
Insurgent Visions
FEMINISM, JUSTICE, SOLIDARITY
CHANDRA TALPADE MOHANTY

MORE PRAISE FOR *INSURGENT VISIONS*

"*Insurgent Visions* as a living record of Chandra Talpade Mohanty's scholarly activism is a gift to all of us fighting for justice and freedom in times of escalating violence. That Mohanty's wisdom derives from a deep and sustained engagement with community is everywhere evident in this powerful collection. Mohanty teaches us that we can only create different kinds of subjects, relationships, and worlds by insurgency, rising in revolt against imperialism, racial capitalism, and heteropatriarchy. Mohanty both calls for an insurgent feminism and gives us many inspired glimpses of that feminism at work. A vital and visionary contribution."—SARA AHMED

"*Insurgent Visions* is an invitation to imagine new horizons of freedom and dignity, but also an invocation to refusal. Chandra Talpade Mohanty urges us to refuse the normalization of patriarchal violence in settler colonialism, neoliberal dispossession, and racialized genocide. Taking us from the university's spaces to the US-Mexico border and the occupied territories of Palestine and Kashmir, Mohanty documents in an inspiring manner the struggles and hopes of marginalized communities."—R. AÍDA HERNÁNDEZ CASTILLO

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Chandra
Talpade
Mohanty

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For Peoples and communities

building insurgent feminist worlds

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Acknowledgments

I think, learn, and create in dialogue, collaboration, and community. Over these many decades, I have been privileged to be part of many radical social justice scholar-activist communities. I begin, then, by acknowledging these radical collectives that have sustained, challenged, and inspired me to do the work I do. As a graduate student at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign in the early 1980s, I worked with an incredible group of anti-imperialist, antiracist feminist comrades to organize the Common Differences: Third World Women and Feminist Perspectives conference (1983) that set me on my intellectual and political path as a feminist scholar-activist committed to the theory and praxis of decolonization. The conference was also my entry into radical global South and feminists of color communities that have given me the courage to name and analyze the injustices in systems, ideologies, and narratives of power and work to create counterhegemonic narratives and praxis—to dream and work toward a different world.

The two most important collectives I have participated in since the turn of the century include the Future of Minority Studies Research Project at Cornell University (FMS, 2002–12) and the Democratizing Knowledge: Developing Literacies, Building Communities, Seeding Change Project at Syracuse University (DKP, 2009–25). Each of these projects was founded in principles of antiracist, feminist, decolonizing scholarship and practice in the US academy; each gathered and sustained communities of radical scholars; and each led to many research and pedagogical gatherings in

universities and colleges across the United States. Each project generated multiple publications that foregrounded minority (defined not numerically but in relation to power), feminist, and antiracist praxis, subjectivities, identities, and communities. I owe an enormous debt to my comrades and colleagues in both FMS and DKP; they have provided an environment of intellectual challenge, political vision, and a community of care that has been fundamental to my work in *Insurgent Visions*. In each of these overlapping communities, there are too many comrades and colleagues to name individually, but some have been and remain key intellectual interlocutors for me: Satya Mohanty, Linda Martín Alcoff, Beverly Guy-Sheftall, Jacqui Alexander, Minnie Bruce Pratt, Leslie Feinberg, Linda Carty, Angela Davis, Gail Lewis, Avtar Brah, Zillah Eisenstein, Aida Hernandez-Castillo, Sandy Grande, and Margo Okazawa-Rey. My debt to each and every one of these amazing intellectuals and activists is profound—they have made me the scholar, teacher, and activist doing the "work that I do every day" (à la Audre Lorde). I have written, taught, struggled, and organized with each of them in different contexts and at different times, and in each instance they have made me a better thinker, organizer, and teacher. A mere thank-you is insufficient; I do believe deeply that we learn through dialogue and relationships across differences of all kinds, and my work in *Insurgent Visions* would not be possible without these comrades.

Early on and for many years I co-taught feminist faculty workshops with Beverly Guy-Sheftall, and since then we have remained fellow travelers and friends. My work and friendship with Jacqui Alexander have led to significant knowledge and growth in terms of an intellectual and political vision for radical transnational feminist praxis. Collaborations with Angela Davis, Aida Hernandez-Castillo, and Margo Okazawa-Rey have strengthened and deepened this vision. Linda Carty, my comrade and sister feminist freedom warrior (http://feministfreedomwarriors.org) has been and continues to be a coconspirator and accomplice in social justice work and in challenging and transforming academic spaces. Our work together at Syracuse University has taught me how to be a "thorn in the side" of the university or, as Linda would say, an "eyelash in the eyeball" of the academy. Zillah Eisenstein, my friend and comrade in Ithaca for many decades, continues to be an intellectual and political sounding board and fashionista par excellence! Exchanging earrings with her has brought beauty and lightness in times of darkness and crisis.

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mative experience in terms of my politics, my intellectual project, and my commitment to freedom and justice as a scholar-activist. My sister-comrades on this journey have remained treasured friends and sisters in feminist and Palestine justice work over many decades. Deep gratitude to Barbara Ransby, Rabab Abdulhadi, Angela Davis, Beverly Guy-Sheftall, Premilla Nadasen, Gina Dent, and Anna Romina Guevara.

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Introduction: Insurgent Feminisms

GENEALOGIES, STRUGGLES, FUTURES

Having lived as a feminist scholar-activist, confronting multiple systemic inequities in different geopolitical contexts, and being involved in many communities dreaming about and organizing for freedom, I see this book as an evolving record, a document of my work on many fronts over the past two decades. I have focused in particular on the challenge of insurgent praxis and anticapitalist feminist futures. Insurgencies are about resistance, about militant challenges to the status quo, about the radical transformation of everyday life; what I call "insurgent feminism" incorporates all these practices. Insurgent feminism seeks to explicitly contest and replace the imperialist, heteronormative, and racialized practice of violence grounded in gender relations. It seeks to unsettle existing power structures in order to imagine and enact new relationships, forging new subjectivities, epistemologies, and communities. It is precisely this kind of insurgent feminist praxis from which I draw inspiration and which I hope to support in my scholarly work.

Growing up in urban India, teaching high school in Lagos, Nigeria, and living for over four decades in the United States as an immigrant woman of color from the global South have all shaped my intellectual vision. While decolonization and antiracist, anti-imperialist feminist thought and the politics of common differences have always been key to my feminist praxis, what has preoccupied me in recent years are the implications of militarism, neoliberalism, settler colonialism, racial and religious supremacies, and the carceral state.[1] I believe some of the economic and political challenges

for new generations of radical scholar-activists are continuous with late twentieth-century struggles against colonization, heteropatriarchy, and racial capitalism. But they also demand new ways of understanding the hegemony of the global right, the rise of authoritarian cultures, white supremacy and religious fundamentalisms, and the consolidation of carceral regimes both within and outside the borders of the nation-state.

I still remember the excitement of encountering the Combahee River Collective (CRC) statement as a graduate student in the late 1970s.[2] At that time, I was a young socialist-feminist reading everything I could lay my hands on, but it wasn't until 1979, when I read the CRC statement, that I understood that feminist praxis could speak to me—a (at that time) third world, postcolonial socialist-feminist teaching herself the landscape of race and capitalism in the United States. The CRC traces its formation to the mid-1970s on the East Coast. A few years earlier, in 1970, the Third World Women's Alliance (TWWA) emerged on the West Coast. The TWWA grew out of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the late 1960s. Frances Beal started the Black Women's Liberation Committee within SNCC, which then split from SNCC and became the Black Women's Alliance (BWA). Between 1969 and 1970, the BWA added questions of capitalism and imperialism to its analysis of racism; it became the TWWA in 1970, out of a debate around whether to admit members from the Puerto Rican Independence Movement and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Using this US-grounded, third worldist framework, the TWWA eventually transformed into the Alliance Against Women's Oppression and subsequently into the Women of Color Resource Center in Oakland, California.[3]

I wanted to trace this parallel genealogy of the feminist politics of the TWWA and the CRC because how feminist theory and politics are articulated in the present moment depends on how we understand and learn from the genealogies of feminist praxis. So, instead of describing US feminist history in the conventional terms of first, second, third, and fourth waves, I believe we need to understand feminism in the present as inspired more fundamentally by this activist genealogy. My work is based on a fundamental theoretical claim, one that asserts the importance of the knowledge that emerges from the experiences of the marginalized groups that are engaged actively in struggles for justice. Key to our current conceptions of insurgent feminist practice, I propose, is our understanding of why and how critical knowledge about oppression, exploitation, and justice *emerged from* the lived experience and reflections of the most marginalized communities. This claim about the importance of the experiences of socially marginalized groups is not essen-

tialist, and it is not based on a narrow identity politics. It should be seen, instead, as a radical materialist analysis of power and injustice that is key to imagining feminist insurgencies and futures. Let me explain.

I draw here on the materialist theorization of the nature of (social and cultural) identity and of the "epistemic privilege" of oppressed groups by postpositivist realist thinkers like Satya Mohanty, Linda Alcoff, Paula Moya, and Michael Hames-Garcia (among others).[4] In this "realist" formulation, identity is not essentialist, understood as some unchanging "essence" that is the property of particular groups of people (like people of color). Rather, it is based on the claim that theories about social and cultural identities refer not to inner essences of social groups but instead to the social world; they provide explanations of social reality from the location of oppressed groups engaged in struggles for freedom, and these explanations need to be evaluated just as other social explanations are. Knowledge derived from lived experience is not automatic; it grows out of sustained reflection, involving the kind of analysis that accompanies grassroots-level political organizing. Postpositivist realist thinkers draw attention to this materialist dimension of the growth of political consciousness, referring to the ongoing work that political organizing involves on every level.

Thus, the salience of identity in this context is theoretical: "People of color" is an analytical or explanatory category rather than a descriptive one. The category "people of color" is insignificant outside a social system whose defining features include racially organized exploitation and domination. This specific understanding of identity is then the basis for arguments regarding the epistemic privilege of the oppressed. Understood in this way, feminist praxis anchored in the everyday experiences and knowledges produced by the most marginalized (Black, queer, migrant, poor) women, as it is foregrounded by the CRC and the TWWA (and, in the case of India, by Dalit feminists), offers an analysis of power and a vision of justice based in a political engagement with the world that cannot be replicated from the point of view of dominant communities. Rather than an essentialist claim about automatically generated knowledge, this theorization of the epistemic privilege of the oppressed suggests that it is the reflection on social and economic inequities, often inherent in the collective praxis of marginalized communities, that provides the most comprehensive and compelling framework for the analysis of power and injustice. I argue this in more detail in my analysis of the emergence and success of Black Lives Matter (BLM) and the Movement for Black Lives (MBL), as well as in my discussion of Dalit feminist praxis, suggesting that it is the analysis of state violence

from the epistemological point of view of the most marginalized Black and Dalit communities that allows for a vision of justice and a capacious and inclusive grassroots politics. And it is this particular understanding of the knowledges and strategies generated through the epistemic privilege and activism of the most marginalized communities that undergirds my scholarship and connects the analytic sites and examples I explore below: Palestinian feminist struggles, abolitionist feminism in the United States, and Dalit feminist thought. In each of these cases it is the experience of settler colonialism, occupation, and genocide (Palestine/Gaza); the prison-industrial complex, carceral state practice, and criminalization and disposability of Black, brown, migrant, bodies (abolition feminism in the United States); and Brahmanical supremacy and the politics of sexual violence based on caste and Islamophobia (Hindutva and Dalit feminism in India) that forms the theoretical basis for insurgent feminist, anticapitalist frameworks and organizing. I argue that it is in fact the theorization of epistemic privilege anchored in the everyday lives and collective organizing of Palestinians; Black, migrant, and poor women of color; and Dalit feminists that connects these geopolitical contexts and suggests new freedom horizons.

Over the years I have been privileged to work in friendship and solidarity with a number of feminists of color from the United States, Europe, and the global South. My work owes an immense debt to the pioneering work of Black and anticapitalist, anti-imperialist feminists globally; it is also a challenge and provocation for us to imagine and work toward insurgent feminist solidarities at a time when neoliberal, militarized, racist, and protofascist regimes are on the rise. I believe imagining radical/insurgent futures means to always hold two (often contradictory) ideas/perspectives in our organizing and scholarly work. Let me point to just two instances: (1) We must focus on the sociopolitical and socioeconomic challenges of the present *and* on the insurgent feminist practices and movements evident around the globe, and (2) we must understand the epistemologies of violence created by colonial legacies, racial capitalism, heteronormative patriarchies, and supremacist nation-states *and* focus simultaneously on epistemologies of dreaming—of imagining new horizons for relationships, communities, and ecologies.

In early 2023 I was interviewed by two Canadian middle schoolers (Clara and Kaya) about my views on antiracist feminist praxis and gender justice. I thought their questions were smart, instructive, and a good place to begin mapping what it means to imagine insurgent feminist futures for generations of girls, women, and gender nonconforming communities. After all, these are the young folks who will inherit both our achievements

and our shortcomings![5] As Sara Ahmed teaches us, "feminism is a building project," and knowledge-building projects require careful research, strategic analysis of systemic power relations, and collaborative envisioning of structures of everyday life that sustain and grow our visions of gender justice.[6] Feminism has been a lifelong building project for me, and while inevitably there have been mistakes and misstarts along the way, it is this collaborative praxis of building feminist futures that inspires me. I believe my answers to Clara and Kaya's questions are a good place to begin mapping the urgencies of feminism as a building project at this historical moment.

Kaya and Clara asked me questions they were curious about, ranging from my understanding of "white feminism and its dangers" to the application of critical race theory and intersectional feminism in the classroom. They asked what I consider the most pressing and/or controversial issues in gender studies at the present moment. Given the public culture of the normalization of white supremacy and the rollback of policies affirming women's reproductive rights, affirmative action, and the intellectual and social achievements of feminist, antiracist, and queer movements in the United States, Clara and Kaya's queries focused on the current and future challenges their generation confronts. How were they/we to imagine a feminist future given the postpandemic, cataclysmic historical moment they/we find ourselves in?

Clara and Kaya, both students of color, began by asking me to define what "white feminism" meant to me and to describe a "real-world" example of its dangers that I have experienced as a feminist of color and a gender studies scholar. My response focused on the following characteristics of "white feminism": the centering/universalizing of white women's experiences/history; the absence of a challenge to white supremacy and imperialism globally; normalizing whiteness in gender studies/analysis/movements for justice; and legitimating the ideology of white women's rescue narrative and the corresponding normalization of women of color/women in the global South as victims in need of saving. Note that these are ideas that preoccupy me in various ways throughout this text. The dangers of these assumptions are many, of course. One of the most visible examples and one I lived through was the weaponizing of white, liberal feminism in the war on terror after September 11, 2001, wherein liberal feminism provided the justification for US imperial ventures in Iraq and Afghanistan (waging war in the name of women's rights), while demonstrating that white women were/are "equal" to men (as torturers, soldiers, and intelligence agents in the US war machine). Sara Farris's work on femonationalism illustrates this

particular danger of collapsing white women's liberal feminism into nationalism in an age of growing masculinist, fundamentalist, and authoritarian regimes globally.[7] Another example of white feminism gone awry is the way Muslim women were targeted in a US "homeland security" program called Countering Violent Extremism and trained in the name of women's rights and democracy to inform on their sons, husbands, and brothers. Recognizing Muslim women's agency as "feminist and patriotic" seemed to lead to turning them into allies in the US "war against terror." Both of the above examples signal the dangers of the weaponizing of white, neoliberal feminist ideologies in the service of imperial, heteropatriarchal regimes.

I pointed out that white, Western, middle-class definitions of violence against women erase the multiple forms of violence in the lives of women of color and immigrant women in the West and of women in the global South. The definition of violence against women determines how we understand violence as a feminist issue and how we organize around it. White liberal feminism is embedded in most aid/development narratives, and it leads to projects and programs that are not useful to women in the global South in terms of transforming their/our multiple inequities (e.g., providing electric stoves in India in the context of toxic heteropatriarchal relations and offering beauty/cosmetic education to women in Afghanistan fighting for fundamental rights under the Taliban).

Clara and Kaya's questions about critical race theory and intersectional feminism in the classroom led me to think about and define intersectionality as an approach or methodology. The opposite of intersectionality is, of course, analytical singularity (i.e., an assumption of gender or race as a singular and homogeneous construct). The title of the 1982 book edited by Akasha Gloria Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith summarizes this approach to intersectionality: *All the Women Are White, All the Men Are Black, but Some of Us Are Brave*. An intersectional methodology demands that we focus on the multiplicity of experiences/cultures/histories that contribute to our understanding of identity, power, and gender justice. So white women are not just generically white or women: they come from particular ethnic/cultural/class backgrounds; grow up in particular neighborhoods; and inherit ideas, practices, and behaviors from previous generations and geopolitical contexts. It's easier to see that Black and brown women's lives are determined by multiple forms of oppression, but so are white women's lives (it is harder to see this since white women's experiences are universalized and seen as nonracialized). White is a color—and also a race, given the

way our society works and the histories of colonialism and racialization we inherit. I told Kaya and Clara that as an educator I always complicate and challenge the power of a single narrative. There are too many narratives and material realities that have been erased for us to continue to believe in a singular hegemonic narrative. So I always want students to ask: What has been erased? What can't we see in the textbooks? And how does making multiple histories visible change the way we understand the subject we are focusing on? This in a nutshell is what it means to understand a feminist intersectional approach to scholarship and pedagogy.

The final question my young interlocutors were interested in was how I would define some of the most pressing or controversial issues we need to be looking at when it comes to gender studies today. This is a good place to map the issues that concern me and are foregrounded in this text. Using a transnational, decolonial, antiracist, anti-imperialist, feminist lens, the key issues that will determine our collective futures include (1) the proliferation of carceral regimes globally that criminalize and incarcerate brown, Black, and poor communities; (2) geopolitical climate destruction and its impact on the world's dispossessed; (3) the militarization of national borders and corresponding imperial projects; (4) the economic and political consequences of the massive displacement of peoples (war, economic, climate refugees); (5) the proliferation of corporatist, racist, misogynist cultures across national borders; (6) the decimation of labor movements; (7) the rise of protofascist, religious fundamentalist governments around the world (rise of the global right); and (8) the policing and surveillance of gendered bodies and sexualities in multiple geographic spaces. In each of these contexts I ask what difference gender makes: How are women, queer, and gender nonconforming communities impacted in each context? What does this analysis make visible in terms of gendered lives, and what does it suggest in terms of gender justice and public policy?

Based on my responses to Clara and Kaya's last question, I analyze three sites of decolonizing, anticapitalist, abolitionist feminist engagement below. In each context it is visionary feminist thinking about material realities and coalitional organizing based in a theorization of epistemic privilege, as discussed above, that shows the way forward. While each context reveals profound layers of gendered violence, histories of insurgent feminist organizing have always suggested what we might call new "freedom horizons." These are the stories of insurgent feminist thought that we need to retrieve in order to inspire future generations of social justice workers.

Insurgent Feminist Futures: On the Urgencies of Freedom and Violence in the Twenty-First Century

I think you have to work with people in such a way that you can facilitate the emergence of a shared common project. You have to address the contradictory "common sense" that we all live with, that Gramsci (1971) speaks of. Unless you can do that, then you are not going to make much headway with constructing new political agendas. To do that, you have to begin with where people are at, but not stay there, and not get sucked into taking up a narrow political position. But rather to jointly develop new discourses and practices for the creation of new political horizons, a new common sense. —AVTAR BRAH, *Decolonial Imaginings*

Avtar Brah's words suggest we must deal with the contradictory "common sense" narratives of hegemony (what we often refer to as "misinformation") in order to imagine and enact new political horizons and agendas going forward. This is precisely the conundrum we face in understanding the challenges of freedom and violence in 2025. How do we define and honor the histories and genealogies, the strategies and tactics, of our feminist foremothers and imagine new and realistic political horizons in the political and economic global landscape of the present? As suggested earlier, I draw inspiration from the CRC formulation of a feminist praxis, anchored in the lived experiences and epistemological viewpoints (critical knowledges) of queer, marginalized Black and brown women in different and connected geopolitical and historical contexts, to suggest that it is this materialist, antiracist, anti-imperialist politics that is necessary for insurgent feminist praxis at the present time.

Given my location and my history of commitments as a feminist of color living in North America, a diasporic Indian, and a member of the 2011 Indigenous and Women of Color feminist delegation to Palestine, I analyze three urgent sites of feminist engagement using a materialist, antiracist, and anticaste comparative framework to explore the meaning of an ethical, mutually accountable solidarity politics. Palestine justice and solidarity work in the United States remains a key site of antiracist, anti-imperialist feminist engagement for me—as it does for Black-Palestine solidarity movements and Indigenous-Palestine solidarity movements especially after Ferguson and Standing Rock. I believe, like many of my feminist comrades, that feminist politics must address the question of justice for Palestine as key to our liberatory agendas.

In the United States, MBL focuses on the issue of multiple levels of US state violence in the targeting of Black queer, trans, and disabled bodies,

explicitly widening the lens of state violence to include those who have been marginalized in Black liberation movements. Similar to the radical politics of the CRC, this analytic framing emerges from the lived experiences and epistemic spaces of Black, queer, trans, and feminist communities. And unlike the civil rights and Black Power movements, BLM and MBL chapters across the country do not operate by identifying charismatic leaders, opting instead for a collective, decentralized, grassroots politics. This absence of a vanguard (Old Left politics) does not mean the absence of a coherent analytical framework—and it is this framing, the analysis of state violence from the epistemological point of view of the most marginalized Black communities, that allows for a capacious and inclusive grassroots politics. This focus on state violence and its multilayered impact on Black communities is at once local, national, and transnational.[8] It involves detecting the exercise of power and relations of rule *from* the positions of Black, poor, queer, trans, impoverished, criminalized folks across a range of gender identities and thus has inspired movements across national borders, especially in Europe and Latin America. Feminist praxis that connects questions of the personal and political, of structures and subjectivities, identity and movements can thus map a countertopography of state violence as it makes and remakes notions of national borders and citizenship, subjectivities, and identities. Analytically and politically, then, BLM/MBL understood in this way is an important example of the connections between local, global, and national contexts. The interweaving of capitalist economic dominance with masculinist, protofascist, supremacist modes of governance is in full view, and just as we develop a countertopography of forms of state violence addressed by MBL, I want to connect this to US complicity in the question of justice for Palestine and to state violence as it impacts Dalit, Adivasi, and Muslim communities in India.

Given the pace at which cartographies of violence, war, and genocide continually shift, there are no conclusive arguments or strategies we can focus on. We must always work hard at understanding deepening gendered violences and regimes of disposability. I want to focus, then, on three geopolitical urgencies in the contemporary historical moment that are key to my geopolitical location and lifework of scholarship and struggle: (1) occupation, genocide, and Palestinian feminist struggles for justice; (2) the carceral state, abolition, and antiracist decolonizing feminist struggles in the United States; and (3) Hindutva, Islamophobia, and caste resistance in India. These are geopolitical urgencies that are woven through this text, but given their shape-changing nature at the present time, I need to begin

here. I argue that a decolonizing abolitionist feminist praxis provides the most capacious analytical and strategic framework to demystify the colonial carceral logics of capitalism and its continued reproduction through a politics of disposability. This feminist framework grounded in the theoretical framework of epistemic privilege of oppressed and marginalized communities in each context exposes the connections between imperial regimes, racial capitalism, and struggles around solidarity in the context of a "divide-and-rule" culture of carcerality in the three contexts explored below.

Palestine Is a Feminist Issue: On Occupation and Genocide

In June 2011, I was part of an Indigenous and feminist of color solidarity delegation to Palestine, and it transformed my understanding of the violence of occupation and the significance of Palestine as key to anti-imperialist, anticapitalist feminist struggle. My experience in Palestine led to an ongoing commitment to always teach and talk about Palestine as an urgent example of settler colonialism and imperial dispossession in the context of feminist studies.[9] It is now over eighteen months since October 7, 2023—the beginning of what the US media calls the "Israel-Hamas War" and what the rest of us understand as another Palestinian Nakba and ongoing genocide in Gaza waged by Israel, funded and sustained by the United States.[10] This is also a unique historical moment in terms of global solidarity movements for justice for Palestine evident in the massive student mobilization on US campuses and universities around the world. Since October 2023, more than sixty-two thousand Palestinians have been killed, and over three times that number injured—the majority being women and children. Gender and sexual violence has always been central to imperial projects of occupation and genocide, with ideologies of racialized heteromasculinities and femininity instrumentalized as weapons of war. The Palestinian Feminist Collective states, "In Palestine, the Zionist settler-colonial project is driven by a demographic anxiety that constructs Palestinian women's bodies, sexualities, and reproductive capacities as security threats. Palestinian mothers are coded as 'problems' and are systematically denied reproductive justice and security. Against this backdrop, the Israeli settler state falsely touts itself as a safe haven for women and LGBTQ communities. Their propaganda depicts us as violent and regressive even as we are being violated routinely, indiscriminately, and with no regard to our bodily autonomy."[11] It is a colonial/imperial/neoliberal feminism that underlies the construction of Israel as the "only democracy in the Middle East" and fans the flames of Islamophobia against Palestinians. This very construction facilitates settler colo-

nialism and occupation in the name of "progress"—the now familiar "pinkwashing" of imperial violence in Israel. In terms of the trajectory of this volume, the ongoing genocide in Gaza and the repression and treatment of student and faculty movements for justice in Palestine on US campuses illustrate the nexus of part I of this book ("Capitalist Scripts, Imperial Projects, Decolonizing Feminism") and part II ("Neoliberal Academic Landscapes, Transnational Feminisms, Cross-Border Solidarity").

The censorship of critical race theory and feminist/sexuality/trans studies in numerous states in the United States fueled by the conservative right reflects the current repression of Palestine's history and justice on US campuses.[12] As Rod Ferguson argues, "There are real connections between censorship around Black Studies and the one we are witnessing around Palestine. To begin with, the right-wing's attack on intersectionality, Black queer studies, abolitionist politics, and the like is based on the notion that these concepts and topics have no intellectual merits and they are ways of indoctrinating young people."[13] Thus, any discussion of Palestine is falsely labeled anti-Semitic and the critique of Zionism (as an ideology and a national state-building project) is conflated with anti-Semitism (racism against Jews because of who they are). The very fact that the world is witnessing a genocide and the dehumanization of Palestinians in real time and that a critique of Israel, the United States, and some European countries is "disallowed" or seen as anti-Semitic, while we are also witnessing the largest global mobilization of people calling for a ceasefire and end to war that the world has seen, is itself instructive in terms of the urgencies of violence caused by capitalist, right-wing interests around the globe. The outcome of this urgency will no doubt determine insurgent political struggles for generations to come.

There are "Gaza solidarity" student encampments on US campuses and in other parts of the world (in all seven continents) calling for a permanent ceasefire, economic divestment from Israel, and an end to US and European imperial and military support of the war on Gaza. The United States has sent more than one hundred shipments of weapons to Israel since October 7, 2023, as well as billions of dollars in aid.[14] The repression and criminalization of student movements for justice in Palestine mirror the criminalization and incarceration of dissidents and minoritized communities enacted by India and Israel—in fact, the global movements for justice in Palestine address an economic and social crisis that capitalist greed, racialized gendered supremacies, and masculinist right-wing authoritarian political culture have engendered over many decades around the world.

The Indigenous feminist scholar Sandy Grande states, "Historically the university functioned as the institutional nexus for capitalist and religious missions of the settler state, mirroring its histories of dispossession, enslavement, exclusion, forced assimilation and integration."[15] This long history of the politics of disposability, increasing levels of violence against those considered "outsiders/others," and the university and higher education as an arm of the settler-capitalist state and corporate power is now visible in ways never before seen. Is it then at all surprising that the largest student uprising on US campuses in this century has led to levels of repression and criminalization unheard of in university settings?[16] There have been hundreds of Gaza solidarity encampments and solidarity actions around the world. There have also been hundreds of police raids and thousands of campus arrests.[17] Since May 1, 2024, when police moved onto the Columbia University campus, more than two thousand students across US campuses have been forcibly removed or arrested. Here, then, is a microcosm of the entanglement of colonial/imperial projects, racial capitalist structures (read universities) anchored in carceral logics, and the refashioning of the neoliberal university into an explicit arm of the colonialist/capitalist settler state. These encampments are about freedom—calling for university disclosure of financial holdings; divestment from companies violating international law or treaties recognized by the United States and companies that manufacture weapons; recognition of Israel's war and US complicity in the ongoing genocide of Palestinians; and protection of academic freedom and democratic governance processes on university campuses. Students are engaging in popular education; participating in study groups on topics related to decolonizing, feminist, and antiracist histories of resistance; and creating infrastructures of governance at encampments that are based on mutuality, equality, and care (rather than hierarchy and bureaucracy)—thus modeling decarceral, abolitionist horizons for freedom. Here again, it is not coincidental that it is students who provide the most capacious understanding of corporate and military power in university settings and connect questions of democratic governance, freedom of expression, and imperial wars as they play out on university campuses. And it is students who face the repression of the carceral state. Henry Giroux analyzes the corporatization and militarization of higher education, naming this a "pedagogy of capitalist cloning buttressed by the threat of state terrorism."[18] Similar to the antiwar movements in 1968, South African antiapartheid, divestment protests in the 1980s, the mobilizations around Occupy Wall Street, BLM, and encampments in opposition to the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL), in

this historical moment when the world is witnessing the active attempt to remove Palestinians from Gaza and the West Bank, it is a multiracial coalition of young people, mobilizing their identities as students leading these solidarity movements—essentially showing the world why justice for Palestine is a generational calling for freedom for all. In fact, these Gaza solidarity encampments and the analysis and praxis they embody encapsulate the themes that animate my scholarship: colonial/imperial projects, anticapitalism, neoliberal academic landscapes, and solidarity across borders. While state managers, mainstream media, and corporate donors/boards of trustees at universities attempt to naturalize narratives that collapse critiques of Israel into discourses of anti-Semitism, and use punitive measures to police and criminalize students and faculty on US campuses, encampment communities of resistance loudly proclaim a counternarrative that calls for financial transparency and divestment from militarization and the weapons industry, and a permanent ceasefire in the war on Gaza. This is a call to action and for accountability for US complicity in genocide and military support in the Israeli war on Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank.

When the solution for all so-called social ills and resistance struggles is "law and order" embodied in the carceral state apparatus, it becomes obvious that the insurgent feminist politics at this time must be abolitionist—rooted in the CRC and in the radical feminist thought of Black, Indigenous, and feminists of color in the global North and South. I analyze this visionary decolonial, abolitionist feminist thought in the context of the United States below.

On the Carceral State, Abolition, and Decolonizing Feminist Struggle

> A prison-centered map shows dynamic connections among 1) criminalization; 2) imprisonment; 3) wealth transfer between poor communities; 4) disenfranchisement; and 5) migration of state and non-state practices, policies, and capitalist ventures that all depend on carcerality as a basic state-building project. —RUTH WILSON GILMORE, "Race and Globalization"

Given the widespread, indeed normalized, use of punishment, incarceration, and surveillance in the guise of "law and order" in the United States as well as globally, abolitionist, decolonizing feminist frameworks anchored in the radical politics of Black, global South, and feminists of color are key to the demystification of carceral ideologies and the dismantling of the carceral state. Ruth Wilson Gilmore's lifelong work on abolitionist feminism exemplifies the connections between racial capitalism, the prison-industrial

complex, and "carcerality as a state-building project." Abolitionist feminism is a theory, politics, and practice that refuses to consign any human beings to disposability. Angela Davis, Gina Dent, Erica Meiners, and Beth Ritchie claim that an abolitionist feminist framework conjoins a "relationality and interruption" such that abolition is most compelling when it is feminist and feminism is most capacious when it is abolitionist.[19] In fact, carceral logic seeps into all institutions and is naturalized within the United States, aided and abetted by an increasingly right-wing, conservative political establishment and neoliberal capitalism. Carceral nation-states are also national security states, and their reach extends globally. The connections between Israel, the United States, and India, for instance, are fundamentally about carceral practices shared across national borders.

Alisa Bierria, Jakeya Caruthers, Brooke Lober, Amanda Priebe, and Andrea J. Ritchie list "the ways the ideological and structural regimes of carcerality are intimately locked with the logics of debt, reputation and property; the epistemic violence of criminological bioempiricism and 'science'; carceral domesticity and policed sexuality; the exclusive white supremacist rights of privacy and surveillance; regimes of respectability and embodied order; and colonial-capitalist notions of democracy, citizenship, borders, and security."[20] Carceral logics thus reach into all our institutions, our relationships, and even our imaginations, and it is decolonizing, abolitionist feminist praxis that exposes these logics and suggests notions of freedom and liberation that allow us to imagine an epistemology of dreaming otherwise. Given the immense, disproportionate ratio of incarceration of Indigenous and poor people of color in US prisons and the use of incarceration as a strategy of containment and social death for communities deemed disposable, terrorist, or criminal by nation-states around the world, it is the vision and praxis of a transnational abolitionist feminism that suggests the way forward. The United States has 4 percent of the world's population and 22 percent of the world's prisoners.[21] The 2023 US Bureau of Justice Statistical Report on prisoners in the United States at the end of 2022 states that an estimated 32 percent of sentenced state and federal prisoners were Black (31 percent were white, 23 percent were Hispanic, 2 percent were American Indian or Alaska Native, and 11 percent were multiracial or some other race). The imprisonment rate for Black people was thirteen times that for other races.[22] In addition, the US government spends $80.7 billion on public prisons and jails and $3.9 billion on private prisons and jails. These statistics have remained stable for many years. The epistemic standpoint, analysis, and leadership of Black feminists and feminists of color in the analysis and organizing of move-

ments against the carceral state is thus very important. As Mariame Kaba and Andrea Ritchie claim, it is Black, queer, trans, migrant, and disabled communities who experience the highest forms of violence and thus have been at the forefront of defund demands.[23] In the United States, mass movements like BLM and MBL, Dream Defenders/immigrant rights coalitions, Indigenous rights movements around missing and murdered Indigenous women,[24] against the DAPL (#NoDAPL), and global land rights movements all address carceral practices, materialist capitalist dispossession, and gendered violence as key analytic frames in their demands for liberation. And I would argue all these movements are anchored in an understanding of power and knowledge that grows out of the experiences and reflections of these particular marginalized and criminalized communities and is thus key to freedom and struggles for social and economic justice.

Kaba and Ritchie state, "Given the role of the U.S. military as global police, defund demands are deeply connected to global struggles against settler colonialism, militarism, and imperialism, and for migrant justice."[25] After all, policing and surveillance enforce racially gendered economies, modes of existence, sexualities, and relations of power through technologies of surveillance, containment, and control. An abolitionist feminist praxis reveals the intimate power relations between an extractive capitalist landscape that reproduces itself through a politics of disposability of those considered "outsiders," and a sensibility that the distribution of resources ought to be organized through punitivity. This is also a decolonizing framework that exceeds national borders given the history of empire, global capitalism, and transnational governance structures. An abolitionist feminism challenges Euro-American hegemonies and foregrounds subaltern epistemologies anchored in the histories, everyday experiences, and struggles for justice of marginalized communities of women and differently gendered people. Françoise Vergès analyzes the question of cleaning—the ways that capitalism produces material and toxic waste. Her brilliant exploration of decolonizing feminism suggests that "the struggle against the racialization of cleaning and caring while imagining a decolonial politics of cleaning, caring and repairing, shows the way to construct a post-racist, post-capitalist, and post-imperialist, thus post hetero-patriarchal, world."[26] Anticaste feminist praxis in India also foregrounds struggles against the racialization of "cleaning and caring" in relation to a politics of body and purity in movements for caste and gender justice.[27] Some of the most radical feminist collectives globally are anchored in a politics of care and repair. The MAMAS Collective in Chicago is a perfect example of a decolonizing,

abolitionist feminist practice based on a politics of care and repair. This collective defines its project as "a Chicago-based feminist of color reproductive justice collective, unapologetically confronting and dismantling systems of state violence—including prisons, war, colonization, imperialism, and migrant injustices. We build power among mother-survivors of state violence, developing mutual care and aid while nurturing resistance and working, in coalition, towards a world rooted in radical justice and love."[28] There are similar collectives around the world in autonomous communities and in many countries focused on collectivity, mutuality, reciprocity, and care, showing us the way to new political and relational horizons.

Similar questions of state violence, racialized/caste politics of disposability and bodily purity, and exploitation of labor animate the analysis and visions of freedom in the work of Dalit feminists in South Asia. I turn to this analysis below. Here too it is a decolonizing abolitionist feminist analysis of caste/class/religious supremacy that suggests a way forward.

Hindutva, Islamophobia, and Dalit Feminist Challenges

As a Savarna feminist who grew up in India but has spent most of my adult life involved in Black and women of color feminist politics in the United States, I take Dalit feminist challenges very seriously. In fact, it is my work within US feminist of color communities that helps me understand and be accountable to the challenges posed by Dalit feminism. On January 22, 2024, India celebrated the consecration of the Ram Mandir in Ayodhya—a grand temple constructed on the very grounds of the sixteenth-century Babri Masjid destroyed in 1992 in the midst of the massacre of more than two thousand Muslims by Hindus instigated by Hindutva leadership, including Narendra Modi (then chief minister of Gujarat, now prime minister of India). The destruction of the mosque and subsequent rebellions ("riots" in government-speak) marked a watershed moment in Indian history (and my relationship to it). This historical event frames a key theoretical and political question for feminists—the rise of masculinist authoritarianism, religious/racial supremacy, and the global right in India and the United States (my two home spaces).

A number of Dalit feminist scholar activists like Shailaja Paik have analyzed the parallel history and connectivities between African American and Dalit movements in the United States and India.[29] Dalit feminists focus on the lived experiences and epistemic location of Dalit women to analyze the unacknowledged racial/caste, economic, cultural, and religious hierarchies within progressive, left, and feminist praxis. Here, too, it is the analy-

sis of the history and materiality of state violence (specifically the policing of bodies, the regulation of sexuality, and the exploitation of labor) as it targets Dalit women that is key to developing an anticaste, feminist framework. Thus, for instance, the Indian socialist feminist movement focused on class and patriarchy while ignoring the issue of Brahmanism, merging issues of class and caste in ways that erased Dalit women's experiences and history of organizing in the 1970s and 1980s. Sharmila Rege (an anticaste feminist scholar) referred to the exclusion of Dalit women's lives as the result of the "savarnization of womanhood and the masculinization of Dalithood."[30] (Shades of *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave*, 1982.) The parallels between Dalit feminist and Black feminist critique are not coincidental—each movement is situated in the context of racial or caste supremacy: white supremacy and Brahmanical supremacy. And both call for an anticapitalist, antiheterosexist, and embodied feminist praxis without which solidarity across differentially situated feminist communities in national and global contexts remains a distant horizon. Since the 1990s, Dalit feminist engagement with caste and sexuality explicates the history of exploited and dehumanized Dalit women's experiences of sexual violence as central to rethinking the project of "violence against women" as it has been understood by mainstream Indian feminisms over many decades. Issues of economic dispossession, labor exploitation, caste-class privilege, sexuality, and the resultant embodied experience and critical knowledges of Dalit women pose serious challenges to the project of alliance and solidarity within Indian feminist struggles.

The last decades have witnessed the rise of the global right around the world and the consolidation of power by Hindutva forces in India. Gender hierarchies and toxic masculinity are at the heart of these political developments, whereby ideologies and practices of militarized masculinity, sexualized violence, and protectionist discourses of the nation facilitate the rise of authoritarian right wing governance structures consolidated around "strong men" leaders (Narendra Modi, Donald Trump, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Vladimir Putin, etc.). There are key similarities in the extremist, right-wing ideologies of Hindutva, Zionism, and Christian/white supremacy—Islamophobia, militarized masculinity, and the creation of all so-called minorities (Dalits, Christians, Muslims, immigrants, queer, etc.) as "outsiders" to be excised from the nation.

The inauguration of the Ram Mandir legitimizes a renewed spate of violence against Muslims and Dalits, just as the war on Gaza normalizes genocide against Palestinians, and Trump and company symbolize the rise and

consolidation of white supremacists in government and corporate structures in the United States. Just as in the United States, at this writing there are eighty-six bills prohibiting colleges from having "diversity, equity, and inclusion" (DEI) offices and staff, and 215 campuses in thirty-two states have called for or passed anti-DEI legislation and thus the erasure of critical race, queer, and gender studies and rewriting history of struggles for racial and gender justice, in India the National Council of Educational Research Training, which advises the central and state governments on educational school policies, removed key aspects of Muslim history and Dalit history, as well as any account of the 2002 Gujarat riots (Hindus targeting Muslims) from high school history textbooks.[31] While there is less information on contemporary Zionist rewriting of history, the very fact of the founding of Israel in 1948 on the historical land of Palestine and claiming it as the sacred right of settlement for Jews fleeing prosecution in Europe is indicative of one of the key ideological and material tactics of supremacist states—the rewriting and erasure of Indigenous communities, histories, and memories. This is of course a key strategy of settler states globally.

The history of the building of the Ram Mandir in Ayodhya on the grounds of the demolished Babri Masjid is also a textbook case of the masculization of contemporary Indian politics and the consolidation of Brahmanical supremacy. Dalit feminist scholars have long challenged the mainstream Indian feminist movement around questions of erasure and Brahmanical supremacy and the collapsing of caste and class in feminist analysis of violence against women. Sunaina Arya and Aakash Singh Rathore, drawing on Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, describe Brahmanical patriarchy as a "specfic modality" of patriarchy based on the structure of caste, a patriarchy that is state-sanctioned especially in the context of Hindutva governance. Within this structure, they suggest that "lower caste women are most prone to violence as they face oppression at three levels: 1) caste, as subject to caste oppression at the hands of 'upper' castes, 2) class, as laborers subject to class-based oppression, also mainly at the hands of 'higher' castes who form the bulk of landowners, and 3) gender, as women who experience patriarchal oppression at the hands of all men, including men of their own caste."[32] It is this very caste-specific intersectional sexual violence against Dalit women that mainstream Indian feminists have not attended to in their theorizations of violence against women as an ongoing and profound feminist challenge in India. It is the conjuncture of endogamy, labor exploitation, caste violence, and Brahmanical partiarchy that Dalit feminists focus on. The body politics underlying caste—the politics of purity, propriety, and sexuality—must then

be key to the analysis of sexual and state violence in any South Asian context, just as questions of sexualized race and racialized class/gender must be central to any analysis of the laboring bodies of Black and brown women in the global North. Arya and Rathore claim that in fact Dalit feminist thought is subject both to masculinist scholarship, given the patriarchal structure of the Indian academy, and to what they call a "Brahmanical feminism," which is a caste-based feminist tradition of scholarship. These challenges are fundamental and urgent ones for feminist politics in India as caste hierarchies and Islamophobia form the very backbone of Hindutva ideology.

The demolition of the Masjid was carried out by Kar Sevaks (all Hindu men) under the leadership of Hindu men of all the political parties involved, and it was accompanied by a well-documented reign of physical and sexual terror inflicted on Muslim women.[33] The collapse of the idea of India as one of the largest democracies in the world, and of the Indian nation-state as no longer secular-democratic but a Hindu Rashtra (nation) symbolized by the Ram Mandir and representations of Modi as the rightful heir to Hindu gods, signals the triumph of authoritarian, masculinist rule with urgent repercussions for feminist organizing. The global shift to the right, with its corresponding authoritarian, masculinist ideologies and racist politics of extermination and exclusion of "outsiders" from the nation-state, remains one of the key urgent challenges for transnational, decolonial, feminist praxis. Dalit feminist and anticaste analysis and organizing are important instances of interfaith, multiracial, intergenerational solidarity across borders evident in grassroots organizations like Equality Labs, Severa, Coalition of Seattle Indian-Americans (CSIA), and India Civil Watch International.[34]

Confronting Power: Pedagogies of Insurgent Feminism

> Our strategy should be not only to confront empire, but to lay siege to it. To deprive it of oxygen. To shame it. To mock it. With our art, our music, our literature, our stubbornness, our joy, our brilliance, our sheer relentlessness—and our ability to tell our own stories. Stories that are different from the ones we're being brainwashed to believe. The corporate revolution will collapse if we refuse to buy what they are selling—their ideas, their version of history, their wars, their weapons, their notion of inevitability. Remember this: We be many and they be few. They need us more than we need them. Another world is not only possible, she is on her way. On a quiet day, I can hear her breathing. —ARUNDHATI ROY, *An Ordinary Person's Guide to Empire*

Inspired by Arundhati Roy's invocation of refusal, what does an antiracist, decolonizing, anticapitalist transnational feminist praxis consist of at this

time when colonial legacies and global inequities are no longer invisible and building solidarities and movements across borders is more urgent than ever before? What does it mean to craft insurgent knowledges through our writing, our art, our cultural productions, our activism, and our pedagogies? Simply put, an insurgent feminist lens requires understanding that racialized gender is key to mapping borders, histories, and movements, and asking the question: How and why do women, queer, and gender nonconforming people matter in understanding and responding to this moment of global pandemic and protest?[35] Insurgent knowledges are knowledges that demystify the circuits of power and draw on historical legacies of resistance to create spaces where democratic, anticolonial, nonhierarchical, nonexploitative relationships, identities, and communities can be imagined and practiced. Insurgent knowledges are not merely alternative knowledges—they are knowledges that contest dominant paradigms and habits of being. They are knowledges that do not suffer from a paucity of the imagination but can enable the conditions for social and economic justice on the widest possible scale. Insurgent knowledges must contest the normative, individualist, free-market-oriented paradigm of the consumer-citizen and make possible a collective, justice-based, differentiated understanding of citizenship across national, racial, and gender divides. Given the challenges I have mapped, the following are some key formulations that constitute pedagogies and practices of dissent and refusal. I want to talk about these formulations as theoretical and pedagogical imperatives, as epistemic strategies we can deploy in our classrooms and our everyday journeys through educational and cultural spaces—hence, an insurgent feminist primer![36]

a. Connect educational/cultural spaces to national and transnational institutions of rule and oppositional social movements (talk about the corporate/prison/ cyber/military-industrial complex).
b. Make power hierarchies, labor relations, knowledge/disciplinary hierarchies, research funding, financial aid priorities, and so on, transparent and connect to questions of social control and collective struggles *outside* educational and cultural institutions.
c. Engage in institutional ethnographies that historicize and contextualize questions of difference in institutional and curricular terms. Issue "state of the institution" reports. Form watchdog groups to monitor corporate practices and investment portfolios—call for disclosure and divestment.

d. Actively resist the privatization of social justice commitments—ask what "public" means, how citizenship, democracy, and justice are addressed by university mandates. Make our institutions accountable to the public good defined in social justice and redistribution of resources terms—not politics of presence or charitable acts toward communities.
e. Make market logic and national security priorities of higher education and the state transparent in all curricula. Create and build collectivities of dissent—study groups, watchdog groups, unions, and mentoring collectives that nurture the will to critique/dissent. Organize!

Insurgent Visions: A Road Map

Insurgent Visions combines single and coauthored essays, as well as an extended interview, and is organized into two parts: (1) "Capitalist Scripts, Imperial Projects, Decolonizing Feminism" and (2) "Neoliberal Academic Landscapes, Transnational Feminisms, Cross-Border Solidarity."

As the book title suggests, my thinking over the last decades has woven together all the themes/topics/concepts in the sections above, and it is the result of deep involvement in radical transnational, antiracist, anticapitalist feminist communities in the global South and North and my location as a feminist scholar-activist in the US academy. As in earlier work, I always think and imagine new worlds alongside communities in struggle. I believe our best work is always indebted to dialogue, thinking, and organizing across borders; thus for me collaboration is as much a form of radical political work as it is a genre of writing and producing knowledge.[37] The three collaborative chapters in this collection as well as the interview/dialogue in the first chapter are then as important as the single-authored chapters. Each chapter in *Insurgent Visions* encapsulates feminist struggles at a particular historical moment and location and maps the intricacies, challenges, and potentialities of solidarity across borders in imagining and enacting new, liberatory feminist horizons. Each chapter involves historical, contextual analysis, exploring genealogies of structures, policies, movements, and identities that suggest decolonizing projects in multiple sociopolitical and pedagogical spaces.

Part I, "Capitalist Scripts, Imperial Projects, Decolonizing Feminism," foregrounds the structures, ideologies, and practices of colonial legacies, racial capitalism, imperial projects, and the challenges faced by a decolonial feminist praxis committed to cross-border organizing and solidarity. Chapter 1 is a conversation about my intellectual and political genealogy and the

intellectual trajectory that led to my theorizing the significance of race, colonialism, and the state in anticapitalist feminist critique. Chapter 2, cowritten with Sarah Miraglia, demonstrates how neoliberal economic policies are fundamentally gendered and argues that restructuring policies commodifying public services has effectively "reprivatized" women, reifying their subordinated, invisible work under the guise of "empowerment." Chapter 3, cowritten with Linda Carty, continues the analysis of neoliberal economic structures and the challenges posed to radical transnational feminist solidarity. The chapter reflects on a survey conducted among thirty-three multigenerational feminist scholar-activists from Asia, South America, the Caribbean, North Africa, Europe, and North America, honoring the voices, theorizations, and multiple genealogies of our feminist interlocutors, constructing a dialogue that foregrounds the similarities and the differences in our collective thinking and praxis as it has evolved over the decades. Chapter 4 analyzes the political and epistemological struggles that are embedded in radical critical, antiracist, anticapitalist feminist praxis at this time. Focusing on three geopolitical sites, the US-Mexico borderlands, Gaza and the West Bank, and India/Kashmir, I argue that there is a new/old world order in which neoliberalism, imperial practices, and militarization proliferate under new guises of development, humanitarianism, and peacekeeping, revealing the contours of securitized states that function as imperial democracies. The ideologies and practices that constitute and legitimize these imperial democracies fundamentally include gendered logics (such as the rescue narrative, militarized masculinity, and "the condition of women"). They also operate *on* and *through* the body, via what I call the "biomilitarization of the body," in which particular and predictable (immigrant, brown, poor, Indigenous, etc.) individuals exist under constant surveillance and fear of incarceration. Given the current wars, occupations, and dispossession that are ongoing in Gaza, Kashmir, and the US-Mexico border, I believe this chapter offers a comparative analytic framework that continues to be relevant.

Part II, "Neoliberal Academic Landscapes, Transnational Feminisms, Cross-Border Solidarity," focuses centrally on US higher education and the challenge of transformative antiracist, anti-imperialist feminist knowledge projects. Chapter 5 raises key questions about the genealogy and material investments of the discipline of women's and gender studies in the United States and its ties to empire building. Using the case of Abu Ghraib, the prison-industrial complex, the Bush/Cheney war state, and the history of women's studies as empirical supports, this chapter outlines the ways in

which colonialism and empire traffic in women's bodies, relying on particular narratives of race, gender, sexualization, and nationalism (including citizenship) to consolidate and reproduce power. Chapter 6, cowritten with M. Jacqui Alexander, continues this genealogical mapping, this time mapping the "transnational" in feminist studies. We begin by naming the US neoliberal academy as a site of empire consolidation as well as knowledge production about globalization and the transnational. From our privileged space within the system, we suggest an analysis attentive to "hierarchies of place." In other words, we pay attention to what types of knowledge may be produced from within the academy as well as to the other (nonacademic/movement) spaces that produce feminist knowledge, and what the voices from these (lesser-valued) spaces are saying (and doing). To be accountable to hierarchies of place—a form of power—in the study of the transnational means integrally including knowledge from everywhere: from outside the academy, from diverse voices, and from a variety of epistemological perspectives. Chapter 7 extends my analysis of the neoliberal academy, focusing on critiques of my work and the ways this "travels" across national borders and geopolitical sites. I explore how my work is utilized in the differing neoliberal contexts of Sweden, Mexico, and Palestine. I argue that for feminists invested in projects of social justice, the concepts of "the decolonization of knowledge, the politics of difference and commonality, and historicizing and specifying women's struggles and identities in the context of anticolonial, anticapitalist struggles within a neoliberal global culture" have proved fundamental. On the other hand, to those invested in maintaining the status quo, my ideas are more often misread. In other words, for those who need them—the insurgents, the marginalized, the radicals working for change—my political commitments within the theorizing are clear and gainfully utilized. For those who don't "need" the work in concrete material contexts, however, it can still be read as essentialist theory, useful in the abstract. Finally, chapter 8 returns to my earlier work, and the construct of *cartographies of struggle*. As an analytic concept, I argue that cartographies of struggle allow us to grasp how power works through interconnected histories of (1) racial capitalism and labor flows, (2) colonial legacies of heteronormative nation-states and projects of citizenship, and (3) transnational/cross-border movements and advocacy for economic and social justice. Chapter 8 argues that we build a transnational feminist praxis by addressing three interwoven conceptual and political cartographies in these times of pandemic and protest: border crossings, interconnected histories, and intersectional social movements/ethical solidarities.

Notes

1 See my earlier book *Feminism Without Borders*.
2 See "Combahee River Collective Statement," in Eisenstein, *Capitalist Patriarchy*. See also Yamahtta-Taylor, *How We Get Free*.
3 Kannan, "Third World Women's Alliance."
4 See Alcoff et al., *Identity Politics Reconsidered*; and Moya and Hames-Garcia, *Reclaiming Identity*. For instance, Satya Mohanty argues, "If we define the notion of epistemic privilege in this way, as the product of the labor of living in oppressive social conditions, we can see how realist theorists reclaim and rehabilitate the much-needed notion of experience—ordinary, everyday experience—as a materialist one, as an aspect of a wider cluster of views about knowledge and social identity" ("Social Justice and Culture," 18–27). See also feminist philosophers' theorization of standpoint theory in Harding and Narayan, *Decentering the Center*.
5 See the documentary film *Crossroads*, by Clara Fong and Kaya Srivastava Liu.
6 See Ahmed, *Living a Feminist Life*.
7 See Farris, *In the Name of Women's Rights*.
8 See Ransby, *Making All Black Lives Matter*.
9 See the statement from the delegation: BDS, "A Call to Action from Indigenous and Women of Color Feminists."
10 As Ruth Wilson Gilmore says, "To describe is also to produce." See her "Race and Globalization."
11 Palestinian Feminist Collective, "Shut Down Colonial Feminism on International Day."
12 See *Inside Higher Ed*, "Higher Ed's Top 10 Developments of 2023."
13 Ferguson, "An Interruption of Our Cowardice."
14 *Tricontinental*, "The Students Will Not Tolerate Hypocrisy."
15 Grande, "Refusing the University."
16 Tuck and Yang, *Toward What Justice?*, 47. On April 30, 2024, the day before May 1 (May Day, a holiday that honors workers' struggles around the world), hundreds of New York City police officers entered the Columbia University campus at the behest of the president, Baroness Minouche Shafik. They were there in full riot gear to arrest and remove students who had occupied Hamilton Hall (renamed Hinds Hall in honor of a six-year-old girl killed in Gaza) and to provide "law and order" and protect the private property of Columbia University. The world watched this militarized takeover of the campus in real time on all the major news outlets (CNN, MSNBC, etc.). Columbia University students were the first in the United States to build a peaceful Gaza solidarity encampment on their campus, declaring it a liberated zone for political education, care, and community advocating for justice for Palestine and other humanitarian crises around the world.
17 See "An Interactive Map of Gaza Solidarity Encampments Around the World," Palestine Is Everywhere, accessed May 20, 2024, https://www.palestineiseverywhere.com.
18 Giroux, "Campus Protests Are Fighting Militarism and Corporatization."
19 Davis et al., *Abolition. Feminism. Now*.
20 Bierria et al., *Abolition Feminisms*.

21 Prashad, *Struggle Makes Us Human*.
22 "Prisoners in 2022—Statistical Tables," Bureau of Justice Statistics, Office of Justice Programs, November 2023, https://bjs.ojp.gov/document/p22st_sum.pdf.
23 Kaba and Ritchie, *No More Police*.
24 See Native Hope, "Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women (MMIW)," accessed November 26, 2024, https://www.nativehope.org/missing-and-murdered-indigenous-women-mmiw.
25 Kaba and Ritchie, *No More Police*.
26 Vergès, *Decolonial Feminism*.
27 My thanks to Taveeshi Singh for pointing this out.
28 "Mothering Is Radical," MAMAS, accessed May 20, 2024, https://www.motheringisradical.com accessed.
29 S. Paik, "Building Bridges."
30 Rege, *Writing Caste/Writing Gender*.
31 See the DEI Legislation Tracker in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, accessed May 20, 2024, https://www.chronicle.com/article/here-are-the-states-where-lawmakers-are-seeking-to-ban-colleges-dei-efforts. Similarly, a report issued by twenty-two Indian diaspora organizations names the dangerous role played by the BJP (Modi's Bharatiya Janata Party) in rewriting history by presenting Muslims as having no ties to India. See Wire Staff, "Ayodhya Ram Temple Inauguration Sets a 'Dangerous Precedent.'"
32 Arya and Rathore, *Dalit Feminist Theory*, 15.
33 Raveendran, "Ayodhya Issue Reflects the Increasing Masculinization of Politics in India." For current debates around feminism in India, see feminisminindia.com.
34 Equality Labs is a Dalit feminist civil rights organization that "works to end caste apartheid, gender-based violence, Islamophobia, and white supremacy through advocacy, education, digital security, and collective healing" (https://www.equalitylabs.org); Savera is a platform "bringing together an interfaith, multiracial, anti-caste coalition of organizations to build a new world" against supremacist politics (https://www.wearesavera.org; see its report *HAF Way to Supremacy* on the Hindu American Foundation's far-right connections); and Coalition of Seattle Indian-Americans (CSIA) led the efforts to make Seattle the first US city to ban caste discrimination (Sarkar, "Meet the Activist Coalition"). India Civil Watch International is "a non-sectarian left diasporic membership-based organization that represents the diversity of India's people and anchors a transnational network to building radical democracy in India" (https://indiacivilwatch.org/).
35 See chapter 8 for an extended discussion responding to these questions.
36 This is my own small version of Sara Ahmed's brilliant primer *The Feminist Killjoy Handbook*.
37 This commitment to dialogue and collaboration is the basis of a video archive project with my colleague Linda Carty: Feminist Freedom Warriors, http://feministfreedomwarriors.org.