawḥīd*.

The participants in my research negotiate accepting queer and Muslim identities in a variety of paradoxical, as opposed to contradictory ways: ones that are arguably necessary in disrupting the transnational nature of homonationalism. They are torn between their desire to escape repressive societies such as Egypt for Euro-America, and their refusal to abandon "home" and their friends, families, and allies. They seek to embrace a society that ostracizes them. They are keen on centring feminism and gender because, as bell hooks writes, "patriarchy demands of all males that they engage in acts of psychic self-mutilation, that they kill off the emotional parts of themselves" (hooks 2004, 66). Accordingly, nurturing within men the unashamed willingness to experiment with womanhood and micro-feminizations at the molecular level can facilitate the overcoming of gendered subjectivity and create the possibility of unsettling cis-heteropatriarchy as well as queerphobia. Doing so also gives birth to an engagement with the unsettled terrains of feminine and non-oppositional sublime, imaginary, symbolic, linguistic, and equitable practices.

El-Farouk's commitment to land is in line with scholarship that discusses how vandalizing territory precedes, if not coincides with, the disfiguration of a native people's nonheteronormative conceptualizations of gender/sexual epistemologies, kinship structures, intimate relationships, sovereignty, space/time, and mobility (Barker 2011, Rifkin 2008). Neo-developmental frameworks that mould the urban metropolis in the civilizational image of modern city-states not only disconnect native-subjects from land and their responsibilities to nonhuman life, it also restructures gender and sexual practices, as well as the exoteric seen (*ẓāhir*) and the esoteric unseen (*bāṭin*). This is critical to note if we seek to combat homonationalism and offer alternative paradigms situated in post-ownership and post-sovereign liberatory spaces. Anti-colonial and postcolonial critiques, in the absence of an analysis of the entwined racial, spiritual, gendered, and queered circulatory relationships described, are always doomed to reproduce colonialist horizons given their reification of statist paradigms. After all, the "postcolonial pursuit of resources is fundamentally an anthropocentric model, as land, water, air, animals, and plants are never able to become postcolonial; they remain objects to be exploited by the empowered postcolonial subject" (Tuck and Yang 2012, 19).

Spirituality's role within decolonization also means fearlessly leaving room for the unpredictable possibilities of becoming by fearlessly embracing the elusive and unknowable wisdom (in Islām, the *ḥikma*) of *al-ghayb* (the divine unknown). *Al-ghayb* implies having faith in the unseen, hidden, and invisible, and not just in what is seen prior to believing. *Al-ghayb* entails abandoning European rationalism and what cannot be anticipated or comprehended in advance, in exchange for wisdom and knowledge to be revealed in due time, or perhaps never, and in relation to creation and nonhuman life acting as our instructors, while we strive towards a

re-indigenized world. A queer-feminist justice movement cannot be decolonial at all if it replicates global Orientalism, Islamophobia, anti-Jewishness, racism, sexism, transphobia, and biophobia at the lateral level. After all, engaging in same-sex practices does not exonerate all genders, locally or transnationally, of racism, sexism, bio-, and trans-phobia. What can queer-feminist "newest" social movements then learn from each other and other transnational radical land-based struggles such as the Zapatistas that are premised on a "politics of affinity" in forging new futurities, without harkening for a romanticized bygone past, while also rejecting a homonationalist present? (Day 2005).

Acknowledgments

The author wishes to acknowledge the work and labour of Managing Co-Editor AV Verhaeghe of *Feral Feminisms* and the Guest Editors of this issue for their exceptional support, patience, and professionalism. Finally, the author thanks the two anonymous reviewers for their generative and vital comments and questions.

Works Cited

Abdou, Mohamed. 2022. *Islam and Anarchism: Relationships and Resonances*. London: Pluto Press.
_____. 2009. "Anarca-Islam." Master's thesis, Queen's University.
Abdul Khabeer, Su'ad. 2016. *Muslim Cool: Race, Religion, and Hip Hop in the United States*. Place: NYU Press.
Afary, Janet, and Kevin B. Anderson. 2005. *Foucault and the Iranian Revolution: Gender and the Seductions of Islamism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Agathangelou, Anna M., Daniel M. Bassichis, and Tamar L. Spira. 2008. "Intimate Investments: Homonormativity, Global Lockdown, and the Seductions of Empire." *Radical History Review*, no. 100 (January): 120–43. https://doi.org/10.1215/01636545-2007-025.
Ahmed, Sara. 2006. *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others*. Durham: Duke University Press.
Al-Barghouti, Tamim. 2008. *The Umma and the Dawla: The Nation State and the Arab Middle East*. London: Pluto Press.
Alexander, M. Jacqui. 2006. *Pedagogies of Crossing: Meditations on Feminism, Sexual Politics, Memory, and the Sacred*. Durham: Duke University Press.
Ali, Kecia. 2005. *Sexual Ethics and Islam: Feminist Reflections on Qur'an, Hadith, and Jurisprudence*. London: Oneworld Publications.
Amadahy, Zainab. 2015 "Zainab Amadahy in Conversation with Feral Feminisms' Guest Editors." *Feral Feminisms*, no. 4: 38–42. https://feralfeminisms.com/zainab-amadahy/.
Amadahy, Zainab, and Lawrence, Bonita. 2010. "Indigenous Peoples and Black People in Canada: Settlers or Allies?" In *Breaching the Colonial Contract: Anti-Colonialism in the US and Canada*, edited by Arlo Kempf, 105–36. New York: Springer Publishing.
Anzaldúa, Gloria. 1987. *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute.

Auston, Donna. 2015. "Mapping the Intersections of Islamophobia & #BlackLivesMatter: Unearthing Black Muslim Life & Activism in the Policing Crisis." *Sapelo Square*. May 19, 2015. https://sapelosquare.com/2015/05/19/mapping-the-intersections-of-islamophobia-blacklivesmatter-unearthing-black-muslim-life-activism-in-the-policing-crisis/.

Babayan, Kathryn, and Afsaneh Najmabadi, eds. 2008. *Islamicate Sexualities: Translations Across Temporal Geographies of Desire*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Bailey, Kristian Davis. 2015. "Black-Palestinian Solidarity in the Ferguson-Gaza Era." *American Quarterly* 67, no. 4 (December): 1017–26. https://doi.org/10.1353/aq.2015.0060.

Barker, Joanna. 2011. *Native Acts: Law, Recognition, and Cultural Authenticity*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Bakhtiar, Laleh. 2007. *The Sublime Quran*. Translated by Laleh Bakhtiar. Chicago: Kazi Publications.

Brathwaite, Edward Kamau. 1988. *The Arrivants: A New World Trilogy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brandzel, Amy. 2016. *Against Citizenship: The Violence of the Normative*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Beydoun, Khaled A. 2013. "Between Muslim and White: The Legal Construction of Arab American Identity." *NYU Annual Survey American Law* 69, no. 1: 1–35.

_____. 2014. "Antebellum Islam." *Howard Law Journal* 58, no. 1 (October): 141–95.

Beydoun, Khaled A., and Erika K. Wilson. 2017. "Reverse Passing." *UCLA Law Review* 64, no. 282 (February): 282–354.

Byrd, Jodi. 2011. *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Chan-Malik, Sylvia. 2020. "Race." *The Immanent Frame: Secularism, Religion, and the Public Sphere*. May 15, 2020. https://tif.ssrc.org/2020/05/15/race-chan-malik/.

Chaudhry, Ayesha S. 2013. *Domestic Violence and the Islamic Tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Coulthard, Glen. 2014. *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. Minneapolis: University Of Minnesota Press.

Day, Richard J. F. 2005. *Gramsci is Dead: Anarchist Currents in the Newest Social Movements*. London: Pluto Press.

Deloria, Philip Joseph. 1998. *Playing Indian*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Driskill, Qwo-Li, Chris Finley, Brian Joseph Gilley, and Scott Lauria Morgensen, eds. 2011. *Queer Indigenous Studies: Critical Interventions in Theory, Politics, and Literature*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Duggan, Lisa. 2012. *The Twilight of Equality?: Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics, and the Attack on Democracy*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Fanon, Frantz. 1967. *Black Skin, White Masks*. Translated by Richard Philcox. New York: Grove Press.

Fellows, Mary Louise, and Sherene Razack. 1998. "The Race to Innocence: Confronting Hierarchical Relations among Women." *Journal of Gender, Race & Justice* 1998, no. 1: 335–52.

Ferguson, Roderick A. 2004. *Aberrations in Black: Toward a Queer of Color Critique*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Fletcher, Bill, Jr., Ebony Coletu, Che Gossett, Nadine Naber, Donna Murch, Aja Monet, Robin D. G. Kelley, Rabab Abdulhadi, Ahmad Abuznaid, Sarah Ihmoud, Linda Sarsour, Jared Sexton, and Nadera Shalhoub. 2015. "Roundtable on Anti-Blackness and Black-Palestinian Solidarity (Moderated by Noura Erakat)." *Jadaliyya*. June 3, 2015. https://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/32145.

Foucault, Michel. 2007. *Security, Territory, Population*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

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

Greer, Christina M. 2013. *Black Ethnics: Race, Immigration and the Pursuit of the American Dream*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Grosfoguel, Ramón. 2006. "The Long-Durée Entanglement Between Islamophobia and Racism in the Modern/Colonial Capitalist/Patriarchal World-System: An Introduction." *Human Architecture: Journal of Sociology of Self-Knowledge* 5, no. 1 (Fall): 1–12.

Habib, Samar. 2012. *Female Homosexuality in the Middle East: Histories and Representations*. London: Routledge.

Hallaq, Wael B. 2014. *The Impossible State: Islam, Politics, and Modernity's Moral Predicament*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Hartman, Saidiya. 2008. *Lose Your Mother: A Journey Along the Atlantic Slave Route*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

hooks, bell. 2004. *The Will to Change: Men, Masculinity, and Love*. New York: Washington Square Press.

Jackman, Michael Connors, and Nishant Upadhyay. 2014. "Pinkwatching Israel, Whitewashing Canada: Queer (Settler) Politics and Indigenous Colonization in Canada." *WSQ: Women's Studies Quarterly* 42, nos. 3–4 (Fall/Winter): 195–210. https://doi.org/10.1353/wsq.2014.0044.

Jackson, Shona N. 2012. *Creole Indigeneity: Between Myth and Nation in the Caribbean*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Jahangir, Junaid, and Hussein Abdullatif. 2016. *Islamic Law and Muslim Same-Sex Unions*. Lanham: Lexington Books.

Kamal, H. 2008. "Translating Women and Gender: The Experience of Translating the Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures into Arabic." *WSQ: Women's Studies Quarterly* 36, no. 3 (Fall/Winter): 254–68. https://doi.org/10.1353/wsq.0.0105.

Khan, Aliyah. 2020. *Far From Mecca: Globalizing the Muslim Caribbean*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

King, Tiffany Lethabo. 2019. *The Black Shoals: Offshore Formations of Black and Native Studies*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Krebs, Mike, and Dana M. Olwan. 2012. "'From Jerusalem to the Grand River, Our Struggles are One': Challenging Canadian and Israeli Settler Colonialism." *Journal of Settler Colonial Studies* 2, no. 2 (February): 138–64. https://doi.org/10.1080/2201473X.2012.10648846.

Kugle, Scott Siraj Al-Haqq. 2010. *Homosexuality in Islam: Critical Reflection on Gay, Lesbian, and Transgender Muslims*. London: Oneworld Publications.

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

Malcolm X. 1965. "The House Negro and the Field Negro." In *Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements*, edited by George Breitman. New York: Grove Press.

Massad, Joesph. 2002. "Re-Orienting Desire: The Gay International and the Arab World." *Public Culture* 14, no. 2 (May): 361–85. https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-14-2-361.

_____. 2008. *Desiring Arabs*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

_____. 2015a. *Islam in Liberalism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

_____. 2015b. "The Destructive Legacy of Arab Liberals." *The Electronic Intifada*. March 30, 2015. https://electronicintifada.net/content/destructive-legacy-arab-liberals/14385.

Mikdashi, Maya. "How Not to Study Gender in the Middle East." *Jadaliyya*. March 21, 2012. https://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/25434.

Minai, Naveen, and Sara Shroff. 2019. "Yaariyan, Baithak, Gupshup: Queer Feminist Formations and the Global South." *Kohl Journal* 5, no. 1 (Spring): 31–44. https://doi.org/10.36583/kohl/5-1-5.

Muñoz, José Esteban. 1999. *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Nadwi, Muhammad Akram. 2007. *Al-Muhaddithat: The Women Scholars in Islam*. London and Oxford: Interface Publications.

Nair, Yasmin. 2010. "Against Equality, Against Marriage: An Introduction." In *Against Equality: Queer Critiques of Gay Marriage*, edited by Ryan Conrad. Lewiston: Against Equality Press.

Olwan, Dana M. 2015. "On Assumptive Solidarities in Comparative Settler Colonialisms." *Feral Feminisms*, no. 4: 89–102. https://feralfeminisms.com/assumptive-solidarities/.

Pêcheux, Michel. 1982. "The Subject-Form of Discourse in the Subjective Appropriation of Scientific Knowledges and Political Practice." In *Language, Semantics and Ideology*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Prado, Abdennur. 2007. "Estudio sobre la homosexualidad en el islam." In *El islam anterior al Islam*, 119–50. Barcelona: Oozebap, Junta Islámica Catalana.

Puar, Jasbir K. 2007. *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Rifkin, Mark. 2008. "Native Nationality and the Contemporary Queer: Tradition, Sexuality, and History in Drowning in Fire." *The American Indian Quarterly* 32, no. 4 (Fall): 443–70. https://doi.org/10.1353/aiq.0.0023.

_____. 2011. *When Did Indians Become Straight?: Kinship, the History of Sexuality, and Native Sovereignty*. London: Oxford University Press.

Safi, Omid. 2003. *Progressive Muslims: On Gender, Justice, and Pluralism*. Oxford: Oneworld Publications.

Salaita, Steven. 2016. *Inter/Nationalism: Decolonizing Native America and Palestine*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Sayyid, S. 2014. *Recalling the Caliphate: Decolonisation and World Order*. London: Hurst Publishing.

Shaikh, Sa'diyya. 2003. "Transforming Feminisms: Islam, Women, and Gender Justice." In *Progressive Muslims: On Justice, Gender and Pluralism*, edited by Omid Safi, 147–62. Oxford: Oneworld Publications.

Shohat, Ella. 1992. "Rethinking Jews and Muslims: Quincentennial Reflections." *Middle East Report*, no. 178 (September-October): 25–9.

Spade, Dean, and Craig Willse. 2015. *Marriage Will Never Set Us Free*. Vancouver: Subversion Press.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 1993. "The Politics of Translation." In *Outside in the Teaching Machine*. New York: Routledge.

Taylor, Charles. 1994. "The Politics of Recognition." In *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, edited by Amy Gutmann, 25–73. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Tuck, Eve, and K. Wayne Yang. 2012. "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society* 1, no. 1: 1–40. https://jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/des/article/view/18630.

Vizenor, Gerald. 2008. *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

wadud, amina. 1995. "Towards a Qur'anic Hermeneutics of Social Justice: Race, Class and Gender." *Journal of Law and Religion* 12, no. 1 (June): 37–50.

Walia, Harsha. 2013. *Undoing Border Imperialism*. Chicago: AK Press.

Wheeler, Kayla. 2015. "#BlackIslamSyllabus." Online Syllabus. https://docs.google.com/document/d/1avhgPrW30AFjegzV9X5aPqkZUA3uGdo-BZr9_zhArtQ.

Wolfe, Patrick. 2007. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native." *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (December): 387–409.

Yountae, An. 2020. "A Decolonial Theory of Religion." *Contending Modernities: Exploring How Religious and Secular Forces Intereact in the Modern World*. February 28, 2020. https://contendingmodernities.nd.edu/decoloniality/a-decolonial-theory-of-religion/

MOHAMED ABDOU is a Muslim anarchist activist-scholar and diasporic settler of colour. He is currently a Visiting Scholar/Postdoctoral Fellow at Cornell University and an Assistant Professor of Sociology at the American University of Cairo. He has also taught a course on Indigenous Land Education and Black Geographies at the University of Toronto-OISE and is the author of the forthcoming book *Islam and Anarchism: Relationships and Resonances* (Pluto Press, June 2022). Visit him on **Twitter** at minuetinGmajor and on **Facebook** at https://www.facebook.com/MuhammadAbdou2020/. Also, see his **personal website** at www.mabdou.net, his **Academia.edu** https://cornell.academia.edu/MohamedAbdouakaMohamedJeanVeneuse, and his **Linkedin** at https://www.linkedin.com/in/mohamed-abdou-58661563/.