



SAVING THE SECURITY STATE

EXCEPTIONAL CITIZENS IN TWENTY-FIRST-CENTURY AMERICA

INDERPAL GREWAL

**SAVING THE
SECURITY STATE**

NEXT WAVE New Directions in Women's Studies
A series edited by Inderpal Grewal, Caren Kaplan, and Robyn Wiegman

SAVING THE SECURITY STATE

Exceptional Citizens in Twenty-First-Century America

INDERPAL GREWAL

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Airport confiscated knives. Image courtesy of the artist.

No project achieves “hegemony” as a completed project. It is a process, not a state of being. No victories are permanent or final. Hegemony has constantly to be “worked on,” maintained, renewed, and revised. Excluded social forces, whose consent has not been won, whose interests have not been taken into account, form the basis of counter-movements, resistance, alternative strategies and visions . . . and the struggle over a hegemonic system starts anew. They constitute what Raymond Williams called “the emergent” — and are the reason why history is never closed but maintains an open horizon towards the future. —**STUART HALL**, “The Neoliberal Revolution”

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I had thought this was going to be a short book. I had written an essay on “Security moms” and thought that I would just expand that into a few other directions and write a long essay on the topic of gender and security. But it turned out I had a lot to say and explore about US imperial power in the new century. Trained as a postcolonial studies scholar, but one who had become interested in the relation between postcolonial politics and transnational epistemologies and analytics, I thought US empire could be examined through a transnational lens that could critique the geopolitics of exceptionalism. Instead of a long essay, it’s now a book that took almost a decade to write.

I’ve been fortunate over the years to have been part of many new paradigms that have come to decenter imperial knowledges and the racial and gendered hierarchies that prevented academic research on communities and identities resulting from colonial and imperial power. From colonial discourse analysis, to transnational feminist cultural studies, and then to critical security studies, examinations of racialized empire and militarism, and cultural politics—all these fields have been critical to the methods and subjects of my research. I’ve been privileged to work with colleagues and students who have changed fields and methods, though many of us still believe that there is more to be done. Many of these scholars are first- or second-generation immigrants, and scholars who have become diasporic, who have brought studies of European and American imperialisms to new directions through their critiques. The Cold War demarcations of areas, of North and South, are being undercut through a variety of practices of research and knowledge making. There is

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My thanks also to Steve Bell for permission to use his brilliant and evocative cartoon.

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INTRODUCTION. Exceptional Citizens?
Saving and Surveilling in Advanced Neoliberal Times

If you see something, say something.

—Sign created and sponsored by the
Department of Homeland Security after 9/11

You see a girl who could do anything.
He sees a girl he can force to do anything.

STOPSEXTRAFFICKINGINTL.COM
—Sign at Tennessee rest stop, starting 2014

How might we theorize a state that sponsors and displays both of these signs?¹ One asks individuals to be responsible for surveillance and to work for the security of state and empire. The other asks them to surveil fellow travelers to rescue victims of “trafficking.”² This book argues that these two seemingly divergent modes of participation reveal the intertwining and co-construction of citizen-subjects of welfare and militarization in the context of American imperial power within a neoliberal era. These two modes of power—surveillance and saving—in this new century construct citizens as securitized subjects within the United States, producing “exceptional citizens” who work to save the “exceptional nation.” What I call the “advanced” phase of neoliberalism has made visible insecurities concerning the waning power of the US global empire that results in protests, some progressive and some revanchist, by these exceptional citizens.

The United States, under both neoliberal and imperial policies, can be understood through the “state effect” of appearing as a security state, operating through securitization as a mode of power over its populations. Its liberalism has long been contested because of its history of what Patrick Wolfe called settler colonialism and the continuing legacy of racism.³ It cannot be seen as a welfare or a liberal state because its remit has turned to maintaining state security in the context of ongoing wars.⁴ By using terms such as “securitization” and “security state,” I show how constructs of security have come to dominate everyday life in the US imperial state.⁵ Relations are changing between the state and its citizens: between individuals, communities, and families; and between the state, corporations, and individuals.⁶ A state of security as permanent emergency and endless war has become the hegemonic logic of governance of this neoliberal security state. Security has become the rationale for militarized cultures of surveillance and protection that lead to insecurities, threats and fears, which work at material, affective and embodied levels. Security is also a cause and effect not just of the relations of the United States with the world, but also of neoliberal policies that have contributed to the inequalities that create insecurity throughout the world, including in the United States itself.⁷ In response to these insecurities of the new century, private individuals who see themselves as normative citizens become empowered to take responsibility for maintaining the imperial security state.⁸ These individuals, produced as responsible and self-improving and thus products of neoliberal self-empowerment regimes, hope to repair the effects of imperial and neoliberal policies and thereby save the security state. Yet however much they try, their attempts often end in failure, thus producing more insecurity. This shuttle between security and insecurity marks the exceptional citizens of the US security state.

Neoliberal policies were implemented during the 1970s in the so-called developing world—that is, the regions formerly colonized by Europe—by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, which demanded that countries in debt from the rise in the price of oil in the 1970s repay their debts by slashing their welfare budgets. Many countries had to comply, and it was often the case that the cuts came from reducing welfare to the poorest of inhabitants. Called “The Washington Consensus,” these policies were later jointly championed by UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and US President Ronald Reagan in the 1980s, and led to similar reductions to welfare in both countries. These policies included greater belief in the work of the market to address all social issues, the reduction of welfare, the privatization of public goods, and the language of efficiency and productivity in

everyday life. David Harvey describes neoliberalism as the acceptance of the idea that “human well-being can be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade.”⁹ While Harvey’s emphasis lies on the market logics that are important for neoliberal policies, Nikolas Rose calls the production of an entrepreneurial self an important feature of “advanced liberalism.”¹⁰ Following Michel Foucault’s theorization of the crisis of the liberal state and economism at the end of the twentieth century, Rose argues that the self-making, self-marketing, and self-improving subject is characteristic of this new phase in Western liberal democracies that are unable (or unwilling) to provide welfare to all. While considering the impact of economic policies across the globe as described by Harvey, I rely on Rose’s analysis to suggest that neoliberalism also altered subjectivities; the exceptional American citizen trying to save the security state is the product of the self-empowerment regime that is central to neoliberalism in the United States.

While David Harvey, Michael Hardt, and Antonio Negri argue that neoliberalism is a global phenomenon, others note that it manifests in specific localized/national or transnational projects.¹¹ For instance, John and Jean Comaroff suggest the specificity of what they call “millennial capitalism” in South Africa is one example of neoliberalism being globally connected, but also having particular regional specificities.¹² Following this focus on specificities, I argue in this book that the specificity of American neoliberalism is connected to its military projects, the emergence of its Christian and humanitarian citizenship, and the rearticulation of its exceptionalism.

While theories of neoliberalism have suggested the ideologies that construct neoliberal policies were fashioned by international organizations and economists in the United States, each region and state has come to have its own history of neoliberalism, with particular impacts and differences. After many decades, we see an “advanced stage” that is also specific to each location, a stage that becomes the result of how neoliberalism manifested itself in its particularities. This “advanced” stage captures how decades of neoliberal policies have altered the social and created problems that we see across the world. In the United States, neoliberalism’s “advanced” stage appears in a context that is not just economic, but incorporates both capitalism’s and liberalism’s late modern forms. Thus it includes wars without end, environmental and social insecurities, proliferating racial and gendered differences generated by the conjoining of militarism and capitalism. It is also manifest in the naturalization of the neoliberal individual as exceptional

citizen, one who is shaped not simply by capitalism but also by a variety of social and political formations and affiliations that construct individuals, communities, nationalisms. The shift to an “advanced” form becomes visible in the emergence of contradictions and protests to neoliberalism, as well as the management of these by neoliberal subjects, militarized power, and authority. Protests find openings and possibilities in the contradictions between transnational capital and the imperial state; between neoliberal polices and imperial state powers; and between neoliberal and securitized citizen-subjects within the complex history of American exceptionalism.

Protests are not limited to the United States either. They are also globally disparate, as neoliberal policies and divergent histories contribute differentially to particular regional and national politics and powers. Just as neoliberal policies are nationally and culturally specific, protests are also specific—though globally they can collaborate, sustain each other, or clash. Not all protests take the form of a particular racial or class formation nor a religious, gendered, sexual, or racial identity. Not all are progressive, and they can be revolutionary or revanchist in heterogeneous ways, catalyzed by local and transnational events and connections, and many shift over time according to the stresses and possibilities that protestors encounter.

Protests in the United States come from concerns over waning empire, loss of racial sovereignty among whites, and economic issues as well as social movements based on race, gender, and sexuality. Imperial wars have led to declines in US global power, and neoliberal policies have shifted power from state to private individuals (including private corporations) and created economic inequalities. “Exceptional citizens” are a result of such declines. Naturalized as entrepreneurial and aspirational but also fearful and insecure, they believe that they can do more than the state and save the empire and the world. Yet they are concerned about everyday safety and security and thus turn to the security state for protection. These citizens, insecure and imperial, wish to access and maintain the privileges of whiteness to become exceptional and sovereign. Those who pass for white, or try to do so,¹³ seek a strong military state yet are historically suspicious about state power. They thus both collaborate and come into conflict with the state in the work of surveillance and security.

In the United States, these decades of neoliberal policies have altered the state and its relation to people, resulting in changes in the nature of political sovereignty. While some scholars argue that neoliberalism has waned,¹⁴ this book argues that, on the contrary, a more “advanced” stage enables

its contradictions to be resolved by neoliberal and militarized means, that is, through the work of securitized, exceptional citizens. As contradictions have emerged between imperial state power and deeply unequal individuals, states, and cities, what becomes visible are the myriad insecurities that individuals must manage in order to become normative, exceptional citizens of the US empire. “Advanced neoliberalism” marks both the specificities of this stage of neoliberalism in this new century as well as its shifting mode of power in so-called advanced liberal democracies.¹⁵ If neoliberalism’s characteristics include self-responsible and self-improving citizens and the move from welfare to security, the characteristics of its advanced form include the emergence and management of protests as well as the visibility of insecurities of imperial power. Divisions between public and private become difficult to sustain, as sovereignty is claimed by white male power and privilege, and as corporations carry out the work of the military and as nongovernmental organizations take over the welfare function of the state. These changes have weakened ties between states and citizens that were enabled by welfare, so that the security state becomes a means to connect citizens to the state through militarization,¹⁶ a project that often goes awry, or leads to consequences that create further insecurity. To manage protests, subjects are securitized in neoliberal ways—that is, made fearful through mediated panics about external threats from immigrants and terrorists as the causes of insecurity—and they take responsibility for security. These insecurities continue to try to repress the rebellious consequences of neoliberal policies, as much as they continue to generate its insurrections.

Such citizen-subjects who work to save the security state comprise individuals (or corporate entities) acting as both agents and vehicles of humanitarian welfare and surveillance, hoping to reassert the legitimacy of the United States as a model of a liberal, capitalist democracy. These entities undertake this work as imperial subjects: first, in deciding who should be improved, in claiming to make these improvements, and in making others into subjects of neoliberal empire; and second, in enabling and incorporating the practices of security through surveillance into the changing norms of family, consumer, and citizen. Transnational corporations are also increasingly claiming their own sovereignty, as they become endowed with some of the sovereign rights of citizens.¹⁷ In addition, because a small transnational capitalist class also often governs corporations, the alliances of transnational corporations go beyond the United States. Neoliberalism’s transnational scope produces contradictions, banality, and crises.

Since the US empire is not new, neither are its imperial subjects—including its white, masculine sovereignties—nor its militarisms.¹⁸ US surveillance regimes can trace a history from nineteenth- and twentieth-century imperial projects in the Philippines.¹⁹ Yet some subjects and modes of what has come to be called “securitization” by the neoliberal state are shifting because the endless war on terror, the failures of US invasions in the Middle East, and a changing politics of race, class, sexuality and religion have produced moral panics as well as economic precarities, adding to histories of racialization and expulsion from citizenship. There are concerns about American power and security, as well as protests against the reduction of welfare and the security state from what is seen as a past of plenty and prosperity, even if this was not uniformly available to all citizens or even available for long periods of time.²⁰ The resolution of these tensions and contradictions emerges as humanitarianisms and exceptional citizens struggle to save the security state.

In this book, I examine the contradictions of neoliberal empire in the United States through several securitized subjects: the “security mom” who works to privatize state security within the heteronormative and white middle-class family through parental and community surveillance; the “humanitarian,” often white but including others aspiring to exceptionalism, who makes individual and consumer choices about who should get welfare and who should not in the hope that individual efforts can remedy the depredations of globalization and American racial/colonial histories; the “security feminist” who takes on the work of counterterrorism and counterinsurgency as a project of gendered empowerment to protect the security state; and the “shooter” who embodies the white, male exceptional citizen to whom sovereignty is dispersed so that he can use violence in the protection of the American empire. These figures are often struggling, tragic, or violent, and have become normative citizen-subjects of the United States as a neoliberal, imperial, security state.²¹

American Exceptionalism and Postcolonial Theories

For many who live in the United States and outside it, the history of the United States and of its geopolitics (as well as its expansion in North America) is not about claims of civilizational superiority or moral authority. Many in the United States and around the world have few illusions about the moral claims made by the US nation-state. They have long challenged its legitimacy as a proponent of freedom and democracy given its history of wars and colonialism, of being a racial settler state, and of supporting violent dictatorships

in Latin America during the Cold War. More recently, many in the United States seem concerned with its waning power, and with the insecurities engendered by such loss.²² Their concern is that the United States has lost the stature that enabled its claim of geopolitical and national exceptionalism after the Cold War.

Postcolonial theories of the state emphasize the differential power of European and American states that make claims to normative notions of liberal democracy. They critique the ability of Europe and North America to adjudicate which states are “failed” and which are successful, which are “civilized” and which are not, which are modern and which are traditional.²³ Postcolonial theories also emphasize differences between European or US imperial states and postcolonial states, even as a transnational analysis can break down the grounds of hierarchical (rather than cultural or historical) difference, especially undercutting claims of superiority and hierarchy made on behalf of the “West.” Postcolonial theory has needed theories of transnationalism to examine how the making of empire within and outside are connected, and to reveal the contradictions and emptiness of claims of liberal equality in the United States.²⁴

Jean and John Comaroff argue that we need a “Theory from the South,” deterritorializing the concept of the “south” away from the regional demarcation of the “Global South” to understand the forms of capitalism and state power that we see globally. Recognition of the “South,” its forms of power, and governance that are now the norm, decenters the norm of the modern, liberal Western state and its assertions of liberal democracy.²⁵ Such theories suggest that the United States and other Western countries are now following the forms of state, governance, and authority that prevail in the regions where imperial projects and policies in tandem with neoliberal capitalism have been implemented for over four decades. For it is in the Global South where emergent nationalisms, militancies, and violence appeared in the late twentieth century. “Terrorism” against the state, as many insurgencies were called, also emerged in several regions of the Global South (i.e., India, Sri Lanka, Colombia, Peru, Indonesia, Israel, and the Philippines), providing laws and security expertise for counterinsurgency campaigns by states.²⁶ The Global South was the laboratory of the wars against state power,²⁷ as well as the site for the implementation of neoliberal policies. But it was not only the Global South that became the laboratory of neoliberalism, but also many regions within the United States and Europe, where elites could extract profits while reducing welfare or use race to extract labor and profits. These were regions where the imperial state and the racial state were operating in

conjoined ways producing what appeared as a security state for many minority populations.

While the notion of the “South” can highlight the connections between state practices within and outside US borders, it is nevertheless important to make some distinctions between the United States and regions outside it, as much as it is important to reveal the racialized discrepancies between US geopolitics and national politics. Geopolitics can be a site where contradictions of US power have become visible. As an imperial state, the United States and its inequities reveal it to be—as Achille Mbembe suggests of the postcolony—banal in its production of violence and inequalities as well as in the limits of its liberalism and welfare.²⁸ While the United States is different in its constant claim of superiority and power, it is similar to so many other global regions in its insecurity and burgeoning inequalities. Thus, the US nation-state can be understood as unexceptional despite its claims of national exceptionalism since, like so many states in the Global South, it has emerged as a security state rather than a liberal, welfare state with regard to its own populations. There are, however, limits to this equivalence. The insurgencies in the Global South, even if they were called “militancies” or “terrorism,” did not have the impact that was the result of what was called terrorism in the empire. The US imperial state is different in scale and in the nature of its exceptionalism, rather than exceptional or superior from the postcolonial state. Its difference is that it claims the right to use violence globally while producing itself as normative and liberal, despite its waning power globally and its illiberalism within. Despite this difference, however, it also now seems unable to control geopolitics, or to assert itself as morally superior, or to gain legitimacy by providing welfare to its own populations.

The claim of American exceptionalism has been based on both a history of national formation within an anti-imperial teleology, and the imperial power to use violence.²⁹ Making visible this ideology requires consideration both of the historical construction of national exceptionalism and of the political concepts of sovereignty and the modern state. Amy Kaplan has argued that the idea of American exceptionalism has been understood as a claim to anti-colonial origins that erases viewing the United States as empire. She suggests that exceptionalism is a denial that produces America as a self-generating and autonomous nation-state that leaves out the ways that a history of American empire and imperialism has continuities with European colonialism.³⁰ As Jasbir Puar argues, Kaplan’s critique of exceptionalism engages usefully with an understanding of the geopolitics of sexuality and American exceptionalism through the work of Giorgio Agamben and Carl Schmitt. These

theories of the state and sovereignty as exception lay bare the violence of the state that is racial, gendered, and sexualized.³¹ Such an engagement can usefully examine how United States as empire comes to appear as uniquely progressive by absorbing social movements such as those by US-based LGBT communities to create an emergent homonationalism.³²

It is not just in the making of nationalism, but in what has been ideologically constructed as a security state that we can diagnose the contradictions of the claim of US exceptionalism. In previous work, I have argued that it is in the juxtaposition of necropolitics and geopolitics, the “interrelation between the sovereign right to kill and the right to rescue” that constitutes modes of state power at the end of the twentieth century.³³ This juxtaposition has particular salience for American exceptionalism. The United States has acted as a globally sovereign actor, able to suspend international law while insisting it applies only to Other (non-European, for the most part) nations, groups, or individuals. Conservative arguments supporting America’s national exceptionalism rely on ideas of Western liberalism and humanism as superior characteristics of the United States,³⁴ or on the ideology of a nation of migrants, class mobility, and the “American dream.” At the same time, critical scholarly studies have examined American exceptionalism as national fantasy,³⁵ where national exceptionalism enables war and violence. All of these approaches render liberalism as either strategic or a mode of power, as the US empire that calls itself a liberal democracy is able to wage war and to violate the sovereignty of other states, setting itself up as moral arbiter and police as well as proponent of freedom, democracy, and the capitalist “American Dream.”³⁶

Theories of US exceptionalism also have considered the problems of divergent effects of such claims. In a book of essays published in 1997, Seymour Martin Lipset argued that American exceptionalism stemmed from Alexis de Tocqueville’s conceptualization of America, and from the position of the United States as a country born out of revolution. According to Lipset, the characteristics of US exceptionalism include liberty, egalitarianism, individuality, populism, and laissez-faire capitalism.³⁷ Yet he argued that the antielitist, populist, and individualist aspects of this exceptionalism can lead to problems of populism, some of which have become visible over the decades and in the new century. As he very presciently observed, while elite forms of power continue to shape policy, populist elements continue to challenge notions of liberal democracy creating forms of violence that undercut US geopolitical clout.

Both elites and nonelites have become concerned with America’s waning power, though for different agendas and reasons. David Bromwich has

argued that US exceptionalism has changed, becoming much more about the claim of being “the greatest country in the world,” defending peace and democracy globally, but also being unaccountable to anyone. He believes that exceptionalism has led to moral decline.³⁸ While there are many who would contest the claim of the United States to the moral high ground that Bromwich’s critique implicitly relies upon, his challenge that the claim of exceptionalism is a moral hazard that produces a lack of accountability is useful. It helps in understanding the US mode of empire as including a moral aspect. This moral aspect appears in the will to rescue, to save, to become humanitarians, or to wage “just war.” It is this aspect that continues to be powerful in producing securitized subjects who wish to become global humanitarians, even when faced with the impacts of the neoliberal policies and wars of the United States. It is also a “moral” aspect that has been absorbed into the formation of the neoliberal entrepreneurial subject within what Didier Fassin and Mariella Pandolfi have called a “moral economy.”³⁹ This moral striving leads exceptional citizens to continue to strive to improve themselves and others, even though such efforts may appear to be empty or futile.

Surveilling, Securitization, and the Security State

Over the last few years, journalists have revealed the extent to which the US state surveilled its citizens, especially those, such as Muslims, who are now figured as racialized national security threats.⁴⁰ This surveillance exists alongside continuing racial profiling of South Asian Muslims and those of Middle Eastern descent, as well as Latinos and African Americans; such profiling has become a method of crime and “terror” prevention.⁴¹ Corporations also participate in surveillance by gathering consumer data, producing profiles, and predicting consumer behavior and habits.⁴² Consumer data as well as political behavior and actions online that become political data are commodities that are for sale, increasing the likelihood of more surveillance by digital technology companies.⁴³ There is often a close relation between corporations and state security projects, as states and corporations work on surveillance either in partnership, separately, or even antagonistically. In addition, because neoliberalism often blurs divisions between public and private entities, corporations are increasingly endowed with the rights of persons. Entities and groups that claim to be outside of the state, such as NGOs, can both depend on the state and claim to be outside of it.⁴⁴ One widely noted example of the collaboration between public and private entities is the US government’s privatization of state security through its use of private corpo-

rations in the invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan.⁴⁵ It is this fuzziness between public and private power through which sovereignty is shared, making some persons more secure because of power given to them and some insecure (or even targets of racial violence) because of the power exercised by these non-state sovereignties. Both race and gender are key determinants of sovereignty or lack thereof, as race emerges to enable white citizens to governmentalize security, leading to criminalizing nonwhite groups in old and new ways.⁴⁶ New technologies of profiling emerge within legal, material, and political domains that engage with the political economy of security and insecurity.

Neoliberalism relies on racial, religious, and gender exclusions as much as did liberalism. Dispersing sovereignty to particular authoritarian white masculinities and, to a lesser extent, femininities,⁴⁷ these racialized and gendered subjects feel empowered and responsible in emergent ways in this century. Some are empowered by a sovereignty given to them to claim historically racialized white power for groups not always seen as white, while others bring together race and gender to create new imperial feminisms. While some forms of racialized exclusions (such as immigration laws) seem to continue, Muslims, Arabs, and South Asians are more visibly racialized as dangerous Others who are left out even from becoming neoliberal citizens.⁴⁸ African Americans, Latinos, and Native peoples continue to be targets of a carceral state that is also part of the security state.⁴⁹ White, imperial sovereignties constitute the “soft” and “hard power” of military force, sometimes as humanitarianism and other times as police.⁵⁰ In particular, what is visible in the new century is that this “soft power” is inextricable from the “hard power” of the military. Military and consumer technologies have long been codependent, and military technologies continue to reformulate everyday life in new ways.⁵¹ In particular, what is called the “carceral state” is constructed through military technologies to enact forms of racialized power.⁵² Racial profiling and consumer profiling are both enabled by new technologies that allow public and private organizations to collect personal data.⁵³ State welfare agencies, banks, and retail companies all use digital technologies to collect biometric, location, DNA, consumption, Internet, and face-recognition data. Data-mining tools grow ever more sophisticated and fine tuned, though it is unclear whether they can achieve the sophisticated profiling their marketers claim.⁵⁴

In the context of twenty-first-century US empire, what Armand Mattelart calls “the techno-security paradigm” is focused on “terrorism,” a deliberately vague concept that allows violence and is not accountable to liberal constitutional ideals. Mattelart argues that the war on terror was mobilized by

collaborations among “the entire information and technology complex.”⁵⁵ Shadowy government agencies and private corporations wage “network-centric” cyberwar,⁵⁶ using information technology to create geopolitical advantage, with the support of nontechnological mechanisms such as state antiterror laws that enforce and popularize surveillance and secrecy technologies. The state and its exceptional subjects use these new technologies to mobilize racialized and Orientalist ideologies.⁵⁷

In the name of enhancing personal and state security, the US government, the technology industry, and other corporations manage and proliferate risks and fears to create ever more surveillance. Internet and communication technology growth is fueled by the promise of accurate and effective profiling—and this is part of the long history of all technology. Caren Kaplan has shown how air-power technology industries have long relied on such claims of “precision bombing” while naming their targets as “collateral damage.”⁵⁸ When the “profile” of a consumer, criminal, citizen, or terrorist is dynamic—created out of shifting information flows and racialized notions of security and fear—it is nothing but aporetic. Profiling does not work through accuracy but rather through its broad racial effects that are terroristic; that is, profiling itself produces terror for those it catches in its security net, and those it catches are a broad group identified by religious, gendered, and racial characteristics produced by histories of racialized imperialism. In the continued use of race and colonial regimes of Orientalism, new surveillance technologies rely on older racial and colonial ideologies embedded in Western visual histories.

One result of these twenty-first-century US surveillance practices is that the term “security” has come to index heterogeneous and unstable state, social, and economic powers, through blurred distinctions between individuals, corporations, the state, public entities, and private entities. It is precisely the transfer of technology from military to ordinary, everyday life that enables the duplicity of the term “security” for the state and for individuals; this creates the state effect of fluidity between individual, personal ideas of home, safety, and protection, as well as between those interests and national threats and state security. Security traffics in the dynamism of affect across family, home, safety and national security, in which differences can be highlighted or dissolved at different times and places.

Security can refer to welfare and militarization, and to safety and violence. It can refer to individual and biological processes of welfare and biopolitics that in the US context are based on biometrics, pathologization of new racial formations, old and new Orientalisms, and widespread surveillance. These

neoliberal securitizations have, since the 1970s, supported what some scholars argue is an authoritarian populism that criminalizes on the basis of race, class, gender and religion.⁵⁹ But it can also refer to the demands made on the state for safety and protection that it cannot ensure, and which it often refuses to ensure. Security works affectively through the promise of the safety of home and of nation, but also enables the powers of protection claimed by patriarchies, fraternities, and nationalisms that work through violence. Security enables a promise of welfare that the state cannot fulfill, not because it is unable to but because its neoliberal alliances prevent it from doing so. This means that neoliberalisms alter the relations between citizens, nations, and states by shifting power and sovereignty to corporations and individuals at national and transnational scales. Such shifts create problems of state legitimacy, and have come to produce protests and frictions that mark the era of advanced liberalism.

Citizenship

US imperial insecurities within advanced neoliberalism mean that citizenship itself has shifted, as rights have been replaced by humanitarianism, and social security by state security. Citizenship becomes especially fraught for many protesting the impacts of war and inequality, especially those who will not or cannot pass for white or who are able to access its privileges and are not seen as normative Americans. Sherene Razack argues that Muslims have been cast out from US liberal citizenship through their racialization.⁶⁰ I would qualify this argument by saying that they are cast out not from liberal citizenship, but from neoliberal citizenship. What is foreclosed for Muslims in the decade since 9/11 in the contemporary United States is even the opportunity to become the exception, neoliberal economic citizen-subject of rational, flexible, and self-making practices, who makes proper investments in oneself through productive consumption and who takes responsibility for saving the security state.

In my last book, *Transnational America*, I argued that citizenship is no longer tied to liberal rights, but has become defined through technological, consumerist, and transnational modes. I rejected the notion of “global citizenship” (for its history of Western travel and empire), and showed the multiple notions of “belonging” as citizenship, suggesting that when differential mobilities shape the lives of millions around the world, our relations to place and identity become unstable and malleable.⁶¹ In this book, I continue the discussion of the shift in liberal citizenship, arguing that under neoliberalism,

rights shift as well, especially in relation to sovereignty and identity. Citizens' rights have changed as the work of welfare moves to corporations and NGOs, dissolving some ties between people and the state. These rights have become replaced by charity and privatized giving, even as the demands for welfare continue.⁶² Yet rights and citizenship continue to be important, especially given the burgeoning numbers of stateless people in the new century and especially since fewer people can claim them.

Security has moved from the protection from adversities through welfare and state support to militarized security, aggrandizing the powers of the state. Yet demands for welfare and state support continue from those who see themselves as entitled exceptional citizens, though these may not be demands for rights but for special access to entitlements over others. As neoliberalism has become deeply entrenched, more and more of the population has been enlisted for humanitarian work, and more and more institutions have come to support it. In the process, poor women, children, people of color, and immigrants find it increasingly difficult to access their rights (not just to welfare but also to proper wages and protections). Yet in the phase of advanced neoliberalism, protests for rights become instead a rationale for authority and repression. Such repressions occur not just by the state but also through disparate sovereignties created by race, religion, class, and gender. This terrain of citizenship in the US security state is formed by exclusions created by new laws against terrorism, denial of citizenship to many millions, including the incarcerated, immigrants, and migrants who are Muslim or Latino, threats by powerful white neoconservative activists, and violence by antigovernment vigilantes, as well as vigorous social movements that protest violence and dispossession. What continue are also the demands for expertise and labor from the global economy and transnational corporations, though these have come to also generate protests from working-class communities in the United States. As the United States continues to wage imperial war and extract profits, populations from those targeted regions demand asylum, but most are denied entry because of opposition from groups identifying as white who scapegoat immigrants and refugees as they realize the repercussions of the waning geopolitical power of the United States.

Two seemingly contradictory ideas emerge in this new citizenship configuration: first, neoliberal authority is based on the reconfiguration of citizen-subjects by the use of state security apparatuses such as police, militarized cultures of surveillance, and carceral public and private institutions; and second, sovereignty is both devolved and still tied to the state. Yet this situation is not paradoxical. Because the notion of sovereignty has been long shared

by state and citizen through the long history of the Westphalian state,⁶³ these notions of citizenship are not altogether new, though the globalizations of the twentieth century—those that have disempowered working classes in the United States or produced large migrations—have created new tensions. Thomas Ilgen argues that “global forces, both political and economic, pry open states and their societies in ways that complicate the task of national governance and reduce its effectiveness,” resulting in a “multilayered structure of governance.”⁶⁴ While Ilgen is correct in this analysis that the state has not always had a monopoly on sovereignty, his claim that these forces also “enable sub-national authorities to govern more responsibly and effectively” does not apply to many countries in the world where authoritarian regimes repress their citizens in numerous ways.⁶⁵ Brenda Chalfin, for instance, has shown that in the case of neoliberal Ghana, state sovereignty is both segmented and enhanced, and Aihwa Ong has argued for the “graduated sovereignty” available under flexible neoliberal capitalism. Ong suggests that Asian political sovereignty is both specific and flexible, in a trajectory quite different from that in the United States.⁶⁶

In another approach to the dispersal of sovereignty, Thomas Blom Hansen and Finn Stepputat delink the assumed connection between sovereignty and territory, showing each of these as constructs of the state.⁶⁷ Their research is useful to my project, since they examine sovereignty as exercised through violence over bodies, rather than simply by control over territories. Finn and Stepputat point out that European state violence was not exceptional, as Carl Schmitt suggests, and they claim that “colonial sovereignty remained a naked version of modern sovereign power,”⁶⁸ as Achille Mbembe has also argued.⁶⁹ They suggest that postcolonial sovereignty—expressed in the Global South by many states—is consequently “fragile, eroding and contested,”⁷⁰ in part because other sovereignties have emerged, including the “economic citizenship” that Saskia Sassen suggests is linked to “global economic actors.”⁷¹ Although Hansen and Stepputat’s analysis focuses on postcolonial states, rather than on the colonial ones, their insights into violence are also applicable to the United States in its national politics, suggesting that the US empire is not exceptional, having some residues from European colonial histories, including its Orientalisms and racial formations.

Their analysis of the British colonial context also applies to US empire, as territory becomes spectacle while sovereign power is exercised through threats and violence in distant regions where the United States has waged wars in pursuit of capital or geopolitical power. In US history, sovereignty has not been given to all citizens, because of the history of race, patriarchy,

settler colonialism, and slavery; it has been a central aspect of white power, captured by populist and authoritarian elements in US culture, such as those males claiming whiteness who have been given the ability to use violence for control of nonwhite bodies. This white racial sovereignty continues to have power over other groups in the new century; for instance, the ability of white males to amass weapons and to use them with impunity is protected by interpretations of the Second Amendment of the US Constitution. What we can conclude is that both neoliberalism and the war on terror have added emergent characteristics to this dispersal of sovereignty as it constructs the exceptional citizens of the United States in this new century.

The Security State

Scholars suggest that the US welfare state peaked by the 1970s and that economic stagnation proliferated in North America and Western European countries by the 1980s.⁷² How much this decline can be attributed to neoliberal policies is an important question. While some scholars suggest that neoliberalism is all powerful and has the ability to incorporate into its logic all sorts of differences and oppositions, others argue that neoliberalism's power is waning and power is shifting to other security projects. In his analysis of the relation between security and sexuality, Paul Amar argues that neoliberal governance has reduced the Global North's power and that governance is now being replaced by a humanitarian project of human security.⁷³ Amar reveals how powerful states construct human security laboratories around sexualized and gendered subjects who need saving or who wish to do the saving. This gendering and sexualizing of insecurity asks for a more textured analysis of the relation between neoliberalism, militarized security, and the politics of protest around sexuality and gender. While Amar is correct in his claim about reduced superpower exceptionalism, I argue that US neoliberalism in this advanced phase is being *enabled* (not replaced) by humanitarian governance, since it is precisely through the production of insecurity at individual and state scales that US neoliberalism requires humanitarian governance. To counter protests created by insecurities, twenty-first-century US humanitarian governance requires security through policing and military intervention, as well as the support of its exceptional citizens. Following Amar's focus on security and authority, I consider that the twenty-first-century US security state becomes visible as a set of racialized, classed, religious, and gendered institutions that use authority and violence to wage war and use neoliberal policies to benefit privileged groups. The state thus comes to appear—as the

state effect theories suggest—as empire not just through military or global policing but also through “soft power,” exercised transnationally by particular sets of subjects and processes that gain traction because of histories of white racial, masculinized sovereignty.⁷⁴

The contemporary proliferation of authoritarianism, technologized mass surveillance, counterinsurgency policing, and militarization of everyday life has produced a security state that is quite different from the declaration of state emergency referred to as the “state of security,” which authorizes the state to declare war and to use violence in the name of protection.⁷⁵ Scholarly work on the security state follows three main approaches. In one approach—relying on Stuart Hall and Raymond Williams’s reading of Karl Marx, Louis Althusser, and Antonio Gramsci—the state is controlled by the hegemonic capitalist ruling class, predominantly white in Europe and North America. In their seminal book on neoliberalism’s emergence in Britain of the 1970s, Stuart Hall et al. argue that the neoliberal state tends toward an authoritarian populism.⁷⁶ Public/private collaboration on behalf of capital require police, creating an authoritarianism that relies on racism, masculinity, and patriarchy even as it allows some groups of women, especially those considered white, to be empowered. This approach is extremely useful in understanding the legacies of racism, gender, sexuality, and class. However, it does not distinguish between different capitalist classes, nor does it explain how contemporary imperial states work geopolitically to adjudicate the states labeled “failed” or “developing.” Theories of hegemony and neoliberalism also need to be modified (as Hall later did)⁷⁷ toward inclusion of postcolonial, feminist, and race theorists who focus on the gendered and racialized nature of these elites and states formed under colonialism as well as the ways that capitalist oligarchies are also patriarchies.

In a feminist approach to the security state, Iris Marion Young, for instance, argues that the security state has a “patriarchal logic”: “The role of the masculine protector puts those protected, paradigmatically women and children, in a subordinate position of dependence and obedience,” and they, then, come to “occupy a subordinate status like that of women in the patriarchal household.” She sees the security state as having “a more authoritarian and paternalistic state power, which gets its support partly from the unity a threat produces and our gratitude for protection,” while “it legitimates authoritarian power over citizens internally” and “justifies aggressive war outside.”⁷⁸ Young separates “dominative masculinity” from “protective masculinity,” arguing against Carole Pateman’s more essentialized and heteronormative versions of women and of patriarchy that sees all women as belonging to the

private sphere of the patriarchal family.⁷⁹ Yet, Young's analysis of a Hobbesian Leviathan-like security state, while useful in the analysis of the production of fear and insecurity, leaves out the geopolitics of differentiating states. It also disregards gender as intersectional, leaving aside the ways that notions of dominative and protective masculinity are differentiated *also* by race in the United States. In a geopolitical context, differential state trajectories and aspirations separate the colonial state from the postcolonial as well as the imperial state from the states that it controls and invades. Furthermore, the relation between colonialism and capitalism produces different sorts of masculinities and patriarchies, based on culture and histories of empire.

Understanding such hegemonic masculinities as articulated with race, religion, and class reveals the security state and its patriarchal authority as contingent and shifting, and its relation with global capital as transnational. Scholars deploying the second scholarly approach to the security state use Michel Foucault's theory of governmentality and state effect, theorizing securitization as incorporating state subjects in the governance project. For Foucault, security is a mode of liberal power. Colin Gordon has argued that for Foucault, even liberalism becomes an "effective practice of security" that is the "political method" of modern governmental rationality.⁸⁰ For Foucault, the state is made up of diverse governance practices, many of which go awry or do not reach their goals. Furthermore, Foucault theorizes the state as a "state effect," due to its heterogeneity and diversity of practices. This "state effect" approach accounts for the ways that security and insecurity concerns produce the state as a node of power, which is both feared and desired. As Thomas Biebricher and Frieder Vogelmann argue, Foucault's focus on governmentality explains how the state comes to be perceived in a particular way in a given period, "under what conditions, and in what form the state began to be projected, programmed, and developed . . . at what moment it became an object of knowledge and analysis . . . at what point it began to be called for, desired, coveted, feared, rejected, loved and hated."⁸¹ While Foucault does not contend with state imperial projects, theories of governmentality have become useful in the context of neoliberal empire. For instance, Miguel de Larrinaga and Marc G. Doucet suggest that security has been governmentalized and encompasses not simply military defense but also new political, economic, and social spaces and processes.⁸²

The contemporary neoliberal state requires a Foucauldian, Gramscian, critical race, and feminist approach, which explains the forms of equality, elitism, and power that have become visible—especially the making of patriarchal oligarchs (a masculinized and classed project) and powerful white

masculinities, including the “homonationalisms” that Jasbir Puar has critiqued.⁸³ Many scholars—especially those studying race, gender, sexuality and empire through cultural practices or local social movements—are attentive to power and inequality. For instance, Hugh Gusterson and Catherine Besteman reveal that the emphasis on security has enabled power and wealth to be concentrated in the hands of the wealthiest Americans, leading to economic and political precariousness and the loss of civil liberties for many.⁸⁴ Jennifer Terry shows how war becomes governmentalized in medical research through war funding and war injuries.⁸⁵ What is especially useful about the Foucauldian approach is that it helps to understand how such inequalities make subjects who do not belong to ruling classes but who governmentalize the state and its powers. Foucault’s idea of “state effect” also critiques the positivism in international relations literature, and allows an examination of geopolitics as a mediated and technologized project through which the state can become both alien and exceptional. It explains how the United States can be seen simultaneously as a waning empire and an exceptional power.

A third approach to the security state comes from international relations scholars who see “state security” as national security in realist terms. National security in this formulation becomes a matter of military and diplomatic geopolitics, with emphasis on the Weberian model of the state as having a monopoly on violence. More recently, scholars have critiqued this approach as too narrow and needing to be modified by adding cultural, economic, and social factors.⁸⁶ It remains powerful, however, among those who work in government, diplomacy, and media, as well as in many academic institutions. Some of these critics emphasize the importance of those nonstate and transnational actors who are often ignored in the international relations literature.

Thomas Hansen and Finn Stepputat argue that international relations scholars have produced a normative idea of the state that is increasingly out of touch with the kinds of dispersed sovereignty and governance regimes that currently operate beyond the state.⁸⁷ The dominant international relations notion of nation-states as bounded and territorialized entities has also come under critique. Joseph Nye argues that power is dispersed, divided among military, economic, transnational and non-state actors, and while the US is still dominant in military power, economic power is multipolar and diffused across many different actors. He argues for a new concept of US power that is “smart” because it is focused not on domination but on using “soft power” to set agendas that benefit the United States. He advocates that the United States take a paternal role, offering ideas and directions to attract

other countries and ultimately enhance its own power.⁸⁸ He does not address, however, the violence and coercive aspects of this “soft power,” which produce violence and inequality. For instance, the pressures put on states to wage a “war on terror” has made it a transnational project, with countries borrowing from each other to create laws that enable states to incarcerate and exclude without cause. While countries such as India have long-standing antiterrorism laws that derive from colonial rule and have been in operation since the 1980s—and many other countries have their own trajectories of violence and exclusion—US support (and funding) has transnationalized these projects in new ways, producing counterinsurgency and “antiterrorism” as technologies of power that connect the heterogeneous actions of actors dispersed globally.⁸⁹

Some international relations scholars eschew realist approaches and suggest that rather than security, the project must be securitization, which may include nonstate actors.⁹⁰ Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, and Jaap de Wilde see securitization as the shifting relations between subjects and sovereign, arguing that the traditional approach that sees security as the domain of a state-centered security apparatus as inadequate.⁹¹ Securitization needs to address the governmentalization of security through the work of individuals and citizens and to examine the ways that particular institutions and subjects produce the “state effect.”

The difference between “security state” and “national security state” approaches is made clear through examining empire and colonial histories. Scholars such as Paul Amar see the security state as an empire that is now transnational in its focus on policing and war, which uses humanitarianism as an imperial tool because neoliberal power has waned.⁹² Mark Duffield argues that even development has become a technology of security, while others suggest that development (and welfare) has taken a back seat to security projects in many countries.⁹³ Laleh Khalili suggests, against Giorgio Agamben and Carl Schmitt, that states are unexceptional in creating zones where laws are temporarily allayed and that they work to expand their influence and power over other states and regions.⁹⁴ With a more feminist approach, the security state becomes visible as a construction of a particular masculine authority—manifest diversely as patriarchy, as a variety of racialized and uneven hierarchies of masculinities, or as patrimonial capitalism. These versions of hegemonic, racial white authority, intimately connected to elite transnational masculinities and femininities, enable state violence, capital accumulation, and its corollary insecurities. These insecurities have made visible economic and sexual violence that both oppresses and disciplines; insecurities produce

violence that represses and excludes in the name of neoliberalism but can also disrupt the neoliberal project, revealing its contradictions.

Authority is constitutively a matter of gender, as well as of intersectional formations of class, race, and empire; it is visible in racialized and patriarchal masculinities that are fought over because they appear to be waning, even as they remain violent. The US security state depends on and creates not just a masculine authority, but also a white, masculine and imperial authority whose patriarchal power is aspirational to its many subjects. Its state effect becomes an exclusionary realm of white, Christian power that produces insecurity and threats to many who live within it or who wish to enter it. While the state effect displays this masculinist power, some feminine subjects are also incorporated into this state. Wishing to be seen as empowered, imperial, and white subjects, they struggle with and against this patriarchy-desiring masculinity to demand individuality, equality, and sovereignty. These struggles can be antagonistic but also collaborative, securing the nation and its exceptionalism. The United States as security state is thus a racialized and gendered imperial and neoliberal state effect that produces insecurity and securitizes populations nationally and transnationally. This effect is produced not only by the state, but also by the work of exceptional citizens—white, male, Christian—endowed with sovereignty to target black and brown Others within it and outside of it through modes of war that incorporate militarized humanitarianism and surveillance.

Media Convergence

Security is a difficult project because it cannot be ensured. All we have are the promises of security. Fears required and engendered by insecurity have a political economy in which media and culture industries are vital.⁹⁵ Such insecurities are amplified across multiple boundaries, institutions, and subjectivities. As David Campbell has argued, foreign policy and security are essential for producing national identity and the self/other divide.⁹⁶ They create commodities that gain value from circulation. Insecurity has a political economy that works via the notion that militarization and technological change will produce commodities that can in turn provide better security. Proponents of digital technologies, for instance, promise state security that is better, faster, and total, on the one hand, even as they claim to enable “democratization,” insurgencies, and “commons” on the other. Despite the use of such technologies by “nonformal political actors” to “accommodate a broad range of social struggles and facilitate the emergence of new types of

political subjects,” as Saskia Sassen wrote in 2002,⁹⁷ the digital media that has become iconic of this new century creates value for corporate and formal networks and shapes popular culture in ways that are similar to earlier media technologies. Such control is not absolute, however, and there are failures that challenge security claims, even as those insurgent challenges lead to counterinsurgencies in turn.

Neoliberal capitalism’s contradictions are not solely responsible for this insecurity around US exceptionalism. Rather, it occurs through the transnational media spectacle of US failure and audience responses to this failure. Contradictions are not simply “there” in some transparent way so they can be read as such; contradictions are *made* visible in ways that enable protests and upheavals that are narrated and understood in a variety of ways. Capitalism’s contradictions appear through the agency of viewers, readers, writers, politicians, and the “international community,” as well as media technologies and knowledge networks that articulate those contradictions in divergent ways—some through a concern for the loss of empire and some through the struggle for inclusion and social justice. How these become visible and how they circulate is thus a critical issue for the study of cultural politics.

In the twenty-first century, there is a struggle over the United States as a declining superpower or an exceptional nation. That the United States is a superpower is made clear by its imperial wars, through which its own temporality becomes historicized and universalized. US events are made into world events. This resonance is not magical but rather enabled by multiple forms of power generating uncontrollable violence. In *Philosophy in a Time of Terror*, Jacques Derrida explains that 9/11 was “felt” in the United States as a “singular” and “unprecedented” event, which was “to a large extent conditioned, constituted, if not actually constructed, circulated . . . by means of a prodigious techno-socio-political machine.”⁹⁸ He goes on to say that “‘to mark a date in history’ presupposes, in any case, that ‘something’ comes or happens for the first time, ‘something’ that we do not yet really know how to identify, determine, recognize or analyze but that should remain from here on as unforgettable: an ineffaceable event in the shared archive of a universal calendar.”⁹⁹ Here, Derrida makes three points: first, the event is produced by a vast and complex machinery that disseminated images of 9/11 around the globe; second, such a machinery produces a temporality that comes to be seen and understood as universal; and third, we need to distinguish the *event* (the thing itself) from the *impression* (created through repetition by the US hegemonic machinery) and the *interpretation* (the belief that it was a major event). Derrida’s distinctions are critical, suggesting that it is equally

important to recognize how the individual, the nation, and the state—and many outside of the United States—all came to recognize 9/11 as an event, and an unprecedented one, at the same time. The time of terror became universal when the temporalities of these entities became globally synchronous and when the United States enlisted states around the world to join the “war on terror.” Thus, one can argue that the United States and its policies create convergences through media and media corporations, ignoring or eliminating differences to gather and create new consensus.¹⁰⁰

As Derrida suggests, the power of the superpower is never absolute. Corporate media’s unstable representations and heterogeneous audiences, as well as its political economy that depends on a transnational reach and rapid circulation of images, unsettle the hegemon. Migrations and diasporas may (though not always) disrupt the nation and its hegemonic formations. Media audiences—whether they are US based, American nationalist, anti-colonial, antiracist, or anti-Western—use the discourses of crisis, loss of US economic power, and critique of human rights to make visible the contradictions of the imperial project; and they challenge the United States in its claims of superiority. Struggles over US power, over its state effect, become visible in new and powerful ways.

Geopolitics is produced not simply through “real” relations between states, but through multiple political projects in which media and spectacle have played important roles. Media images are always open to interpretation, as well as encoded with ideologies,¹⁰¹ and can unsettle a superpower or, in other times, make it more powerful. Media’s many screens send out diverse messages that can enable contradictory meanings, though their effects cannot always be controlled and may lead to protests and uprisings. Embodied political agents and diverse organizations make meanings through the repetition and circulation of specific content. In the context of digital media—while some scholars believe that capitalism’s incorporation of digital media may lead to depoliticization¹⁰²—it is also possible that the heterogeneous receptions of transnational media may produce challenges and protests as much as they produce acquiescence. Further, media does not function alone. It is always connected to a variety of institutions and subjects that give it meaning. The securitized subjects I discuss in this book become visible through these media industries, gaining agency within a transnational network that can be linked to national projects, yet is not contained by them.

The connection between protests and digital media has become an important question, as media corporations, such as Facebook, claim that they enable democratization.¹⁰³ There are many claims about new digital media technologies

that were also made about older media technologies: they are global or enable globalization; they will produce democracy; they can resist power or a state; they are democratic; they can produce moral and social panics, governmentalities, and new forms of governance. At the same time, digital technology has amplified and circulated changes in social relations, subjectivities, and the ways many of us live and work—all while keeping capitalist neoliberalism alive. David Lyon has written that technology must be seen as a “mode of mediating daily life,”¹⁰⁴ and it is true that many people live with computers in a way they did not live with television or radio; for many, their laptops are now a prosthetic technology that makes media embodied in new ways. Digital technology reproduces security as affect that is historically specific to the period, where external threats such as terrorism, via the war on terror, produce subjects who work to contain and respond to these threats.

Much of the debate around security and new technologies has focused on surveillance, the deliberate leaking of corporate or personal secrets, and the disclosure of state secrets. Scholars have suggested that the security state signals a shift from Foucault’s notion of the disciplinary society to Gilles Deleuze’s notion of the society of control. While Mark Poster argues that networks create a “superpanopticon”—a vastly expanded and powerful version of Foucault’s notion of panopticon, which disciplines subjects through visibility—David Lyon suggests that we have moved to a “post-panopticon” society. In a society of control, as suggested by Deleuze, there is both a panopticon and a synopticon (with many watching the few), and the media has now made surveillance part of everyday life. Greg Elmer argues that Deleuze enables us to understand how sites of control are themselves multiple and expanded, though even Deleuze assumes a stable object of surveillance rather than the networking process that creates “a range of values to objects” and “seeks to determine the meaningfulness of surveillant objects within the context of networked economies.” Surveillance is thus “subject to an economy that constantly seeks to rationalize relationships among people and things to better manage the future.”¹⁰⁵ In the US neoliberal security state, the media economy of surveillance is also an economy that manages insecurities and protests through the work of subjects who become exceptional citizens as they do this work. In so doing, however, they become subjects of both the state and of corporations, using media products to securitize themselves as well as the security state.

David Lyon’s term “panopticommodity” names the ways people market themselves on the Internet as individuals.¹⁰⁶ As personal computers and tablets have not only become prosthetic but also dynamic repositories that bring

together actions, subjects, and selves into new digital social forms, information stored on private and state websites and servers requires protection. “Networked identities” are now precious commodities. Privacy is bought and sold—desire for protection sells products. “Identity management” has become a business, as corporations manage information, passwords, and log-ins. Similar to embodied selves, digital selves are marked by insecurity. Exhortations that everything in our computers is public and news reports on hacking and corporate security breaches produce privacy as a banal project, producing public selves securitized enough to claim that they have “nothing to hide.”

In contrast to normative citizens with “nothing to hide,” minorities (racial or otherwise), “terrorists,” and “aliens” are constituted as both public and private, having public identities with secrets, and private selves which must be uncovered. Having “nothing to hide” is not a possibility for such subjects who are constituted as already public. As public subjects, they are constructed as threats since they are assumed to have secret private selves that must be surveilled and brought to the surface. In such a context, public selves are assumed to have privacy that requires disclosure, as even the most public subjects require monitoring. Only those constituted as sovereign subjects, such as the exceptional subjects I examine in this book, can experience privacy as a tool for opposing corporate and militarized state intrusion, or are able to deploy privacy in legal and democratic struggles.

Feminist Challenges

The securitizations and insecurities that pervade the United States make feminism relevant in newly urgent ways. How do we understand what is happening when feminist discourses are used to bomb and to liberate, when feminist discourses, strategies, and injuries become available in new and unintended ways to empower, secure, and destroy?¹⁰⁷ How do we explain the American belief that women in the United States are better off than women anywhere else, despite gendered inequalities, cuts in welfare for women with families, and the banality of sexual violence in the United States? American exceptionalism mediates considerations of gendered inequalities and forecloses its geopolitics.¹⁰⁸ While most “security” expertise addresses questions of states and geopolitics while ignoring gender, race, and sexuality, many feminist scholars have critiqued masculinity and militarism by linking feminism and women with peace, victimhood, and innocence.¹⁰⁹ But feminists also have discussed the ways in which women and feminists have participated in

nationalism and militarism as well as the ways in which domestic ideologies have supported national and imperial goals.¹¹⁰ An enduring and important feminist approach has been to analyze domesticity itself as violent, since its many institutions feminize subordinate subjects.¹¹¹ Gender has an important role to play in understanding war and conflict, and women are not simply innocent victims of masculinist militarism.¹¹² In line with more intersectional and transnational critiques of gender and militarism, I theorize feminisms, patriarchies, masculinities, racialized and militarized violence, and terror as contingent, networked, mediated, and transnational formations that make up the US as empire and as security state. I draw on feminist theory challenging essentialized connections between militarism, the state, and masculinity, as well as those demonstrating the violence of the state, domesticity, home, and the everyday in contexts of neoliberal policies.¹¹³

Debates about neoliberalism demand feminist intervention because too often they assume that neoliberalism means the privatization of public goods, or that public and private are understood only in terms of states and corporations/individuals, even though the private sphere of liberal thought has been associated with family and the domestic sphere.¹¹⁴ Many scholars of neoliberalism assert that the protection of the private sphere (and its ownership of property) is a central element of contemporary capitalism. For example, David Harvey has defined neoliberalism in terms of an altered relation between public and private in which contemporary capitalism accumulates by dispossession and eliminates the “commons.” Gender, the family, and sexuality appear as superstructural, as consequences of globalization’s new mode of production.

Feminists, however, have long argued that “public” and “private” are not useful concepts for understanding how gender works in modern societies. In classical political theory, public/private divisions have been central to the liberal social contract. Feminists such as Carole Pateman point out that the liberal public/private divide is only made possible through the control of women. The liberal “social contract” is a “sexual contract” in which the patriarchal control of the family grounds the liberal state. In liberalism, Pateman claims, women have few privacy rights over their homes or their bodies because they are always regulated by the patriarchal state.¹¹⁵ Along with Charles Mills, Pateman has argued that sexual violence is also racialized. Yet these divisions are difficult to maintain in the security state.

As terms, public and private are not stable or universal, nor are the related terms of home, privacy, and domesticity. If, in neoliberal times, the term “private” has become associated with the privatization of capital and of the

state, the term “public” has also undergone semantic shifts, as the state has changed through new collaborations with corporations, NGOs, and religious groups. Separations of public and private don’t have good explanatory value for the messy processes of contemporary globalization. To call corporations “private,” when they are publicly traded, simply exonerates them from accountability and enables corporate leaders to claim legal personhood, as the US Supreme Court confirmed in *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission*.¹¹⁶ Definitions of the terms “private,” “privacy,” and “secrecy,” as well as associations between individual freedoms and control over female bodies, have long been debated. What counts as “private” shifts, even within liberal democratic states. The domestic space has never been private but rather constructed by the state and its sovereign masculinities, and not all masculinities have been understood as patriarchal in their control over the private sphere.

As the security state has become dominant in the United States in contrast with the welfare state, feminists’ tasks include analyzing the gendering of neoliberal citizenship, understanding how the fuzzy boundaries between public and private produce a militant masculinity and a militant femininity, and critiquing how humanitarian citizenship has replaced rights-based citizenship in a way that most impacts low-income women and those seen as security threats. What I call an advanced neoliberal rearticulation of the public/private divide has consequences for feminists and gendered subjects, as well as for expanded and nonheteronormative notions of family and citizenship. Some critics suggest that neoliberalism reduces the state and abdicates power to private realms.¹¹⁷ However, feminists interested in transnational and postcolonial analysis have shown that neoliberalism is better understood as a changing and flexible set of practices that produce deeply uneven genders and sexualities across the world.¹¹⁸ Such insights have led to feminist scholarly debates on terror and terrorism, security, and citizenship under contemporary transnational neoliberalism. Some feminists have argued that the war on terror reveals how “terror” becomes simultaneously a form of regulation, a mode of securitizing populations, and a technology producing gendered subjectivities in hetero- and homonormative ways.¹¹⁹ However, other feminists suggest that the term provides a useful way to examine particular forms of violence. They resignify the term and use it to examine violence as the purview of the state rather than of nonstate transnational actors and networks. Arguing that “terror” is an appropriate term for the violence to which many bodies, especially those gendered as female, are subjected, they argue that “terror” can be a useful term to describe such subjection.¹²⁰ In particular, some feminists argue that violence within the

family, and the failure of the state to control male violence, are examples of the terror with which many women live.¹²¹ Yet terms such as “terror” and “terrorism” are too imbued with imperial and racial power to be repurposed for more progressive politics.

Advanced neoliberalism involves both contemporary manifestations of authority as raced, classed, gendered, and sexualized and the protests to such authority. Critiques of such politics require attention to the relation between powerful masculinities and aspirational patriarchies, white racial sovereignty, and forms of authority dispersed over self-improving and self-commoditizing subjects, “private” corporations, and the security state. These entities collaborate with the state to use violence to assert their power over other groups. The advent of digital technologies, of panics over what is seen as public and private security, and of formations in which entrepreneurial and statist individuals are seen as normative citizens means that feminist approaches to citizenship have to address the ways in which neoliberal capital and the security state have stakes in the production of gender, sexuality, and the family. Feminist critique that is antiracist and anti-imperial, and which incorporates postcolonial and transnational theories of gender and sexuality that attend to the specificities of neoliberal empire, remains necessary. While such critique will examine how feminism can have neoliberal versions, it has to provide possibilities for continuing to struggle against forms of masculine authority that are both national and transnational.

This Book

Examining surveillance and humanitarianism as the governmentalization and securitization of US empire’s “soft power,” this book’s chapters relay interdisciplinary approaches that disrupt the academic compartmentalization of state and security analyses. I draw on postcolonial and transnational theory, media studies, and law and society approaches, as well as critical race and gender studies, to understand the complexity of twenty-first-century US neoliberalism. This is not a “media studies” book, though a concern with media and technology appears throughout. As law is a key way the state becomes present to individuals, I examine how law appears more as “state effect” than simply “the state” itself, as that which regulates sovereignty between fuzzily bounded public and private entities. Studies of colonialism provide tools for understanding empire, and my previous research on the British empire and its cultures, as well as continuing interest in South Asia, provides the vantage point from which I trace the transnationalisms, speci-

ficities, and differences of US politics. Critical race studies and American studies scholarship enable understanding of sovereignty and empire that is both national and transnational.¹²² And the fields in which I have been most engaged, transnational and intersectional gender and cultural studies, provide the interdisciplinary spaces to understand cultural politics and the critical engagements with state and security that are often compartmentalized in fields such as security studies.

I begin the book with a chapter about Hurricane Katrina as revealing ruptures that characterize what I see as the condition of advanced neoliberalism. Here, contestations between sovereignties, militarism, and security lead to the rise of humanitarianism as a solution to the crisis of the neoliberal security state. In the aftermath of the hurricane, private individuals and corporations were brought in to provide welfare and support, but many communities and social movements protested, calling for state action instead. The spectacle of racial injustice provides an opening for a mediated geopolitics, as critiques of the United States and its inability to care for its citizens circulated around the world. In this context, the United States appeared banal rather than exceptional, described as a “third world” nation, and its citizens as “refugees.”

My second chapter focuses on the humanitarians who become exceptional US citizens. Such humanitarianism is securitized, as the US government and military incorporates these practices into their imperial arsenal. I examine the subjects of humanitarianism: missionaries, “voluntourists,” nonprofit organizations, microlending agencies, and armchair/online donors.

Continuing this thread in the third chapter, I trace the US government’s crackdown on Muslim charities in the aftermath of 9/11 and argue that humanitarian citizenship becomes a state security project by producing Muslims as outside such citizenship. Here, I focus on the production of race not only through a historical sedimentation of racialized institutions, but also through expanding modes of neoliberal racialization. In the twenty-first century, evangelical Christian missionaries following a neoliberal theology (what John and Jean Comaroff term “millennial capitalism”) collaborate with and become part of the state to become the good humanitarians,¹²³ turning Muslims into “bad” humanitarians. Under George W. Bush’s leadership, the US government put evangelical church leaders in charge of disbursing state funding to their own churches.¹²⁴ The separation between church and state disappeared when there was little oversight of these funds and little attention to federal laws requiring accountability and nonpreferential hiring. These processes of selective inclusion of Christians existed alongside the selective exclusion of Muslims from neoliberal citizenship, enabled

by a proliferation of legal statutes and policing mechanisms that pervaded so-called public and private entities. Yet this alliance was also provisional, as militarism and imperial war came into conflict with Evangelical missions.

In chapter 4, I turn to the emergence of the “security mom” and “security feminist” as figures of motherhood and female empowerment who attempt the work of state security in the aftermath of 9/11. These figures embody the exceptional individual as one who governmentalizes security in the private realm of the family, leading to a rearticulation of family and gender relations. Motherhood, here, becomes more about surveillance than about other tasks of parenting; the technology industry creates and markets products that enable such surveillance. The security mom and the security feminist thus become figures of power, yet remain conflicted because of their failure to secure the family or gain liberal equality.

In the fifth chapter, I examine the concept of “parental control” technology to show how the technology industry uses moral panics to sell products. Although both state and technology changes suggest that complete security is impossible, I argue that security’s impossibility is differently experienced. Privacy is only possible for some families, over others, so these technologies produce their own racial formations differentiating between citizens and Others. As the child becomes rearticulated as a figure to be protected from Internet dangers, it becomes also a “digital native”—one whose generational difference makes it a citizen to be nurtured as well as a neoliberal consumer and a potential threat to parental authority.

In the coda, I bring the themes of the book together to examine the horrific murders at a Sikh temple in Oak Creek, Wisconsin, a killing similar to that which took place in Charleston, South Carolina, some years later. I look at the figure of the exceptional, white, male, Christian citizen—the “shooter”—who polices the nation and embodies the white racial sovereignty that he claims to possess. This figure is contrasted with those nonwhites who are seen as terrorist threats, or those whose possession of guns is seen as a threat. I propose that the transnational connections between white supremacist organizations suggest that these individuals might also be seen as “international” rather than “domestic” terrorists.

I began my career as a postcolonial studies scholar at a time when a critique of colonialism was seen as tendentious. Yet the study of colonialism, whether ongoing or sedimented in everyday life around the world, remains crucial to understanding global conditions. Imperial cultures and projects abound, and become intertwined with national and transnational formations. Contemporary conditions show that colonialism and empire are

diverse and ongoing projects that assert the power of certain entities over others in the continued production of inequalities. Global capital, neoliberalism, heteropatriarchies, and powerful masculinities; continuing settler colonialisms; racial/imperial histories; geopolitics between new and old empires; struggles between transnational insurgencies and national states—all of these require us to engage with the present in light of colonial and imperial technologies and histories. Importantly, the heterogeneous protests, insurgencies, and uprisings of the present warrant such analysis.

Feminist approaches and methods coming from studies of race and empire are necessary to understand neoliberalism in the United States. This book, though about the United States, is also a product of postcolonial and transnational theory as it engages with contemporary cultural politics of gender, race, and capitalism. Written from within the United States but with a concern for the politics elsewhere, this book reflects my engagement with where I live, but also with the enormous power of the United States. I write along with many around the world and in the United States who are critiquing neoliberalism and authoritarian power. I write with the hope that my critiques (and those of my fellow scholars) can shift some of the racialized humanitarianisms and the surveillance regimes of our times to goals that are not just about “giving back” (after one has taken so much), bemoaning how America has lost its power or its “American dream,” or claiming that one person “can make a difference.” Rather, I write with the conviction that we all need to change the policies of the United States as neoliberal empire that affects so many around the world. If there is work to be done, it is to ensure that authoritarian security regimes lose their power, and that feminist antiracist, antisecurity, and anti-imperial projects proliferate.

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1. Katrina, American Exceptionalism, and the Security State

On Monday, September 5, 2005, Shailaja Bajpai wrote in the daily New Delhi newspaper *Indian Express*:

When CNN proclaims “State of Emergency” we expect to see Africa or Asia because that is where states of emergency occur, right? But when it describes . . . “the United States of America,” you don’t know what to think. Not even after the catastrophic 9/11 did CNN expose the human toll of the attack. . . . When Katrina swept Mississippi and Louisiana off their feet, suddenly everything was altered: we see disorder, chaos, suffering and yes, dead bodies in flooded New Orleans. . . . Everyone the camera encounters cries out tales of woe; each correspondent looks like he’s been hit by a minor tsunami. Like 9/11, coverage of Hurricane Katrina has changed the way we perceive America.¹

In Kenya's *Daily Nation*, Ambrose Murunga similarly wrote, "My first reaction when television images of the survivors of Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans came through the channels was that the producers must have been showing the wrong clip. The images, and even the disproportionately high number of visibly impoverished blacks among the refugees, could easily have been a re-enactment of a scene from the pigeonholed African continent."² Another commentator in the same newspaper stated that the United States had shown itself to be an underdeveloped, rather than a developed, nation because it could not shield its population from these natural disasters as could a developed nation.³ In France, *Le Progress* published, "Katrina has shown that the emperor has no clothes. The world's superpower is powerless when confronted with nature's fury."⁴ From Spain, *La Razón* read, "It is clear that the USA's international image is being damaged in a way that it has never known before."⁵ In *Business Times Singapore*, there appeared an article that summed it up: "America's eroding credibility: Fallout from Baghdad and New Orleans makes it difficult for Bush administration to mobilize support."⁶

All around the world, there was astonishment at the spectacle of misery unfolding in the United States.⁷ Through the "disaster marathon" showing the hurricane's impact across the US Gulf Coast, television viewers around the world were stunned at seeing—perhaps for the first time—reporters covering a major US metropolis as a disaster zone lacking a government that was able to help contain the disaster, or lessen its impact. The media coverage of desperate people, inadequate rescue operations, lack of coordination and communication, and the overwhelming visibility of African American women and children as victims all fueled speculation about racism and US power. Marcin Zaborowski, a Polish commentator wrote, "It is difficult to overestimate the effect the disaster has had on American politics and on America's perception of itself as well as on the role of the US in the world."⁸

Just a year before, images of the Indian Ocean tsunami led to the mobilization of humanitarian aid from many countries. While the Indian Ocean tsunami of 2004 produced images of suffering and destruction in Sri Lanka, India, Thailand, and Indonesia—among other nations—such images belonged to a long history of spectacularized "third world" suffering and of Asians needing US and European support. The Katrina news coverage showed suffering victims in the United States (many of whom were non-white women and children), dead bodies floating in the water, people being rescued from houses while others were left behind to die, and survivors without adequate resources. All of these images enabled comparisons to the third

world. These comparisons indexed stereotypical images of disasters in Africa or Asia that have long been a staple of US television, radio, and news media. That so many of the Katrina victims were African American women was another connection to the global catastrophe media spectacle, as was the widespread focus on women with children as the primary disaster victims. For instance, reporters regularly called the survivors who were taken to the New Orleans Superdome sports arena “refugees.” The term reflected the general perception that what was visible on television was unthinkable in a US context. Audiences were startled to see the spectacle of suffering, so normative and banal in global media coverage of so-called failed or developing states, or the “Third World,” depict the United States. The fact that the disaster was in the United States made it different from disasters in other parts of the world, for while there were similarities of death and destruction with other international disasters, what was new was the astonishment of so many across the globe at the lack of government assistance.

Not surprisingly, ninety countries—small and big, poor and prosperous—offered aid to the United States,⁹ much of which was not accepted or went unused. Nations rallied to give aid to the United States, even as they used the opportunity to criticize President George W. Bush and his ineffective response. What ensued was a geopolitics of “disaster diplomacy,”¹⁰ as people around the world assessed the US government’s poor response and passed judgment on the US government and, especially, the Bush administration. In the public opinion expressed and circulated in UK newspapers, for instance, support and condemnation were both visible. In an article subtitled “But Why Does the World’s Richest Nation Need Handouts?,” the BBC reported that President Bush stated no aid was needed since “this country is going to rise up and take care of it.” But, it was also revealed that Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice had said, contradictorily, “No offers of assistance will be refused.”¹¹ While the ostensible goal of the BBC article was to publicize a call from the British Red Cross seeking help for Katrina’s victims, it also provided a window into many UK opinions. The piece included a British Red Cross spokesman saying, “There are broader political questions about the response of the richest country in the world to such a disaster on its own soil. Hopefully they will be addressed in the fullness of time and lessons will be learned.” The article concluded by wondering if anyone in Britain was going to help and included comments from its readers that framed the issue in terms of whether or not UK people should help the “richest country in the world.” Not surprisingly, there were those who argued that anyone in need should be helped, but the article also included comments such as “to

ask other nations for help, and then retaining wealth makes my skin crawl.” Another person commented, “I will not be giving to this appeal. The United States is the richest country in the history of the modern world. They should be diverting their wealth into domestic social care programs not into imposing their economic will on the rest of the world. Maybe this is the wake-up call that the people of the US need.”

In the United States, many discussions in national newspapers focused on whether the United States could expect aid and support from other countries, particularly because Americans were represented as selflessly rescuing developing countries in international crises. Bradley Jones, in his research on media and Hurricane Katrina, points out that the national image of Americans as global good Samaritans was the framework for third world comparisons. The *New York Times* reported Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice as saying, “We have seen the American people respond generously to help others around the globe during their times of distress. . . . Today we are seeing a similar urgent, warm, and compassionate reaction.”¹² Both Rice and the *Times* ignored the pervasive international and national negative commentary on the role of the US government. At the same time, foreign nations’ efforts to help were rebuffed by some in the Bush administration, who considered these efforts as an affront to the ability of the United States to help itself.¹³ Iran offered help, which was refused because the US State Department said that it came with a condition of lifting the embargo on oil sales.¹⁴ Greece offered free cruise ships to house the many who had lost their homes, but was turned down. Instead, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) awarded a Florida-based company, Carnival Cruise Lines, a contract of \$192 million to provide housing and meals to evacuees, though it was emergency workers who ended up using the ships. CorpWatch, a nongovernmental organization (NGO) that monitors corporate corruption, suggested that the DHS awarded Carnival the contract because Carnival was an important Republican donor. The ships were never used for the purpose for which they were intended.¹⁵ In the hurricane’s aftermath, as the General Accounting Office and other governmental agencies and NGOs assessed how foreign aid had been dealt with, many across the political spectrum concluded that the superpower status of the United States got in the way of its ability to help those in need. In their report from 2011 “Accepting Disaster Relief from Other Nations: Lessons from Katrina and the Gulf Oil Spill,” the conservative Heritage Foundation concluded that “an unresponsive policy toward foreign offers of aid can also have negative diplomatic consequences, potentially alienating important allies whose assistance the United States needs on other issues.” It noted that

while by “late February 2006 foreign countries had offered or pledged a total of \$854 million in cash and oil,” there were embarrassing problems such as the 400,000 UK Ready to Eat (RTE) meals that were refused because they included UK beef, which the US had banned in earlier legislation due to fear of Mad Cow disease.¹⁶

The global media spectacle surrounding Katrina portrayed the superpower in ways that departed from the normative script of US exceptionalism that has been a part of US culture, media, and politics through the second half of the twentieth century. Occurring in the aftermath of 9/11, and the invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan that proclaimed US military might, and circulated by the power of digital media, Katrina was a shocking transnational spectacle. While many were not astonished by the images of the earthquake in Haiti of 2010, the US war in Iraq of 2003–present or even 9/11, Katrina’s images surprised viewers around the globe. The bungling of foreign aid further signaled US governmental incompetence, becoming one more piece of evidence of US similarity to long-standing images of developing and third world states.

Media Geopolitics and State Effect

One reason Katrina’s images had such a global impact was transnational media networks, which enabled the technological proliferation of images transmitted instantly through satellites, fiber optic cable, and digital technologies.¹⁷ As a television and photojournalism staple, disaster coverage reporters could not avoid covering what was going on, from the storm to its aftermath, as such stories almost always deliver high ratings and viewer numbers. As Elihu Katz and Tamar Liebes argue, disasters have become ever more important as media events enabled by mobile recording and transmission technologies. Increasingly, such events upstage the broadcasting of ceremonial events, and the state may not be able to ideologically control them.¹⁸ Liebes suggests that we increasingly watch “disaster marathons,” rather than the news bulletins of the broadcast television era.¹⁹ Kevin Fox Gotham asserts that Hurricane Katrina coverage is an example of recent changes in the news media spectacle of disasters, in which the characteristic features of entertainment—ephemerality, fragmentation, immediacy, and intense drama—determine the representation of tragic events and catastrophes.²⁰ In the case of Katrina, these features, with unprecedented speed and circulation, supported an implicit comparison with Asian and African countries, leading to a particular state effect of waning US power.

The framings and narratives accompanying the images also helped to produce the global reception that I narrated at the beginning of this chapter. In a transnational media context, the images revealed that in the United States, neoliberal retrenchment of welfare had produced an impoverished population that did not have the resources to help itself and that the US government would not do what was necessary to assist it. Offers of aid, as well as the context of the Iraq War and the war on terror, added to that perception. The application of developing world catastrophe narratives to New Orleans, an important US tourist destination, caused the images to have widespread effect.

Although disaster marathons do participate in what Naomi Klein has called “disaster capitalism” and opportunities for capital accumulation,²¹ there were important moments in which Katrina’s effects could not be wholly contained by capital and in fact revealed the contradictions of neoliberalism. Katrina’s images became part of a broad international and transnational media whose numerous articulations and decodings could be ascertained neither in advance nor subsequently.²² Yet, there were some transnational commonalities among reactions to the United States as an exceptional superpower. While US television producers were unwilling to directly challenge the powers of state and capital, a broad array of international media producers criticized American neoliberal policy, the government’s inattention to poverty, US racism, and its imperialism. The *Indian Express* quote presented at the beginning of this chapter was one of many such commentaries circulating across transnational media.

To overcome global disaster comparisons, US media makers created discrepancies in their coverage of suffering and death for US citizens. Media scholar Susan Moeller notes that American news organizations treated “American” victims with “more respect” by showing a distance between the viewer and the victims. Television producers did not, according to Moeller, present a large number of dead bodies laid out in rows, or grieving families, preferring to show wide-angle images of the destructive flooding. Media organizations stated they were trying to show “restraint in terms of just good taste,” leaving out images of severed and bloated bodies found abandoned in debris, since the newscasts “air at the dinner hour.”²³

Other comparisons of *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* media coverage of Hurricane Katrina in 2005 and the Indian Ocean tsunami in 2004 also revealed such differences.²⁴ The tsunami images depicted more unattended bodies (often lying uncovered on the ground), had greater focus on damages and relief work and survivors, and showed less interest in local

or national political contexts. The latter's erasure in the tsunami is perhaps most telling for the transnational project of empire, in which mention of the work of local politicians and community groups is often erased in favor of reporting that focuses on Western rescue and humanitarian operations.

While US journalists also found ways to question the Bush administration, foreign news media more directly seized the opportunity to critique US news media and what they saw as its failures. As a New Zealand newspaper put it, "not for decades has there been such merciless questioning of the president and his administration by the US media."²⁵ The same article reported that "never before . . . have US reporters been so emotionally involved in a story to the point of being enraged." The article's author commented that the US media had come to have too cozy a relationship with the government and had become "part of the political establishment," so that television reporters did not have the skills or ability to cover such an event. "Used to reporting on comparatively harmless storms, heroically riding out storms with wind-blown hairdos, they were then confused with the 'Big One.'"²⁶ The same article quoted a BBC reporter who asked whether Katrina had saved the US media.²⁷

A cartoon in the UK newspaper the *Guardian* by cartoonist Steve Bell depicted the international opinion that Katrina was a blow to the US's reputation (fig. 1.1). Bell referenced the storm's aftermath, in which the rescue operation became militarized. In Bell's drawing, the Statue of Liberty lies drowned in the water, as shadowy military figures roam the bridges. In doing so, Bell alluded to the emerging story that local police and the US National Guard had prevented those fleeing flooded neighborhoods from crossing the bridge to middle-class sections of the city.²⁸

The US national media was not unaware of international responses and took the opportunity to bring their concerns over the laggardly state response to the public through ventriloquizing the international coverage. The *New York Times* revealed that many Europeans blamed the Bush government for lack of environmental awareness, and for its lack of care for the victims. The *Times* suggested Europeans felt a "dismay . . . mingling with sorrow."²⁹ It mentioned a BBC report that focused on the "shameful" aspect of "the dark underbelly of [US] life," as white policemen mistreated black residents. It also reported that a French television station interviewed a US specialist who stated that the images "reveal to the world the reality in the Southern states; the poverty of 37 million Americans." The article concluded that the Katrina images "have tended to confirm the worst images of America that prevails in Europe, the vision of a country of staggering inequalities, in-

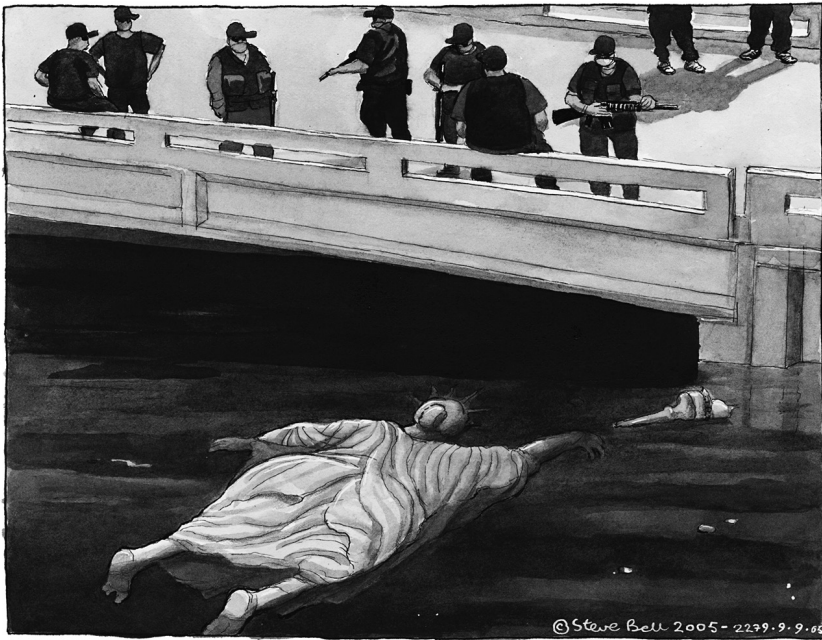


FIG. 1.1. Steve Bell cartoon published in the *Guardian*, 2005. Courtesy of Steve Bell.

difference to the general welfare (especially during the Bush administration), and lacking in what Europeans call ‘solidarity.’” The article enabled the *New York Times* to indirectly critique the Bush administration through presenting such opinions from abroad.

Despite this tactic, most journalists could not bring themselves to probe the effects of neoliberal state retrenchment in relation to Katrina, and they blamed nature or poor government response, shying away from identifying the effects of poverty, racism, and lack of infrastructure to shore up the levees. At the same time, they noted that the images reflected poorly on the Bush administration. For example, *CBS News* reporters Robb Todd and Charles Wolfson stated, “Hurricane Katrina clearly exposed America to being vulnerable to Mother Nature. The fact that parts of the Mississippi Gulf Coast look like Indonesia after the tsunami is inescapable. Less visible is the perception abroad of Washington’s handling of the problem. Initial confusion about the government’s response and political finger pointing is being watched in foreign capitals. To the extent others see the Bush administration preoccupied with a domestic crisis of the first order, attitudes toward Washington might well affect upcoming foreign policy challenges.”³⁰ At

Salon.com Sidney Blumenthal wrote, “Bush’s credibility gap is a geopolitical problem without a geopolitical solution.”³¹ A *Newsday* author saw Katrina as leading to an “image problem” for the United States.³² *Foreign Policy*, an established US geopolitics journal that is read by a broad spectrum of political elites, echoed the worry that Katrina had dealt a blow to the United States’ image abroad. Daniel W. Drezner, in a short journal comment titled “Post-Katrina US Foreign Policy,” quoted Richard Haass from *Slate* about Katrina’s “profound foreign policy costs.”³³ In Haass’s analysis, the Katrina catastrophe showed that the “world’s only remaining superpower seemed anything but” and that the government response’s disarray allowed opponents to criticize the United States.³⁴ Haass concluded that the handling of Katrina was a blow to the neoliberal market democracy approaches promoted by Bush: “But the attractiveness of the American model, and the ability of the United States to be an effective advocate for more democratic, capitalist societies, which had already been weakened by the disarray in Iraq, is now weaker still as a result of the disarray at home. It will be more difficult to make the case for free markets and more open societies if the results of such reforms come to be associated with the disorder seen in New Orleans.”³⁵ While Haass seemed critical of neoliberalism, Drezner was more concerned about the image of the United States and its power. In the *Foreign Policy* article, Drezner also quoted conservative commentator Andrew Sullivan’s remarks that “what the response to Katrina has done is make the U.S. super-power look a lot less credible, a lot less fearsome, a lot less capable.”³⁶

Some leftist and centrist US commentators, including E. J. Dionne and Richard Haass, assailed the post-9/11 neoliberal domestic policy of diverting resources away from social programs to fund antiterrorism campaigns. Dionne, a *Washington Post* commentator, suggested “the source of Bush’s political success was his claim that he could protect Americans” but that was disproved by “the surging waters of New Orleans.”³⁷ Other reporters and policy commentators pondered whether even right-wing, conservative Bush supporters would question the president’s security policies if he were unable to protect Americans. Dionne differentiated between notions of security—national security versus security as welfare of the population—while the Bush administration was intent on substituting state security for protection from the catastrophe. In a later *Foreign Policy* comment on the Bush presidency, Stephen M. Walt lists Katrina as a “blunder”:

It takes a truly spectacular domestic-policy blunder to register as a foreign-policy screw-up, too. Yet Bush’s bungled response to Hurricane

Katrina was exactly that. Observers around the world saw this debacle as both a demonstration of waning U.S. competence and a revealing indicator of continued racial inequality, if not outright injustice. (You know you've screwed up when you get offers of relief aid from Venezuela's Hugo Chávez.) Because America's "soft power" depends on other states believing that we know what we are doing and that we stand for laudable ideals, the disaster in New Orleans was yet another self-inflicted blow to America's global image. If the United States cannot take good care of its own citizens, why should anyone think we can "nation-build" in some distant foreign land?³⁸

Such commentators emphasized the "spectacular" nature of the catastrophe that became as much a "foreign policy screw-up" as the Iraq fiasco.

While many outside the United States saw Katrina images as revealing how inadequately the United States cared for its population, many US activists, journalists, and scholars saw the New Orleans disaster as a Bush administration failure that reflected poorly on the United States as a superpower and as a purportedly exceptional nation. US media coverage of Katrina, even in very controlled formats such as print and television, showed images of US soldiers patrolling the streets, a lack of government aid, and Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) directors more concerned with their television appearances than with saving lives.

Katrina's media coverage highlighted US racial, gender, and class divides and revealed the complexity of the state, as local Louisiana officials struggled against the military and security apparatus of Bush's global war on terror. This was reflected in the visible racial geography that showed parts of the United States, such as New Orleans, were similar to so-called developing states in their use of development projects, human rights approaches, or military repression. The emergence of this development terminology to describe the United States suggests that the "superpower" was no different from the rest of the "developing world." More recently, Jeffrey Lowe and Todd Shaw have argued that much of the Gulf Coast region needs development and "capacity building" to fulfill the United Nation's 2000 Millennium Goals for ending poverty³⁹—a call that is more usually addressed to the so-called developing world. As Paige West argues in her ethnography of Papua New Guinea's recent development projects, "capacity building" generally references the development logic of "accumulation by dispossession" in which a society seen as unable to take care of itself must open itself to private capital.⁴⁰ That such terminologies now apply to the United States reveals its fall to un-

exceptional status and the crisis of representation and power that emerged from Katrina. Lowe and Shaw try to move away from the third world comparison by referencing the post–World War II Marshall Plan rather than UN development programs as an applicable government assistance model. They end their piece by stating that volunteerism is not enough to solve the problems, and greater state intervention on the order of the Marshall Plan is required: “The United States has the resources to insure the security and prosperity of all those along the Gulf Coast, but it is currently lacking the political will to ensure an equitable reconstruction of the region. . . . Now is an opportune time to argue for a national recommitment to rebuilding the Gulf in the interest of those most in need.”⁴¹ That the Katrina disaster ranks among the most memorable events of the twenty-first century, only a few years after 9/11, says a great deal about the effects of neoliberal policies and the disastrous impact of the George W. Bush presidency. Even the Heritage Foundation, a conservative Republican-led organization, was concerned enough about these consequences that it compared the Gulf Coast BP oil spill of 2010 with Katrina to prove that President Obama’s response to the BP disaster was just as incompetent as Bush’s response to Katrina five years earlier. Even for this staunchly Republican organization, Bush’s handling of Katrina remains the benchmark of poor management and administrative failure.⁴²

I suggest that while images of US sovereign power (as exercised in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Guantánamo Bay) have flashed around the world since 2001, they have not altered perceptions about America, both within and outside the United States, in the ways that images of Katrina did. The Katrina images produced the “state effect” of the US government unable to provide security to its population. This may be because the Katrina images departed from the dominant race and nation ideologies circulated globally by US cinema and media cultures. These dominant images have long depicted the United States as an exceptional superpower and African Americans as perpetrators of violence.⁴³ In the Katrina images, African Americans were not perpetrators of violence, as a racialized US media tends to suggest, but rather its victims. The Katrina images challenged these visual histories and the power and legitimacy of the US state. They also challenged US state claims about its humanitarian leadership and ability to protect a population. That is, they challenged US “hard” and “soft” power and the state’s authoritative moral claims to both wage war and to protect citizens. If the much vaunted superiority of the Western liberal welfare state was, in some part, based on its claim to provide security to its populations and its ability to

enact humanitarian rescue, the Katrina images signaled that the US state could not or would not fulfill this task.⁴⁴

The Crisis of the Media Spectacle

In the wake of Katrina, Internet images became geopolitically powerful, pointing out the United States' lack of exceptionalism and expressing popular outrage as the tragedy unfolded. Digital media makers' focus on content—provided by a wide range of observers and commentators, as well as by some local reporters—allowed many who were not powerful authorities to present their commentary and opinions. In addition, Internet-based news media turned out to be more widely used and more accessible for obtaining news than traditional media. Although the US government hoped to suppress images in conventional media, and television and print news presented images in some controlled and normative frames, photographs were visible on numerous websites devoted to hurricane coverage.⁴⁵

Hurricane Katrina was also remarkable for the role played by new media that quickly synthesized political commentary, images, and opinions from around the world. The Internet quickly became the primary way newspaper editors and journalists circulated news,⁴⁶ revealing shifts in the political economy of media and rupturing older narratives. Local newspaper websites were swamped with hits because the television news was not functioning, nor were newspapers able to put out print editions. Newspapers set up websites for emergency news, missing person information, and all kinds of emergency help. The city of New Orleans also began to communicate via the web. As Mark Lisher points out, “At the height of its effectiveness, the website of the New Orleans newspaper, the *Times Picayune*, was getting 30 million hits a day.”⁴⁷

Such hypertrophic Internet coverage highlighted the infrastructural failure of communication and coordination between the US state and private organizations. Rescue operations and support coordination could not work, because of communication problems. The BellSouth telephone company had to evacuate its main New Orleans office for fear of violence.⁴⁸ There was little connection between FEMA and other government agencies, because of poor decisions made by FEMA director (and Bush appointee) Michael Brown. A US Senate report from 2006 found that key government agencies did not know the levees had failed and had no idea what was happening at the New Orleans Convention Center. The Department of Homeland Security, in particular, did not know what was transpiring and did not seem to

understand the dangers.⁴⁹ New Orleans mayor Ray Nagin's calls for evacuation did not recognize that low-income families might not have resources for transportation or housing, resulting in the loss of many lives. Police with shotguns prevented evacuating African Americans from moving onto higher ground occupied by wealthier whites. Those who were evacuated to the Convention Center faced a chaotic situation, since there was no infrastructure or provisions to feed all those who were there. The failures of government and the private companies that owned the infrastructure were compounded by the militarization of the rescue and the aftermath.

US producers of both digital and print media covered not only the disaster and its aftermath but also resulting protests against the government. African American leaders, church communities, and politicians were amongst the most visible and vociferous protestors. Many critiqued the racism behind the Bush administration's lackluster response. The *New York Times* reported that Reverend Jesse Jackson, Representative Maxine Waters, and NAACP leaders were visiting affected areas and emergency centers, while Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice was vigorously defending the president.⁵⁰ The *Times* article reported that African American leaders were quick to point out the similarity between the devastated region and other places hit with catastrophes. Representative Waters said "she had traveled throughout Africa and never seen anything quite like that scene" (referring to the Convention Center). The *Times* article also quoted Reverend Sharpton objecting to the use of the word "refugees" as he said sharply, "These are not refugees. . . . They are citizens of Louisiana and Mississippi, tax-paying citizens. They are not refugees wandering somewhere looking for charity. They are victims of neglect and a situation they should have never been put in in the first place."

These representations—globally circulating through multiple media—showed not only the anger, horror, and suffering of a community, but also the horror of powerful, white, male journalists as they reflected and directed the reception of the representations. For example, television showed the shocked faces of Anderson Cooper and Brian Williams, who could not believe that they were seeing in the United States what they had reported on as foreign correspondents in Asia and Africa. One NBC television reporter shouted, "This isn't Iraq, this isn't Somalia, this is our home."⁵¹ In *New York Magazine*, Jonathan Van Meter reported on Cooper's coverage of Katrina: "He is a stew of emotion: dejection, regret, sadness, anger. 'I was really affected by the bodies,' he says, his voice cracking. 'I've seen a lot of dead bodies before, and I'm not sure why these dead bodies affected me so much, but I sort of haven't been able to stop thinking about them.'"⁵² Cooper's affective coverage

resulted in a 400 percent increase in viewership. In particular, Cooper took government officials to task for what he saw, and his shock, tears, and anger resonated with viewers.⁵³ According to Katherine Fry, television coverage produced a narrative of heroes and villains, with news anchors such as Cooper and Williams as heroes for living in a dangerous and flooded city to provide a story, and government officials as the “bad guys.”⁵⁴ In his memoir published a couple of years later, Cooper would write about the shock of what he saw in New Orleans: “I never thought I’d see this in America—the dead left out like trash.”⁵⁵ New Orleans was different from being in Sri Lanka or in Africa, because he felt, in his words, “connected to what’s around me, no longer observing. There is no hotel to go back to, isolated from the destruction, as there was in Sri Lanka.”⁵⁶ But, Cooper also records that seeing government response after Katrina was an emotional experience because he realized that things could fall apart in America, that all the funding for Homeland Security could not help in such a disaster and that “We” cannot “take care of our own. The world can break apart in our own backyard, and when it does many of us will simply fall off.” Cooper does not point to which groups of people would “fall off” as he compares the US government with the ineffective governments, such as those of Sri Lanka or Niger, in other disasters he has covered in his career.⁵⁷

Cooper’s shock and outrage registered with viewers in the United States, and the comparisons with the tsunami made the United States seem also to be a nation without resources or concern for its own citizens. The location depicted in these images was what distinguished them from other images of catastrophes, and the particular geopolitics of Katrina underscored the horror.⁵⁸ The familiarity of war correspondent Anderson Cooper contrasted with the unfamiliar terrain of a major US metropolis. Frank Durham has argued that a “decentered media” emerged in which presence of journalists on the ground was not framed by official interpretations.⁵⁹

Images of Katrina spectacularized the crisis of welfare and of security upon which the West and America had claimed their superiority and asserted their power to rescue people in distant regions of the world. For a short period, the media spectacle became emergent, in Raymond Williams’s terms, challenging Guy Debord’s idea that media spectacle can only affirm capitalist logics.⁶⁰ Neither corporations nor the state could contain Katrina’s spectacle.⁶¹ The unstable spectacle could not justify neoliberalism, given that the dispersed and transnational media could not completely control visibility.⁶² Rather, the many fragmentary images—the racialized bodies, the immiseration, the US location, the horror and outrage of viewers and journalists—all of these

showed a critique, through global comparison and its racial components, that revealed neoliberalism's contradictions in a country that saw itself as an exceptional superpower. Instead of focusing on individual suffering (undercutting any systematic analysis of structural reasons for the suffering), media images showed large numbers of desperate African Americans, particularly women and children. Thus it was possible to become "witnesses to the catastrophe and its injustice" because the images showed something more than "just an anonymous mass without context," as popular media often depicts minorities.⁶³ At the same time, the rupture provided by the media coverage produced what one scholar calls an "anti-racism of the center."⁶⁴ In such anti-racism, the professional news media could position itself as objective and could point to the effects of racism and class that it had long ignored. This contrasted with the way the media ignored the later unfolding of a "racist logic of neoliberal capitalism" in Katrina's aftermath, a logic that contributed to racial inequality through the privatization of rescue.⁶⁵

This rupture, however, was incomplete and built on earlier US media histories of gender, race, and class. Television news still framed the news anchors as heroes, repeating the history of Western disaster journalism. Williams's and Cooper's anger and passion enhanced their value for the television public, showing that they were caring, could report on a catastrophe mostly affecting poor African Americans, and were willing to demand that the government assist those groups. The spectacle's rupture was thus incomplete, and fed the context of US empire and racialized nationalism.

Unsurprisingly, then, the spectacle could only be postponed for a brief period because new images took the suffering narrative in a different direction.⁶⁶ Victims became divided into heroes and villains as well. For example, Ray Nagin, the African American mayor of New Orleans, told of people murdering and raping women in the Convention Center. Fox News said that "violent gangs are roaming the streets at night, hidden by cover of darkness," and the *Financial Times* said that rapes and murders were rampant while "looters and madmen exchanged fire with weapons they had looted."⁶⁷ In New Orleans, the rapid return to black criminality stereotypes showed how quickly the racialized state, police, and paramilitary soldiers brought the images under control.⁶⁸ Neoliberalism's contradictions, which had been in full view, disappeared quickly and the critique of neoliberalism that the first Katrina images provided began to fade. The insecurity produced through the counterspectacle of race- and class-based discrimination was erased by a mass-mediated moral panic over allegedly violent and criminal African Americans.⁶⁹ As Jordan Camp suggests, "neoliberal racial regimes of security" and

mass-mediated discourses of counterinsurgency and security are “expressions of a moral panic that relies on ideological constructions of race and crime. . . . Racial domination pervades discourses of security.”⁷⁰ Looting and rape stories suggested that there were many who did not deserve rescue. The moral panic of the disaster was therefore contained through normative images of racialized crime.

Managing the Crisis

What became clear in the days after the hurricane was that the crisis of protection, understood by the local population as security for citizens, was quickly turned into a crisis of state security and corporate power. It was not simply governmental incompetence that was on display, but also corporate indifference and malfeasance. Landstar, the Jacksonville, Florida-based federal contractor hired to evacuate people from the New Orleans Superdome, waited eighteen hours to order three hundred buses for evacuation. Landstar was connected closely to the Bush family.⁷¹ The Bush administration awarded the Shaw Group, whose lobbyist was a former FEMA director under Bush, the government contract to provide tarps to cover damaged homes, despite the fact that the company charged three times more than other bidders.⁷²

The Bush administration turned a rescue crisis and accusations from within and outside the United States into a project of state security, militarizing the region with policing and military personnel and linking the disaster to the war on terror project. Though Nicholas Mirzoeff suggests that the visibility of “global counterinsurgency” was apparent in the government response, where military commanders used militaristic language to describe their work,⁷³ there was more than governmental power at work. Private corporations active in Iraq and Afghanistan—such as Halliburton, Kellogg, and Brown and Root—were also awarded large contracts in the affected areas. According to one report, military personnel stated, “This place is going to look like Little Somalia. . . . This will be a combat operation to get the city under control.”⁷⁴ The reference to Little Somalia is not simply a racialization and militarization of a domestic population, but also reveals the imperial visual history of the catastrophic event, which conflated African Americans with African refugees and a black neighborhood with what is seen as a violent African country.

Stephen Graham reveals that in military journals such as *Army Times*, there was talk of the need to launch “urban combat” operations to oppose “insurgents” who were supposedly fomenting violence.⁷⁵ Graham points out

that the security offered by the Bush administration was antiterrorist surveillance and reproduced the war on terror discourse that enriched administration cronies while cutting security related to welfare and urban and social needs.⁷⁶ Spike Lee's documentary film about Katrina reveals that the government militarized the catastrophe as a response to protests against state withdrawal, a view echoed by many African American and antiwar activists. Lee connected the military presence to the long history of racial protest in which "U.S. troops have routinely been training their weapons on their own citizens."⁷⁷ Lee argues that the government response was slowed down because of the background checks they conducted.⁷⁸ "Shoot to kill" orders also hampered responses of the search-and-rescue teams, resulting in a greater number of deaths.⁷⁹

War on terror ideologies also emerged via the actions and presence of security personnel charged to protect New Orleans. They helped create the city as a war zone. As Dave Eggers writes in *Zeitoun*, police, soldiers, and corrections officers created a military base out of a bus terminal, focusing on state security rather than on rescuing people from the floodwaters. The terminal parking lot became a "vast outdoor prison" with chain-link fence and barbed wire, and was guarded by soldiers with German shepherd dogs and M16 rifles.⁸⁰ Along with three friends, Abdulrahman Zeitoun, a Syrian immigrant, was arrested and incarcerated in a secret jail because he was suspected of being a terrorist and of being affiliated with Al Qaeda.⁸¹ Zeitoun had spent the days after the hurricane rescuing people in his neighborhood, but he was incarcerated without any evidence or due process. He was not allowed to make phone calls or ask why he was arrested, though he supposed it was because he was from the Middle East and suspected of being a terrorist. A guard told Zeitoun and the three friends he was arrested with, "You guys are terrorists. You're Taliban." Zeitoun was familiar with the construction business because he owned a house painting company and had worked on ships before coming to the United States. He calculated that the prison must have been built immediately after the hurricane, and the structure suggested that a great deal of funding and labor had been devoted to building it. Instead of working on rescue operations, police, soldiers, and corrections officers had devoted time and effort to building a prison. The prison itself looked to Zeitoun like images of the Guantánamo Bay Naval Base prison, and the guards called it "Angola South" or "Camp Greyhound," implying it was a prison in a war zone outside the United States. Zeitoun was ultimately accused of having stolen property, without any evidence. Police, soldiers, and corrections officers seemed to have built the prison and filled it with people

to show that there was looting in the city and that guards and a prison were needed to protect people. But Eggers and Zeitoun suggest that the prison was filled with people picked up from the street, many of whom were innocent, like Zeitoun, but who were nonetheless disciplined with pepper spray, body searches, and SWAT teams looking for drugs. In Zeitoun's case, his interrogators did not imagine that a Middle Eastern or Muslim man could be a rescuer; the only identity possible for him was that of a terrorist. In this militarization of the disaster, the context of the war on terror ensured that Zeitoun was not an exceptional citizen to be praised for his heroism and his support of the community.

Eggers's account reveals the militarization of the response to the catastrophe. This militarization was not just undertaken by soldiers and police, however. The government outsourced relief efforts to private military corporations such as Blackwater and Halliburton, which provided privatized and securitized services. Both companies rose to prominence amid responses to 9/11, when Halliburton's former CEO, Vice President Dick Cheney, helped make war in Iraq. Anthropologist Vincanne Adams's research team heard from informants that armed men "hit the streets of New Orleans in armored cars, patrolling with machine guns" and that their operation resembled "more of a military tactical operation in a war zone than a civilian recovery process in a beloved American city."⁸²

Militarization did not stop protests, however. Many critiqued both the use of military in the city and the false reports of stereotypical black criminality that were used to hide what was happening to impoverished communities. The discursive opening provided by the Katrina images and their similarity to narratives of global suffering, as well as the critiques of US neoliberalism, signaled that neoliberalism could rupture. These factors brought back a "movement" politics in which black politicians, clergy, leaders, singers, and filmmakers were particularly vocal. Protestors foregrounded the continued crisis of the imperial superpower spectacularly unable to provide for its own citizens. Katrina signified a return to the hope of the biopolitical welfare state. Some called for liberalism's return, while others demanded security in nonmilitarized forms. Some of those hailing a post-civil rights era also argued that the United States was in a postracial era.⁸³ Others, however, used this phrase to call for a new state agenda to combat racism.⁸⁴ There were also many who intervened in the debate to reveal that the struggle was as much for economic rights as for civil rights.⁸⁵ Such calls articulated the continued hope for a politics that could deliver such social justice and rights. Since

then, the work of uncovering what went on during and after the hurricane has continued the struggle against neoliberal state policies.

Aftermath: Advanced Neoliberalism, Collaborations, and Protests

Even ten years later, the very mention of Katrina remains a sign of the Bush administration's failures. However, these failures have come to be seen as failures of the state, as Congress and the White House in the Obama administration paid greater attention to FEMA and disaster support, rather than failures of private entities. The failures of corporations and nonprofits to undertake repair and welfare are also emerging, in the work of advocacy and nonprofit organizations such as CorpWatch, and in scholarly analysis that does not make media headlines, especially on the national or transnational stage. While protests emerged right after the hurricane to criticize government response, numerous entities have remained attentive to the aftermath, monitoring the plight of residents unable to return, and trying to understand the complexities of race, gender, age, and class that produced differential exposure to the storm. NGOs such as Save the Children were critical of the temporary housing provided by FEMA, finding that families—especially those led by single women—were further impoverished by the catastrophe. On the other hand, NGOs such as the Red Cross, which received massive donations from across the country, had employees who used donations for their private gain, discriminated against Latinos and Native groups, and failed to follow many of their own policies for tracking and distributing supplies.⁸⁶ Many of the trailers provided by FEMA were substandard, and insurance companies refused to accept claims and respond adequately to this problem. The states of Louisiana and Mississippi had to file lawsuits against these companies.⁸⁷ Local businesses did not benefit from the disaster while large, politically connected corporations—such as Halliburton, Kellogg, and Brown and Root—received most of the funding. A US House Committee found that billions of dollars had been wasted or mismanaged due to government lack of oversight and diligence, and there was also fraud and corruption in awarding contracts to private companies.⁸⁸

As with development after disaster in other parts of the world, rebuilding in New Orleans has not brought back all residents, nor has it made it more possible for working-class people, especially people of color, to live there. Many former residents remain unable to return, or cannot afford to rent or buy in the rebuilt areas.⁸⁹ The US government has not been able to mitigate

the hurricane's effects for many New Orleans residents, as "disaster capitalism" has undermined social welfare and replaced it with private contracts.⁹⁰ Charges of entrenched corruption and difficulty of navigating bureaucratic "nightmares" pervade the responses of many who tried to return or rebuild, while volunteer agencies and private corporations became sources of support or assistance.⁹¹ Although activists demanded support from the government, the government simply subcontracted out the work or collaborated with private businesses and corporations to do it. Thus, the disaster repair work consolidated the power of a connected corporate and state elite. A congressional report found that half of all Department of Homeland Security contracts were given without open competition and that most of the \$34 billion spent by the DHS was wasted. Of the \$20.5 billion allocated to federal agencies for hurricane recovery, only \$2.7 billion went to local businesses while the majority of the funding, 73.8 percent, went to large businesses. Neither the Army Corps of Engineers nor the Department of Defense adequately monitored the subcontracting work.⁹²

Disaster capitalism requires the collaboration between the state, corporations, NGOs and individuals, as well as the active participation of the state in passing its welfare functions on to private enterprises.⁹³ Numerous religious and nonprofit organizations continue to work in the area. As with the work of all such NGOs in disaster areas, there are many who welcome their contributions and many who see them as signs of neoliberal withdrawal from welfare.⁹⁴ Media images of Katrina linger online, while many of the issues that arose after Katrina—infrastructure problems, impoverished cities, and lack of preparedness for global climate change and its effects—have disappeared from news sites.

Media attention has shifted from those in need to those who are doing humanitarian work in the area. Celebrities such as Brad Pitt grab headlines for helping rebuild homes in the area, becoming exceptional citizens coming to the rescue of the city, and supposedly doing the work of the state.⁹⁵ Celebrities and welfare providers emerged as responsible individuals, as exemplary exceptional citizens, while New Orleans residents were represented as insufficiently neoliberal and thus unable to help themselves. The consequence of this neoliberal process, made visible by the disaster response in New Orleans, is that state sovereignty has become dispersed to corporations, NGOs, and individuals, as these entities become the subcontractors for the state. Importantly, though, none of these entities have provided what is needed for the low-income African American populations who were dispossessed and displaced. Instead, many of those displaced by the hurricane cannot return,

while some more connected groups are recipients of the millions of dollars that were sent by US groups and individuals. Although the local women-led, community-based nonprofits that ran after-school programs and did a great deal of community work could not come back, many other women became part of NGO networks or gatekeepers, as Pamela Jenkins argues.⁹⁶ Additionally, the churches and religious nonprofits (the “faith community,” as it has come to be called) became a key sector that helped low-income residents of the region. These faith-based groups played a large role in providing recovery funding and volunteers.⁹⁷ Cedric Johnson argues that the enlisting of community groups in this neoliberal process is best described as “grassroots privatization,” because “they advance neoliberalization through empowerment and civic mobilization.”⁹⁸ Such reconstruction, Johnson argues, reproduces inequalities, benefits the more powerful and connected rather than the disenfranchised, and encourages “participation without power.”⁹⁹ These are precisely the critiques made of NGOs in other parts of the world.¹⁰⁰

The visibility of volunteerism is not specific to the United States. In fact, this reliance on volunteerism marks the banality of the neoliberal turn of the United States, rather than its exceptionalism, especially since welfare comes to focus on addressing needs after catastrophic events rather than ongoing support for all inhabitants. This banality reveals how the neoliberal “Western” welfare state is formed against both the “developing/development” state in the Global South and the importance in those regions of organizations that have come to be called NGOs. A neoliberal discourse has come to define the state as inefficient and corrupt, recuperating histories of struggle against colonial and liberal powers. This is the case not only in the Congo or India, for instance, but also in the United States through claims of state disfunctionality and the rising importance of private-sector welfare work. This neoliberalism incorporates an ideology of an inefficient and unwilling government, delegitimizing the state for those who believe it is too powerful, even as the state downplays the predations of privatized capitalism. It comes to provide welfare in conditions of disaster relief, when the state’s retrenchment becomes visible and catastrophic. Over recent decades, NGOs, as private entities, have stepped in to provide patchy welfare to populations when the development state has failed to do so. While NGOs have been characterized as more caring, honest, and “grassroots” than states,¹⁰¹ private corporations are seen as more efficient and productive, unlike the state and its agencies. Furthermore, NGOs—many of them using corporate language and mechanisms—increasingly create new professionals, professions, and work hierarchies based on gender, race, nationality, and religion.¹⁰² Many NGOs

offer employment that is not steady and not pensioned, but in some parts of the world it is often the only employment for certain populations, especially middle-class women.¹⁰³ NGOs have come to be seen as institutions who mediate the power of the US state and as having what might be called “soft power,” which provides the welfare and care that accompanies the “hard power” of its military.

If NGOs have become providers of welfare in many regions of the Global South, however inadequate or intermittent such welfare becomes, those regions in the Global South are understood as failing in their welfare function. When such conditions have become part of the US context, it is important to show US citizens as providing the welfare, rather than simply becoming recipients of relief. Through NGOs and nonprofits, the US state exercises its “soft power,” empowering humanitarian individuals and their governmentalization of welfare. In the case of Katrina, private organizations and individuals provided welfare to many affected by the hurricane even as the Bush-led state remained unable and unwilling to help. Those who did step in to help, convinced that their contributions could make a difference, also exercised soft power. What we see in this shift is that instead of an exceptional state, there appear exceptional individuals celebrated for their ability to give donations and to help others. Even so, the scale of private responses has little relation to the needs of displaced communities. Yet media producers and journalists represented these humanitarians as exceptional individuals across a media in which celebrities and wealthy entrepreneurs become visible as leaders helping others.

These representations come in the wake of the US government turning to private welfare to provide support to New Orleans inhabitants while also trying to revitalize FEMA. Many have understood this turn to private, market logics as demonstrating neoliberalism’s triumph over liberalism.¹⁰⁴ Yet this turn to private welfare also aligned the United States with the Global South, as in both contexts “state failure” spurred the need for NGOs to pick up the slack. Although media representations showed the US government as in charge, especially in its militarization of New Orleans, the NGO sector was also shown as having a role in “disaster management.”¹⁰⁵ Thus, the role of volunteer labor and charity organizations has remained important in debates and narratives of New Orleans’ rebuilding.¹⁰⁶

The events of Hurricane Katrina reveal the crisis of Bush-led advanced neoliberal policies,¹⁰⁷ as well as the resolution of this crisis through a shift in the security state. As I have argued, advanced neoliberalism emerges as governments respond to the crisis created by previous versions of neoliberalism.

Neoliberal policies have become deeply sedimented in political and economic life, but they also create contradictions that enable political subjects to remember, with what Lauren Berlant calls “cruel optimism,” the lost promises of liberalism.¹⁰⁸ The US state thus was forced to address its own waning power, produced by media images as state effect, by turning to corporations, individuals, and NGOs to undertake rescue operations and repair the city.

Ten years later, many within and outside the United States condemn the continued immiseration of Gulf Coast residents. For instance, the United Nations has passed judgment on the abandonment of the population during the hurricane. In 2009, the UN’s special rapporteur asked the US government to enforce civil rights laws, prevent discrimination by the police, and establish a special commission to examine “the progress and failures in the fight against racism”¹⁰⁹—recommendations that US politicians ridiculed. In 2006, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights presented a paper, with contributions from the University of California, Berkeley’s School of Law and the Southern Poverty Law Center, in which it argued that international human rights laws had been violated when the US government did not provide adequate help to those in need during the hurricane.¹¹⁰ The United States Human Rights Network (USHRN), made up of hundreds of US-based NGOs and advocacy organizations, submitted a report to the United Nations Human Rights Committee stating that the US government’s actions after Katrina violated the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.¹¹¹ Similarly, the Institute of Southern Studies’ report on Katrina from 2008, subtitled “A Global Human Rights Perspective,” stated that the United States had not followed the UN’s “Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement.”¹¹² Such condemnation has often been leveled at impoverished nations around the world, but this time it was directed at the United States. Scholars have argued that race, gender, and class violences explain what happened in New Orleans, and Katrina has become a case study of US racial divides as well as an example of the empty promises of equality.¹¹³

Scholarly attention to the hurricane and its aftermath represents Katrina as an example of the racialized precariousness caused by decades of neoliberalism, a precariousness connected transnationally to the 1970s “structural adjustment” programs mandated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in the Global South that most impacted low-income women and families. Scholars also use the event’s massive impact to draw attention to the politics of gender, race, and class at work in liberal genealogies, US state failures to extend equality to all citizens, US racism, and the more recent neoliberal retrenchment of state welfare.¹¹⁴ Scholarly critiques of such policies have

been pervasive, but have had little impact on government policies. Shirley Laska argues that “resiliency” and “human rights” might be necessary terms to address the hurricane’s preconditions and aftermath—the “poor condition of the people and the community” that led to loss of lives, livelihood, and ability to return.¹¹⁵ Kevin Fox Gotham suggests that Katrina “articulated submerged fears about risk, safety, and security in an age when the federal government is withdrawing resources for disaster-prevention and relief.”¹¹⁶ Scholars have shown that the lack of resources that prevented many from leaving were caused by decades of neoliberal accumulation of wealth by elites and the gutting of welfare and support for low-income women and people of color.¹¹⁷ Scholarly research on Katrina has become a large and interdisciplinary enterprise, with numerous special issues of academic journals as well as monographs and essays on the topic.¹¹⁸ The Social Science Research Council became a supporter and repository of numerous research publications concerning the disaster, all of which contributed to scholarly research on the political, social, and economic issues revealed by the disaster.

For many researching African American communities, the spectacle indicated what has been happening to black communities through decades of neoliberal policies.¹¹⁹ For instance, Clyde Woods has stated, “The tragedy of New Orleans continues to haunt American notions of equality, governance, knowledge, morality, and progress.”¹²⁰ Katrina made visible how the US turn to neoliberalism has adversely impacted disenfranchised communities. The racist US state embraced neoliberalism to evade its responsibilities.¹²¹ Michael Ralph argues that Katrina revealed that we are in a “post-civil rights society,” which means that, in neoliberalism, one cannot rely on either the state or a charismatic leader representing the community. The promise of liberalism (and even political representation, I would argue) is misplaced.¹²² Ralph argues that cultural productions also “reveal how black people of varied stripes now find the prospect of democracy dubious and consequently turn to hustling as a way out of economic and political marginalization.”¹²³ The Katrina images mobilized communities against the long-standing and pervasive racism of US liberalism and validated hustling as a response to catastrophe.

In addition to scholars, artists also expressed outrage at Katrina’s handling.¹²⁴ The most prominent was director Spike Lee, who made two award-winning documentaries, *When the Levees Broke: A Requiem in Four Acts* (2006) and *If God Is Willing and da Creek Don’t Rise* (2010). Lee gathered news footage, images of pre- and post-Katrina New Orleans, and interviews with politicians, activists, flood victims, journalists, musicians, artists, and a

host of others to bring to public attention the state's racist ineptitude and the victims' plight.¹²⁵ Together, this artistic and scholarly work has shown the Bush administration's ineptitude and carelessness as well as the ways neoliberal policies created vulnerable populations.

Katrina's images brought about widespread critiques of George W. Bush, his presidency, and his politics. "Brownie, you're doing a heck of a job," referring to Bush's praise of FEMA director Michael Brown's handling of the disaster, has become a sardonic cliché referring to a clueless employer with an incompetent employee. People from across the political spectrum use the term "Katrina" to reference a visible and spectacular failure. Katrina continues to resonate in debates about the role of FEMA and the state in helping communities recover from catastrophes. While Katrina indicated that there were incompetent bureaucrats working in the Bush administration, many also argued that a retrenchment of government services, as well as the costs of an unnecessary war, led to the problems. At the same time that the US government, led by the geopolitics of the Bush White House, was trying to project an image of power through its wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, its handling of Katrina revealed the state as inept, bungling, and uncaring. These two representations of the state became symptomatic of the US government as both exceptional superpower and unexceptional failure. This heterogeneous state effect revealed the contradictions of a neoliberalism in which citizens' demands for welfare (which the state could not and would not provide) existed alongside the state's powerful ability to wage war. These two state effects—the exceptional war state and the unexceptional failed state—showed that the project of war had its effects at "home" and that the costs of external wars became visible on the home front.¹²⁶

This chapter has been focused on Katrina and its impact as paradigmatic of those shifts in the state and in US power that I call "advanced liberalism." In this disaster what was visible was not simply state unwillingness, but also its slow, deliberate move toward incompetence that could only be ameliorated by corporate and private intervention. Advanced neoliberalism is also characterized by protests, visible during and after Katrina, and made transnational by the media spectacle of catastrophe and a failing imperial power. Protests include the research and activism that brought attention to the ways that neoliberalism had come "home" to the United States with a vengeance. Protests about inequality have proliferated since then, and the debates about class and race continue unabated.

In examining neoliberal's impact as exemplified by Katrina, it becomes clear that the waning of imperial power and its logic of security became visible

globally through transnational media, leading to the massive outpouring of opinion and commentary from outside the United States. Katrina's geopolitics included condemnation, sympathy, mockery, and concern. This was a geopolitics that constructed state effect; not simply state power but also its lack of power, its violence, and its collaboration and partnership with corporations. Thus, the US state crisis became both a cause and effect of neoliberal retrenchment, played out in endless national and transnational mediascapes to reveal both state power and its ruptures. In the case of Katrina, this crisis was resolved by the private organizations that came to be seen as embodying the virtues of self-helping, American individuals. These organizations simultaneously challenged, supported, and constructed state power as both inefficient and all-powerful through a variety of technologies and power relations. The damage to the US state has remained, even as neoliberal discourses of private efficiency and humanitarian welfare, supported by the state itself, have become powerful. The contradiction for neoliberal states—that such ideologies affect their power and sovereignty—contributes to the difficult balancing act that the US government performs. Such a difficulty can be understood as the process of shifting exceptionalism from the nation-state to the individual and citizen. In this neoliberal ideology, the claim is that what the state will not or cannot accomplish, exceptional American citizens will undertake.

2. American Humanitarian Citizenship

The “Soft” Power of Empire

By the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, US military advertisements claimed that its military does not simply protect the country but also saves lives the world over. As a television ad from 2009 explained, the US Navy is a “global force for good.”¹ The one-minute ad showed images of black and Asian servicemen and servicewomen stating that the navy, like a religious path, is a “calling to serve,” a calling to do good. An advertisement from the same period for the US Marines titled, “Towards the Sounds of Chaos,” showed images of soldiers moving boxes labeled “AID” into planes and helicopters, taking supplies to Haiti, and working in tsunami-hit areas.² According to the *New York Times*, the ad campaign was partly the result of a national online survey conducted by the marketing firm JWT, which revealed that many young adults considered “helping people in need, wherever they may live” to be an important component of good citizenship.³ Such campaigns

downplayed what might have drawn recruits in previous eras: the experience of military brotherhood, the excitement of battle, patriotism, and the desire to protect, or the educational benefits made possible by military service. Instead, these twenty-first-century ads showed the marines bringing help in times of chaos. By claiming the military saves lives around the world, the ads downplayed the lethal violence of American wars.

The growing spread of humanitarianism as part of military and imperial power is shared across many other American institutions. Print, television, and digital news media cover such humanitarian work, focusing on heroic Americans working on global and national crises to save and improve lives. The American humanitarian has emerged as an affective subject who embodies a normative American citizenship produced by both state institutions and private entities. While this subject gains power from a longer history of empire, it is also being written into American history as part of the American “character.” For instance, in 2011, Bill Keller of the *New York Times* claimed that Americans have “rediscovered” their “missionary spirit,” which “manifests itself in everything from quiet kindness to patronizing advice to armored divisions.”⁴ He goes on to argue that this “spirit” is “one strong fiber in our national character,” which he traces from the Charter of Massachusetts Bay (1629). Although expressing some wariness over military intervention, he suggests that philanthropy is a key part of the American missionary spirit.

Keller is not alone in this view. Indeed, for many Americans, humanitarianism is the soft power of US empire, stretching across numerous public and private institutions as an aspect of national and global citizenship and as part of daily life. As a term, “humanitarianism” references the giver of humanity—the “humanitarian”—rather than the receiver. As such, it is as much about self-making and self-improvement as it is about a world in which such self-making is seen as essential not only to the welfare of Americans but also to those around the world. Humanitarianism thus combines the work of self-help with the work of “helping others” (volunteering is understood to build self-worth and lead to jobs and careers), and through media culture and commodities, people disseminate its narratives and power. This American humanitarian has emerged as an exceptional citizen of the US state.

As I argued in chapter 1, under advanced neoliberal conditions in which inequality has resulted in protests and critiques of state welfare rollbacks, the US nation-state’s exceptionalism has now moved to its citizens. Instead of an exceptional nation, there are exceptional citizens, and one way their exceptionalism is produced is through their participation in humanitarianism. The exceptional citizen is a key component of the growing “nonprofit

industrial complex,” connecting individuals to states and to private enterprises.⁵ As inequality has become a political issue, neoliberal and nationalist logics constituted by class, race, and religion are naturalized precisely when Americans (often allied with many other Westerners) feel compelled to rescue others—when they see themselves as uniquely qualified to enact this rescue.⁶

That such subjects are neoliberal is evidenced by the emergence of neologisms such as “social entrepreneur” and “social enterprises” that incorporate the exceptional humanitarian individuals into the market economy. Corporate mechanisms and corporate funding become connected to private and public humanitarian projects through donations, support, volunteerism, and favorable tax advantages. For the elites, it turns philanthropy into a humanitarian project. Although humanitarians see themselves as separate from the state, and indeed as more efficient and caring than the state, they are inseparable from it.⁷ Through the merging of public and private institutions, humanitarianism has become a state project supported through government funding for private welfare groups and government encouragement for individuals to participate in humanitarian projects.

American humanitarianism shares in the project of Western humanitarians and their imperial histories, but it has its own specificities. It builds upon common histories of “charity,” missionary work, and the “civilizing” project enacted in the so-called developing world through war, institutions such as the church and the state, and transnational NGOs. The long history of Western missionary work and humanitarianism legitimizes current “Western” rescuers in distant places.⁸ It is mostly American, Christian Westerners who circulate, in transnational news media in particular, as proper humanitarians. While we do see nonwhite and non-Western and non-Christian individuals celebrated as exemplary activists, these brown and black humanitarians from the Global South are more often represented as anomalous citizens of their cultures and countries, unlike US humanitarians whose exceptionalism is represented as normative. Malala Yousafzai, the youngest Nobel Prize winner, is an example of one such anomalous Pakistani celebrated for her support of girls’ education in that region and for speaking out against the Taliban.

While these humanitarian endeavors have become part of contemporary consumer and citizen practices in the United States, they are the result of many Western-led international projects begun after World War II. Many of these organizations—including the United Nations (UN), Amnesty International, Oxfam, Doctors without Borders, and Human Rights Watch—have

based their advocacy for “the international community” in a new international form of juridical power, derived from human rights or the International Court of Justice.⁹ While some have argued that these humanitarian institutions constitute a new global civil society in Habermasian terms, others have seen them as the agents of a new imperialism.¹⁰ Miriam Ticktin argues that humanitarianism constitutes new biopolitical practices and transnational governance.¹¹ Didier Fassin analyzes humanitarianism through the affective and moral dimension of “humanitarian reason” and the biopolitics of “humanitarian government.” He sees both of these as producing inequality, arguing that the term “humanitarianism” became important for French governance and colonialism.¹² Luc Boltanski has suggested that distant suffering produces what he calls a “politics of pity,” which can be distinguished from a “politics of justice.”¹³ He argues that the former compels the viewer of suffering to connect politics with humanitarianism within a genealogy of Christian and French revolutionary subject formation. But Boltanski leaves out colonial and racial histories in his genealogy, which are central to any consideration of European or US practices. His focus lies more in analyzing how suffering plays into politics and presents a problem for the universalization of suffering. Lilie Chouliaraki examines the work done by “humanitarian communication” in media and the emotional repertoires generated by mediated images of suffering that become part of lifestyles and consumption.¹⁴ She has argued for a “post-humanitarian” politics that emerges after compassion fatigue and which connects consumers to immediate and individualized modes of humanitarianism.¹⁵ Chouliaraki’s important interventions are helpful to understanding the affective and communicative registers of mediated humanitarianism, and her work suggests that fine-grained analyses are required to examine the vast enterprise of humanitarianism. Despite all these scholarly interventions and continuing research examining the impact and results of the work done by humanitarian NGOs, there remains the widely disseminated commonsense notion that without such work, many more people would suffer. The stubbornness of this perception is not to be discounted, because it is exacerbated and enabled by the same neoliberal retrenchment of state welfare across the globe that has created cultures of protest, and which private or authoritarian capitalism rapidly captures in many regions, including the United States.

While these scholars focus on the global contexts in which humanitarianism as a term circulates, here I examine the term’s circulation in the United States to show that humanitarianism has become central to American neoliberal citizenship. The subject claiming this citizenship is normatively middle

class, Christian and Western, placing them in the “West” and in America through civilizational, developmental, and human rights discourses. While such a subject is also visible in other parts of the West, it has become pervasive in the United States across numerous institutions.

In this chapter, I focus on US humanitarian soft power as it is enabled through consumption, mobility, and the production of difference and distance. Humanitarianism makes visible inequalities between Americans and others, extending the power of the nation-state while showing both the lethal reach of its military and the limits of military hard power. US humanitarian citizenship is coupled with surveillance, as well as individualizing and racializing sovereignty. In the context of humanitarianism, soft power is mobilized as “the power of the media to cast cultural difference and political struggle in the language of military conflict and war,” thereby revealing how war is mediated as a humanitarian project in the twenty-first century.¹⁶ In this mode of citizenship, humanitarian projects animate and utilize what are presumed to be American impulses of kindness, caring, and good citizenship. These projects rely on Americans’ perception of themselves as “good” and “generous,” giving aid and coming to the rescue of distant others. Andrea Muehlebach has argued that in the case of Italy, neoliberalism has dissolved the difference between the Left and the Right though the articulation of a moral order rather than simply an economic one.¹⁷ Her analysis rings true for the United States as well, as the humanitarian project unites political actors of all stripes. The humanitarian order encompasses a wide range of individuals, groups, and organizations from both the Left and the Right, uniting them within a neoliberal citizenship that brings together militarism and empire.

The power of such humanitarian citizenship is visible when charity and missionary work, long part of religious practices in many cultures, have become incorporated into a common American humanitarianism. The language of humanitarianism unifies and homogenizes nonstate welfare; it works across public and private institutions and creates normative, ethical, and affective forms of belonging to an American empire. These practices and their subjects depend on constructions of race, class, sexuality, religion, and gender but also appear to transcend them through a common humanitarianism.

Humanitarianism enables the continued production of inequality and difference—racial, gendered, and nationalist—that I examine in this chapter. I focus on three mainstream forms of American humanitarianism: “voluntourism” as a new version of mass tourism, adventure travel that calls upon a long imperial history of white masculinity and individuality, and “laptop humanitarianism” as online charity cultures. While focusing on these three

formations, I also see them as dependent on affective and imperial projects that are shared across many other institutions that have transformed American citizenship and everyday life. Rather than elaborating on the representational practices that construct the figure of what Cynthia Enloe has called the “global victim,”¹⁸ this chapter focuses on the subjects who are doing the saving and on the visibility and emergence of US humanitarian citizenship.

Cultures of Humanitarian Citizenship

Large-scale US government support for humanitarianism began in 1961 with the Peace Corps and education abroad programs. The government provided direct and indirect state support for these programs to promote goodwill for the United States.¹⁹ Some scholars argue that the United States has been participating in humanitarian imperialism since the Philippine–American war.²⁰ Mimi Thi Nguyen suggests such a project exists in the context of a US empire that gives the “gift” of refugee status to many who have suffered from US imperial violence.²¹ Others have argued that US humanitarianism is a “gift economy” involving both imperial power and a “language of active citizenship.”²² Ann Vogel concludes that the formation of nonprofit foundations in the United States during the 1990s created elite mechanisms for wealth distribution, while humanitarian projects export American understandings of democracy and form notions of what seems “global” for many Americans.²³ Other researchers understand humanitarianism as the product of a sensationalistic mass culture that has existed in the United States since the early twentieth century.²⁴ This affective and material context of US empire suggests how and why the recent version of humanitarianism became so powerful and so ubiquitous.

It has come to be taken for granted that no entity except the “West” or the “good American” can rescue different and distant others and that those different and distant others are unable to help themselves. Even though distance is a mediated notion—produced through travel, journalism, television, cinema, and photography as well as through representations and practices that emphasize inequality and difference in spatial terms²⁵—the ability to use distance to mystify humanitarian actions as always benevolent has become crucial. Moreover, the mark of the good American citizen is an ability to distance oneself from violence by being able to separate deserving victims from undeserving ones, both in the United States and outside of it—as became visible in the humanitarianism that emerged in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina. Even those who live in physical proximity in cities and neighbor-

hoods can be distanced as undeserving and improper citizens. Many who call themselves humanitarians believe that they can “make a difference” in distant regions, whereas local change is believed to be difficult or downright impossible. Race has been critical in producing such distinctions in US history, as African Americans and Native Americans in the United States become pathologized in segregated regions and neighborhoods. For example, Michael O. Emerson and Christina Smith have argued that white evangelical Christians are unable to see how structures of racial inequality pervade life in the United States.²⁶ It is not surprising then that so many evangelical missionary projects take place outside of the United States; the presence of strong African American churches and advocacy organizations means that humanitarian racism can be resisted and opposed. The strong protests and media uproar that emerged during and after Katrina, which denounced the racist state and racist NGOs, explain why these mostly white Christian organizations prefer to be humanitarian in distant regions where their activities take place away from the limelight of local or national media and antiracist organizing. Melani McAlister has shown that many faith-based missions are directed overseas in racialized and imperial projects that include missionary tourism, conversion projects, and projects directed at rescuing Christians from Muslims or Hindus.²⁷

In addition to producing spatial distance, this humanitarian citizenship erases divisions between public and private, and sutures state and nation. American humanitarian citizenship is transnational and national in that it is constructed against those who are not allowed to be citizens and on behalf of those believed to require Western rescuers. Juridical and policing mechanisms enforce such distinction, as I show in chapter 3. Humanitarianism works through networks of private foundations and public funding, and resources from the state, as well as from groups and individuals. Humanitarian citizenship is governmentalized across many institutions in the United States, including the military, schools and colleges, churches, and community groups, as well as big and small businesses and corporations. Not only does this citizenship rely on private foundations but also on numerous state projects, institutions, and regulations. Importantly, it is also a government project endorsed by both Democrats and Republicans, including Presidents Clinton, George W. Bush, and Obama.²⁸

Humanitarian citizenship produces American citizens as normatively Christian and replaces the language and activism of rights with that of charity, reducing demands on the state by citizens, placing low-income citizens at the mercy of the wealthy, and weakening the connections between people

and the state. Charity claims to help the needy, but it cannot scale up as much as the state, nor can it replace the safety net that a state should provide. It produces only humanitarians as sovereign subjects rather than the state as sovereign. At the same time, because it works as a mode of citizenship, humanitarianism is also multicultural (allowing participation of many groups) yet racialized as the work of a normative white American. The dominant visual culture of humanitarianism constructs a racial and geopolitical difference between the white American donor and the nonwhite, Global South receiver. It is also gendered, sometimes relying on essentialist representations of masculine (and colonial) adventure and travel, and sometimes evoking sexual difference via the nurturing feminine subject. Although such citizenship is normatively white, becoming American for people of color can also mean becoming humanitarian.

Humanitarianism has become an integral part of the US economy, bringing together corporations, foundations, and individuals. Denis Kennedy points out that “the humanitarian project . . . [has] been transformed into a \$10 billion a year industry.”²⁹ The humanitarian economy flourishes because consultants, NGOs, and UN agencies (along with a network of wealthy corporations, donors, and states) benefit financially from being mediators of such work. Humanitarianism links corporations, states, and individuals within a corporatized political economy of charity. At its very worst, humanitarianism has emerged as a form of celebrity public relations enabling certain figures and corporations to circulate and accumulate value so that they can sell commodities. Numerous for-profit businesses have come into existence for this purpose. The website *Look to the Stars*, for instance, lists media celebrities involved in humanitarian work. It gathers information from multiple sources to show how much charitable work is being done by the wealthy and the famous.³⁰ Charity balls, auctions, parties, and sporting and social events are organized to support NGOs, turning wealthy celebrities into humanitarians.

In many instances, whether actual support is given to humanitarianism targets is debatable, and how much is spent on social events versus actual charity is often a question for organization leaders who believe that there are few other paths to raising “awareness” or funds for their causes. In a trenchant *New York Times* article, John Colapinto provides one example of this political economy of charity, describing the work of Trevor Nielson at the Los Angeles-based Global Philanthropy Group, which works with wealthy individuals and celebrities such as Angelina Jolie and Brad Pitt.³¹ Colapinto reveals that for some entrepreneurs such as Nielson, humanitarianism is a new public relations business that rehabilitates reputations and builds star images

and brands. Often these entrepreneurs make millions from their wealthy clients, while the philanthropic causes receive a trickle of that money. Colapinto gives the example of one celebrity who promised millions to a youth homeless shelter but ended up just sending T-shirts.

US feminism has also played a role in constituting non-Western women as targets of humanitarian projects, though this project is not solely an American one.³² In the aftermath of the four UN World Conferences on Women (1975–95), feminist and women’s NGOs have come to occupy a large part of development discourse.³³ These organizations are of many kinds and operate at many levels. Many organizations, especially the transnational ones, participate in humanitarian endeavors around the world, working on development projects such as “capacity building” or “microfinance” that focus on women as targets of rescue. Many activists see themselves as doing what the “corrupt,” “inefficient,” “patriarchal,” or “failed” state refuses to do to improve women’s lives. In some places, as Sabine Lang has argued, the NGOization of feminism has replaced more movement-oriented projects.³⁴ This trend, which Sonia Álvarez has called the “NGO ‘boom,’” now exists transnationally and in development discourse.³⁵

Humanitarianism creates enormous publicity for some causes and mobilizes donations using affect and media. Yet it often does so in ways that contribute to global and national inequality by emphasizing the economic and racial difference between the West and the “developing” world, between rich and poor, and between whites and nonwhites. It justifies unequal accumulation of wealth with the logic that private philanthropy is necessary and that the generosity of the wealthy can ameliorate the structural inequalities created by capitalism and empire. In this way, American humanitarianism hides the violence generated by wars and colonialism, as well as the systems of power that have expanded inequalities throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Humanitarian Travel and Tourism

In recent years, increasingly large numbers of Americans have traveled to Africa, Latin America, or Asia to visit slums, poor neighborhoods, and the children or communities to whom they send money. This has produced new itineraries and projects that combine travel with humanitarianism. This “voluntourism” or “socially conscious tourism,” as Gada Mahrouse terms it,³⁶ is promoted by numerous nonprofits such as Global Exchange, and also by companies catering to colleges and university students. College students

have become a big market for these organizations, as they hope to gain skills and build resumes. Senior citizens and tourists who are dissatisfied with traditional tourist experiences and are politically aware of global inequalities are also often attracted to such forms of travel.³⁷ This travel is both religious and secular. Melani McAlister has written about evangelical missionary work that emerged in the 1990s, including evangelical causes to “save” Christians and Christianity around the world.³⁸ Although historically, religious organizations such as the Mormon Church have created spiritual missions, secular voluntourism has increased dramatically as Americans continue to travel to places they see as different from their home countries to experience racial, cultural, and national difference. For the most part, the paradigmatic voluntourist is white and the country visited is one in the Global South.

Numerous tourist guidebooks provide information to enable such travel. Lonely Planet publishes *Volunteer: A Traveller's Guide to Making a Difference Around the World*, and there are many others including *Volunteer Vacations: Short Term Adventures That Will Benefit You and Others*, which is now in its eleventh edition, and *700 Places to Volunteer before You Die: A Traveler's Guide* by Nola Lee Kelsey.³⁹ Most of these texts provide guidance in terms of organizations to work for, types of volunteer work, how to choose organizations to work with, and what kinds of “exchange” can be expected. For the most part, the authors use stock phrases such as “making a difference” and “following your passion” to help readers decide where and how to volunteer, and they imply that individuals can overcome all kinds of global differences. These authors deploy a prevailing ideology of peer-to-peer exchange in which power differences between peers cannot be acknowledged. Further, the plethora of volunteer opportunities provides a wide range of consumer choices that are similar to those made by tourists deciding which country to visit for pleasure.

For these authors, volunteers can benefit from “cultural exchange” and “global citizenship,” as well as improve their careers and health and “give something back,” suggesting that their regular work does not have much social benefit. Some guidebooks, such as *Volunteer Vacations*, claim to be selective in choosing reputable and vetted volunteer opportunities, implying that there are many organizations that are not reputable and revealing the highly competitive market of these organizations that cater to Western volunteers. The guidebook states that it provides “in-depth information about each organization,”⁴⁰ though it is not clear who vetted them or how they were vetted, and the “in-depth” information is remarkably sparse. This guide lists organizations by region, type of work, excerpt of mission statement, number

of volunteers for the last year, funding sources, costs for volunteers, and skills provided. For the most part, information about who funds the organization is presented in one phrase or sentence, such as “Foundations and Private Donors,” even as the book tells us that this information is crucial for volunteers. The guidebook includes organizations that charge travelers nothing to volunteer, as well as those that charge over \$3,000, and includes both local and global nonprofit and for-profit organizations.

What all these guidebooks reveal is that voluntourism is a large enterprise, and much of it is based on notions of “making a difference,” “person-to-person” relationships, “cultural exchange,” and consumer choice. Individual choice and individual experience are central to this tourism. As *Volunteer Vacations* puts it, the reader must “evaluate an organization to see if it is right for me.”⁴¹ Although other volunteers’ personal vignettes are presented to inform the reader, with most volunteers claiming that their experience changed their lives, the text suggests that readers must choose their own path, or else the “experience” will not work. Because volunteering is a project of self-improvement, such a focus is necessary, and the stories of self-improvement and satisfaction are important features of these texts. All these guidebooks argue that volunteer help is necessary and that volunteers are needed and welcomed everywhere; indeed, oftentimes the funds and work done by voluntourists sustain organizations even as they lead to tensions over different economic and affective needs.⁴² The language of “exchange” pervades these texts, suggesting that the notion of reciprocity obviates racial, class, national, or any other difference, and that all regions or organizations benefit from volunteers in excess of the tourist dollars or euros they may bring. Despite this, there is often little evidence of actual exchange that does not benefit the voluntourist. Because these experiences take place within the context of tourism, they often cannot sustain the communities being helped or the organizations orchestrating the tourism.

All of these guidebook authors assume that the volunteer is white and Western, while the regions of need are in the Global South. Although the Lonely Planet guide states that volunteers come from many regions and races, there is only one South Asian voluntourist quoted several times through the book. The photographs and vignettes mostly focus on white volunteers working in the non-West among nonwhite people.

Many of these authors demonstrate awareness of the critique of imperialism and the imperial history of travel. But they propose that imperialism and imperial attitudes can be avoided, suggesting that imperialism is not structural but rather about attitudes and behaviors. In addition, they

position humanitarians as working outside the state and without overt state or national support, thus suggesting that voluntourism exists outside of the empire. While these authors identify war as part of an imperial project, they name humanitarianism as benevolence that is outside of militarism. Represented as an exchange between individuals, humanitarianism becomes free of the taint of empire. The authors suggest that the humanitarian and the recipient of aid are equals because they are part of a process of exchange between individuals. The authors of *Volunteer Vacations* state that volunteering can “begin to halt the tide of the nastier effects of globalization and instead promote the benefits of international understanding and cooperation. Through personal, one-on-one exchanges and dialogues, individuals around the world—including people from different communities in the United States—will better understand and appreciate the people in their national and global neighborhoods.”⁴³ The Lonely Planet guidebook, *Volunteer: A Traveller’s Guide*, constructs American Others as foreign, a practice that became visible during Katrina.⁴⁴ It also asks right at the beginning, “Is International Volunteering the New Colonialism?”⁴⁵ It responds that it can be but that volunteers can escape being these “new colonialists” if they have the right attitude. Power and inequality are acknowledged but ignored, since the voluntourist is understood to be sacrificing so much to undertake volunteer work by giving up a comfortable life to live in the Global South. Power is not seen as structural but as an individual avocation. Thus whether or not someone is a colonialist depends on their personal attitude, rather than on the racial/colonial histories or global structures in which they are enmeshed. Through their own attitude, an individual can either become or refuse to become a colonialist: “Whether international volunteering is the new colonialism or not is, in large part, down to the attitudes of you, the volunteer and the organization you go with.”⁴⁶ Histories of colonialism may influence attitudes toward volunteers, but the volunteer can, by their individual attitude and behavior and by their selection of organization to work with, either become a colonialist if they behave in a condescending manner, or not be a colonialist if they see those other people as teaching them something. It suggests that “if you don’t want to be a twenty-first century colonialist, rule out organizations that suggest you’ll be ‘saving the world’ or give a patronizing image of the developing world.”⁴⁷

Continuing the emphasis on the individual, the Lonely Planet guide’s section on “Why Volunteer?” describes benefits to the traveler/volunteer. The benefits include learning a foreign language, skills “you’ll acquire or develop (that) can be used back home in your profession,” leadership and

communication skills, and “listening and understanding skills,” as well as the ability to “develop self-confidence, focus [your] career objectives and show adaptability, self-motivation, and dedication. All of these benefits can kickstart a career and can sometimes be more valuable than undergraduate (or even postgraduate) education.”⁴⁸ The book quotes one volunteer stating that gratitude and appreciation for the volunteer were also a benefit: “the delight on people’s faces when they realize they now have a clean and safe water supply or better school facilities.” The same person goes on to list “personal benefits” such as being “exposed to new cultures” as well as physical improvement: this person became “fitter, lost weight, and felt terrific when I came home.”⁴⁹

It is telling that none of these guidebooks include narratives from those who have purportedly been helped, or whose lives have allegedly been bettered. The “exchange” seems to be one-way. The language of person-to-person, individual exchange, and individual benefit is thus about a neoliberal and racial approach to the humanitarian’s personal growth. Such texts thus become antipolitical, to use James Ferguson’s phrase for the development bureaucracies in Lesotho,⁵⁰ transforming Americans into development experts.

Greg Mortenson and *Three Cups of Tea*: Media and Pedagogy

American humanitarianism citizenship and its racializing and gendering processes also circulate beyond the tourist industry, particularly in popular culture and media. Information about these projects circulate through books, documentary and feature films, television news and shows, websites, journalism, and artistic practices. These images and practices traverse popular and elite culture, development discourse, state projects, missionary groups, and consumer and military culture. Relying on historically sedimented colonial histories, but recuperated in new digital forms of media and consumption, humanitarianism circulates in media to produce soft power as that combination of sedimented imperial history and subjectivities, powerful masculinities and femininities, global citizenship, and emerging forms of consumer culture.

An excellent example of this kind of American humanitarian in popular culture is the *New York Times* bestseller *Three Cups of Tea: One Man’s Mission to Promote Peace . . . One School at a Time* (2006), which is an account of Greg Mortenson’s efforts to establish girls’ schools in remote areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan.⁵¹ Mortenson’s account has since been attacked as a fabrication and his NGO has lost some of its prominence and power, but the narrative

remains powerful because it belongs to a genre of imperial travel writing whose elements are understandable and familiar, widely disseminated, and read. This is the travel narrative genre in which the lone white male traveler ventures into unknown lands for adventure, becomes accepted by the locals as benevolent, and then emerges as a savior of a “native” culture. Since nineteenth-century male figures such as Richard Francis Burton and T. E. Lawrence and female ones such as Isabelle Eberhardt, the continued popularity of this figure enables it to become part of current commodity and consumer cultures, though with some key differences, as I will argue. As narrated in *Three Cups of Tea*, Mortenson is both a throwback to such romantic and unique individuals, as well as a key soft power figure in the contemporary US wars in South Asia. As a “global citizen” and a caring and powerful figure, he embodies American power as benevolent and caring, rather than as lethal and violent. While he originally supported the US war in Afghanistan, believing that it was a step to rebuilding the country, his school-building agenda is designed to win the war on terror through development projects focused on girls’ education. In *Three Cups of Tea*, we learn that no one else can make this happen, and that Mortenson has to struggle against Afghan locals and ignorant Americans to reach his goals. The book downplays his connections with the US military as well as the fact that American drone warfare has extensively bombed some of the regions in which he claims to work. Despite the unpopularity of Americans, we are told, Mortenson makes the local Pakistanis and Afghans love and revere him, and can also collaborate with the US military to turn it into an organization that saves lives, as suggested in the advertisements with which I opened this chapter. The book includes a quote from one of the girls, Fatima Batool, who, we are told, was able to attend one of Mortenson’s schools after she fled her home because of Pakistan’s war with India: “I’ve heard some people say Americans are bad. . . . But we love Americans. They are the most kind people for us. They are the only ones who cared to help us” (224). Echoing Bill Keller’s quote from early in this chapter, one of Mortenson’s supporters and donors urges him to share his knowledge of Muslims when he receives hate mail from other Americans: “These horrible hate letters are a mandate for you to get out and tell Americans what you know about Muslims. You represent the goodness and courage that America is all about” (280). Such testimonials to the goodness of Americans may be one reason for the widespread popularity of the book in the United States.

Educational institutions of various kinds presented Mortenson as an exemplary and exceptional individual and role model. Mortenson’s ac-

count was endorsed by celebrities and journalists, supported by wealthy donors, and championed, importantly, by the US military. It also circulated across tourist and consumer cultures because it showcases how a tourist and mountaineer—the rugged male and white adventurer—could become a humanitarian. David Oliver Relin, who collaborated with Mortenson to write the book, created a narrative that convincingly combines many of the key aspects of adventure travel: race, nationalism, masculinity, tourism, and empire. Relin created Mortenson as the model humanitarian, showing how whiteness, hetero-masculinity, and American individuality could be harnessed for altruistic purposes.

The narrative constructs the hero as masculine and caring, enmeshed in a lonely and brave struggle. Mortenson emerges as the only person doing this work in the Pakistani region near the Karakoram mountain ranges, close to the border with India. The Pakistani state is inefficient and uncaring, locals are patriarchal and religious, and he becomes the lone savior of Pakistani girls, with the help of some heroic sympathetic locals and mercenaries. In the two villages where the narrative tells us he built his first schools, he is the local hero. The mountain climber, whose goal was to ascend the highest peaks in the Himalayas, ends up doing humanitarian work. This book combines adventure and rugged travel experience—Mortenson is not the usual tourist but the heroic mountain climber—with the work of “helping” those presumed to be helpless. Consumption and charity are thus combined in a powerful package. In *Three Cups of Tea*, numerous references to American mountaineering communities and to the travails and difficulties endured by mountain climbers in the area, create a Western and American familiarity with the region. For all the white, American consumers who see themselves as different from regular tourists,⁵² who wish to combine volunteer work with travel, and for whom travel to the developing world is imbued with charity, Mortenson is a powerful role model.

In the book’s introduction, Relin writes in his own voice, giving an account of Mortenson’s popularity in Pakistan. The chapter recuperates imperial travel narratives and positions Mortenson as a heroic adventurer-traveler-savior. Relin tells us that Mortenson is restless and at home in remote regions, personally charismatic, and capable of surviving in a region where few others (he means white Americans) venture. By establishing Mortenson’s credibility through some overblown prose, Relin can then claim the narrative’s objectivity and truthfulness. Local terms and colorful figures are thrown in to provide authenticity, and the need and deprivation of impoverished locals—especially girls and women—garners sympathy from the reader.

We are told that after a “failed attempt” to climb K2 in Pakistan, the world’s second-highest mountain, Mortenson ends up in the village of Korphe with momentous results: “In this impoverished community of mud and stone huts, both Mortenson’s life and the lives of Northern Pakistan’s children changed course” (2). Even a Pakistani pilot tells Relin that “Greg Mortenson is the most remarkable person I’ve ever met” (3). Mortenson’s wife is quoted saying that “Greg is not one of us” (4). All who know him are “pulled into his orbit” (3). Relin asserts Mortenson’s masterful knowledge of the region, stating that everyone “who had had the privilege of watching Greg Mortenson is amazed by how encyclopedically well he has come to know one of the world’s most remote regions.” His admirers range, we are told, from “former Taliban fighters” to “illiterate high-altitude porters” and “volunteers and admirers from every stratum of Pakistan’s society and from all the warring sects of Islam” (3). Later in the narrative, Relin tells us that Mortenson comes to be known as “Dr. Greg” because he is able to use his nursing skills and medications to help poor villagers; he is considered the son of the village elder. He feels, we are told, more at home in this Pakistani village than in the United States.

The book unfolds through an omniscient narrator perspective, beginning with Mortenson’s mountain climbing experience that leads him to the village of Korphe, but also establishing his credentials as a global citizen who lived in Tanzania as a child of Lutheran missionaries. Colonial racial logics pervade the text. In describing the local community of Balti people, Relin quotes a paragraph from an Italian mountaineer, Fosco Maraini, who had been to the region in 1958 and had written what the narrator calls a “scholarly treatise on the Balti way of life”: “They connive, and complain, and frustrate one to the utmost. And beyond their often-foul odor, they have an unmistakable air of the brigand . . . but . . . you’ll learn they serve you faithfully, and they are high-spirited” (21). Such colonial phrases racializing culture and poverty in terms of difference and servility are seamlessly incorporated into this contemporary narrative that proceeds from suspicion to cultural knowledge, following the conventions of many travel narratives. Mortenson’s education enables Korphe’s residents to move from being odorous to admirable, as Mortenson realizes that “they live with a rare kind of purity” (112). Although the villagers are recognized for the brutal work they do in carrying loads for Western mountaineers, the narrator tells us that they are different from Westerners and more like “the ibex they pursued” in that they work to survive and have little interest in climbing mountains (117).

Despite the fact that Balti people are likened to animals, we learn that Mortenson becomes a native—hunting, eating, and dancing with Balti men:

“Together, the Balti and the big American danced like dervishes and sang of feuding alpine kingdoms, of the savagery of Pathan warriors pouring in from Afghanistan. . . . Korphe’s women, accustomed by now to the infidel among them, stood at the edge of the firelight, their faces glowing, as they clapped and sang along with their men” (144). The inhabitants of Korphe are not presented as contemporaries but live in noncoeval time with Mortenson. In light of this “schizogenic temporality,” as Johannes Fabian has called the colonial denial of coevalness,⁵³ Mortenson’s goal becomes the uplift of women. Consequently, he is narrated as especially attuned to their needs; even before building a school, he builds a bridge that shortens the distance they have to travel to reach the town across the river. Here, he suggests that he is different from the bureaucratic state that is deaf to the needs of people, especially women, and his humanitarianism is more feminist and thus more modern.

Much like the “exchange” that constructs the voluntourist, Mortenson’s “exchange” is the lessons he learns from Korphe elders. Mortenson learns to be patient and realizes that the Baltis are not stupid even though they are uneducated. Haji Ali is quoted as making this last point, and Mortenson then responds by saying that “Haji Ali taught me the most important lesson I’ve learned in my life” (150), that nothing can be accomplished quickly. Mortenson also learns that it is not “shock and awe” that can end wars, but rather “building relationships” (150). In such “lessons,” the text constructs a history of travel as educational, of “primitive” cultures as providing lessons for modern subjects, and of distance producing traditional and slow cultures in comparison to the tourist-traveler’s own mobility. Mortenson’s mobility comprises a large part of the book as he moves around in the United States raising funds and traveling to Pakistan and later to Afghanistan.

While many sections and phrases in the book recall the language of nineteenth-century Orientalism, other sections reveal Mortenson’s imbrication in American wars of the twenty-first century. Such sections show Mortenson working to distinguish the good Pakistanis from the bad ones. The Baltis are narrated as good—neglected by the Pakistani government and in danger of losing people and culture to emerging wars with the Taliban. Building schools means saving them from madrassa education that would supposedly turn them into radical Islamists, and this is the project that gains support from many donors in the United States. Building schools for girls thus becomes enmeshed in the work of US empire, winning the war against the Taliban, and working against the Pakistani government. This project is especially highlighted as Mortenson travels to the Pakistani border area of Waziristan, where he sees the Saudi-built madrassa attended by, we are told,

John Walker Lindh. Mortenson describes Waziristan as a “medieval” region, where he is captured and imprisoned for several days, released only after he shows familiarity with the Koran. Jon Krakauer has challenged this claim of being imprisoned by the Taliban, and in doing so, he challenges as well Mortenson’s claim of deep knowledge about the region and culture.⁵⁴

As Mortenson moves to working in Afghanistan, the US military agenda of fighting Islamicization and Saudi-funded madrassas takes him to speak to US legislators in Congress. Republican California congresswoman Mary Bono becomes a champion, introducing Mortenson to fellow Republicans as “a real American hero” who is “fighting terror in Pakistan and Afghanistan by building girls’ schools” (291). A legislative aide then tells Mortenson that he has never heard anyone give such an account of the region. A general donates to Mortenson’s NGO, the Central Asia Institute, and invites him to the Pentagon, where he is offered millions that he rejects. Mortenson is quoted as saying that he would lose credibility in the region if he took money from the US military. Relin describes Mortenson’s growing concern for people of the region, as he relinquishes his original support for the US bombings.

In the wake of the book’s popularity, and despite Relin’s and Mortenson’s claims, journalists revealed Mortenson’s work with the US military. Stanley A. McChrystal, then chief of staff of the US military, befriended Mortenson, seeing him as an example of the soft power needed by the US military in Afghanistan. In a *New York Times* article, Elisabeth Bumiller reveals some of the connections between Mortenson and the military even as she constructs Mortenson as a heroic and credible figure. Bumiller’s article also reveals how Mortenson’s humanitarianism was celebrated by journalists and by reputable newspaper such as the *New York Times* without verifying the facts on the ground. In this front-page article, Bumiller reports that “in the frantic last hours” of General Stanley A. McChrystal’s command in Afghanistan in 2010, he reached out to “an unlikely corner of his life: the author of the book, *Three Cups of Tea*, Greg Mortenson.”⁵⁵ We learn that Mortenson came to McChrystal’s attention through a soldier’s wife who asked her husband, based in Pakistan, to read the book. The husband then recommended the book to McChrystal, who contacted Mortenson. Bumiller goes on to mention that Mortenson was present in meetings between village elders and US military representatives, showing that McChrystal and Mortenson ended up working together. Bumiller states that McChrystal’s initial note to Mortenson “reflected his [Mortenson’s] broad and deepening relationship with the US military, whose leaders have increasingly turned to Mortenson, once a

shaggy mountaineer, to help translate the theory of counterinsurgency to tribal realities on the ground.”⁵⁶ What is remarkable in this article, which is typical of much coverage of Mortenson since his book was published, is Bumiller’s acceptance of both a hypermasculine Mortenson—the “shaggy mountaineer”—and his unverified account. For example, she tells us that Mortenson is “responsible for the construction of more than 130 schools in Afghanistan and Pakistan, mostly for girls” and that he has struggled to undertake this task despite lack of financial resources, even once living out of his car in Berkeley, California.⁵⁷ Bumiller did not verify whether the schools were operating or had even been built. In fact, Jon Krakauer and the *60 Minutes* team both investigated Mortenson’s claims later and found that Mortenson had either exaggerated or fabricated them.⁵⁸ Despite this revelation, Bumiller’s article is instructive because it reveals how narratives celebrating American humanitarians circulate. Like many others, the article unquestioningly repeats a narrative of the bravery, deprivation, and sentimentality of the heroic white man who eschews military solutions.

In February 2011, after leaving the military, McChrystal brought Mortenson to speak at Yale University, where McChrystal was teaching a seminar on leadership at the Jackson Institute for Global Affairs. In a YouTube video of that event, McChrystal presents Mortenson as an exemplary leader, and Mortenson speaks of his soft power credentials: He favors “empowerment” rather than war, schools instead of bombs.⁵⁹ He emerges as a cosmopolitan who has lived in diverse cultures in Africa and Asia and who speaks many languages, a throwback to the missionaries and colonial adventurers who saw themselves as melding into “native” cultures. He becomes a leader in the necessary cultural work of soft power, which has convinced some anthropologists and cultural experts in the Human Terrain System project to support the war in Afghanistan.⁶⁰ Even though Mortenson’s *Three Cups of Tea* has since been discredited, there are many books, images, films, and media productions reproducing this humanitarian narrative that take his place and show that others can be better humanitarians.

Mortenson also published a children’s version of his project, *Listen to the Wind: The Story of Dr. Greg and Three Cups of Tea* (2009), which became extremely popular as required reading in schools across the country.⁶¹ Another of Mortenson’s books, *Stones into Schools: Promoting Peace with Books, Not Bombs, in Afghanistan and Pakistan* (2010), continued this publishing juggernaut, claiming to show how peace in “a volatile region” can be achieved and how, as venerable news anchor Tom Brokaw states on the back cover of the

book, “one man can change the world.”⁶² Images of Mortenson with smiling, hijab-clad girls are visible on the book’s cover.

It is no coincidence that *Three Cups of Tea*’s popularity, bolstered by the credibility of journalists such as Tom Brokaw, occurred at the same time as the escalation of American bombing in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Mortenson’s long list of speaking engagements at and awards from schools, colleges, and universities attests to the power of imperial travel and its collaboration with humanitarianism. Humanitarianism has become both a job qualification and an essential part of imperial education. American students travel to Africa, Asia, and Latin America to work and intern in NGOs, and many volunteer in their cities and neighborhoods. Humanitarianism has become incorporated into school and college curricula, and into prizes and projects. Some US business schools even teach students how to be discerning philanthropists. Entrance to colleges often depends on evidence of such work, high schools assign seniors community service as a graduation requirement, and businesses have emerged to enable travel for these projects. Some large corporations set aside a day for employees to undertake volunteer work. Celebrities remake their careers by starting charities and foundations and by attending fundraisers. Bill Gates, for example, has been able to use his wealth to address health issues across the developing world. The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation’s budget is larger than the national budget of most of the countries in which it works. The Gates Foundation’s efforts to eradicate polio, for example, have recuperated Microsoft Corporation’s public relations image as a helpful rather than predatory organization. Through concern about the poor, the world, or more recently for “Africa,” “social service” has become central to American power. The US government encourages such work with tax deductions, direct funding of NGOs, and the creation of service corps: AmeriCorps, Senior Corps, and a host of other such programs.

The mystification of distance enables ideas of progress or accountability to remain unclear as narratives about “helping” and “saving” flourish without being verified or contradicted. Often, even reports that contradict the effectiveness of humanitarian actions are ignored,⁶³ making it difficult to counter the huge apparatus of popular images and knowledges of the efficacy and importance of humanitarian aid. Because these hegemonic knowledges have produced distant others as requiring interventions while celebrating white, Western humanitarians, and saviors, there is little in popular media about the difficulties and challenges of such work, nor are there many challenges to the inequalities created by such work. But humanitarianism flourishes

because it is productive in creating narratives of “good Americans” that circulate widely within and outside the United States, producing a supposedly benevolent empire.

Kiva and Online Microlending: The New-Media Humanitarians

While voluntourism has become a new, popular form of travel, humanitarian opportunity also exists online. Greg Mortenson’s nonprofit organization, the Central Asia Institute, has a website that allows viewers to scroll through images of schools that the institute claims to have built and donate to a school and region of their choice. Despite this rhetoric of abundant choice, the same photographs are used for several schools, and many have no markers of place or region, making it difficult to verify whether or not such a school actually exists or is currently active. Such images and choices mark the commodification of charity online, offering the ability to anyone with online access to become a humanitarian. Opportunities to become humanitarians flourish online, as donors are asked to give funding as charity or even as loans.

The phenomenon of microcredit and microlending has spawned new forms of armchair humanitarianism that provide the experience of cultural difference and tourism (central to travel to the Global South) from the comfort of home and computer screen. Such digital travel also enables individual and person-to-person connection across racial, national, and cultural difference. Online organizations have emerged to enable microlending with the click of a button, and organizations such as Kiva.org and HandUP.org exemplify some of the ways in which contemporary US humanitarianism relies on neoliberal welfare privatization that is the analog of digital corporate cultures.⁶⁴ The microlending model for gift giving is a popular project for those who believe low-income individuals and communities need work rather than welfare. Microfinance is often represented as the new panacea for global poverty, even as critics of the practice have shown its many flaws. For example, microfinance may increase gendered inequality and rural indebtedness, and even intensify the power of patriarchies.⁶⁵ It is also based on the assumption that giving aid or state subsidies to people does not improve their lives, and that poor people worldwide would rather have loans and become entrepreneurs. Further, the sporadic and uncertain nature of private charity and privatized microfinance adds greater insecurity and uncertainty to the lives of many who already live on the edge, and it cannot provide the scale of welfare that long-term state support may bring.

Microfinance humanitarianism is now becoming part of a panoply of consumer choices, seamlessly incorporated into everyday culture so that helping and saving distant others is easier than ever before. It has become a rite of passage for middle- and upper-class Americans to be involved in charitable online giving—Christmas, birthday, and even wedding gifts can be a goat or money given to the women on Kiva, to projects such as Heifer International, or to projects supporting a child in Asia or Africa through one’s local church. Child Fund International produces a catalog with smiling children, and women holding goats, pigs, cattle, chicken, bicycles, and hand pumps. Captions in the catalog state: “Help an orphaned girl in India continue her education” and “Help a child carry homework to school and back.” The latter appeal comes with a price tag of thirty-six dollars for “One Backpack for a Child in Angola.” The organization gets three stars out of four from the charity-vetting organization Charity Watch, suggesting that it is a trusted organization, though the money might easily buy more than one backpack in Angola. Charity-vetting organizations such as Charity Watch, Charity Navigator, and Philanthropedia have become powerful, giving donors the ability to decide online whether to give to an organization or not. Charity Navigator claims to have 4.7 million unique visitors to their site and has been increasing its online visitors each year, though these visitors may be only a fraction of those who donate to charity.⁶⁶

Such charity is now also directed within the United States, as state retrenchment on welfare and education has increased domestic needs. Some online sites enable donations to schools that have lost funding due to state retrenchment, once again replacing state support with sporadic individual charity. Sites such as DonorsChoose.org enable donations to school districts or to individual teachers or projects, thus producing popularity contests that are detrimental to the morale of many teachers.⁶⁷ These sites have become so normalized as useful and “good” that they let many forget the time when it was the state’s job to provide teachers and schools with what they needed, diverting attention away from the need to pressure school boards and state governments to attend to teachers’ needs.

Kiva.org is one of several nonprofits that rely on new media to produce online humanitarians. However, it uses its online and Silicon Valley credentials to imply it is different from other microfinancing nonprofits, claiming, as Megan Moodie reveals, that it is more transparent and provides more direct access and connections between donors and recipients.⁶⁸ Kiva encourages donors to form “lending teams,” create online communities, and debate issues. However, the problems of humanitarianism and microfinance remain,

and a decade of microlending seems to have tarnished its image even among policy makers; even so the project continues to proliferate precisely because it has become so entrenched into consumer culture, self-empowerment regimes, and Western humanitarianism. The images and narratives distinguish between domestic and international communities, between American givers and international recipients. With an emphasis on donors choosing whom they want to help from a long list of names, faces, and narratives of those seeking help, the privatization of welfare creates uncertainty for those on the receiving (or nonreceiving) end, turning them into supplicants whose lives continue only at the whim of the unseen, individual donor.

Kiva's website contains images and descriptions of large numbers of people around the world seeking loans for myriad entrepreneurial activities. Unlike Mortenson seeking charitable donations to support his work, Kiva seeks microloans from all those who believe that poor people around the globe need more work rather than welfare or social justice. The website showcases images of brown and black women accompanied by an informational paragraph about each recipient who can be helped if the user "chooses" her. Donors are urged to give small amounts, as low as twenty-five dollars. Kiva thus calls on ordinary people to become global humanitarians. Most Kiva donors are US based, though there are donors across the world. Similar to calls to action on eBay or other retail sites, some of Kiva's loan calls to action add a sense of urgency and opportunity by listing the hours remaining for the donor to contribute. More recently, the credit card and finance company Capital One has donated half a million dollars as a matching loan to expand its partnership with Kiva, in a gesture of corporate humanitarianism.⁶⁹

Kiva's website also contains narratives of would-be entrepreneurs who want loans to start small businesses. Lilie Chouliaraki has described such narratives as a new mode of "post-humanitarian" communication that is incorporated into lifestyle choices and that is distinct from previous humanitarianisms based on grand emotions and representations of suffering.⁷⁰ This emphasis on consumption and choice without discourses of suffering are certainly key to online organizations such as Kiva that use commodity and market strategies to "sell" the women and men seeking microloans.⁷¹ However, as I have shown in the case of Greg Mortenson's project, grand narratives of suffering, complete with images of little children, remain powerful in other humanitarian enterprises. Grand narratives of "saving" work alongside humanitarianism as lifestyle choice, but all of these rely on the figures of exceptional Americans who either travel to distant places to rescue or

volunteer, or incorporate charitable giving into new forms of individual connection via microlending. US imperialism and war rely on multiple forms of humanitarianism to hail diverse subjects into citizenship through online and armchair participation, travel, and consumption. These modes of consumption and participation rely on narratives of heroism and suffering as well as the power to transform distant others into entrepreneurial and neoliberal subjects through microlending. But, what is also important is that these exceptional Americans are supposed to disdain the state as a source of social welfare, preferring to support someone whom they themselves choose as worthy of support. These exceptional citizens believe they are better able to decide who can get welfare and who cannot, believing that the state is not efficient or reliable, or that it gives welfare to those whom they do not consider worthy of saving. For those on the receiving end, who are often poor, their citizen rights to demand state welfare have been replaced by requests soliciting aid and support, with little surety for getting this support and no long-term prospects for welfare. Those in need then are outside the exceptional citizenship of the humanitarians.

While Kiva's microlending was originally focused on international giving, the post-2008 economic downturn prompted calls to enable microlending within the United States as well. Beginning in 2009, at the urging of Maria Shriver, then the First Lady of California, Kiva.org now includes US recipients who wish to start businesses, though international recipients remain the main borrowers. Kiva partnered with US microcredit organizations ACCION USA and the Opportunity Fund to disburse loans. This change to microlending within the United States created some dissatisfaction among Kiva donors, who wanted the organization to focus on international locales, where they felt the need was more dire and where small sums might go further, reflecting the belief, visible after Katrina, that distant others are more deserving and that local people may be less honest or more intransigent. One lending team, Unhappy Kiva Lenders Group, came together to voice this dissatisfaction. In response, an oppositional team, USA Against Kiva Bigots, was created and has now morphed into USA 4 Equality. In the process, the Unhappy Kiva Lenders Group has disappeared from the Kiva.org home page, indicating that the website is less community driven than it claims to be.⁷² As this example shows, Kiva promotes its own policies and monitors participants' interactions to achieve its goals.

An additional source of dissatisfaction among some Kiva lenders was the realization that Kiva did not provide loans directly, as the loans went to intermediaries at distant sites. While the visual technology of Kiva's site pro-

vides a great deal of information, there is no way for anyone to know whether the organization's money has actually reached anyone because the funds go to local microlending organizations, and Kiva does not verify whether the funds have actually reached borrowers or improved their lives. There is little information on Kiva's website about the workings and finances of the organizations to whom Kiva provides the loans, and their claim of transparency belies the gulf between the lenders and the borrowers. While Kiva.org does provide a graphic depicting the ways in which the money gets to the recipient, the model does not show us exactly how "field partners" in distant regions find the recipients or give them the funds. Indeed, the visuals of Kiva's site provide pleasures for the donor-viewers in scrolling through the photographs and narratives of borrowers, providing satisfaction for donors that they are helping people in need, while foreclosing any probing questions. The *New York Times*' Nicholas Kristof, who has become well known for supporting neoliberal individualized humanitarianism, tweeted in 2009: "Just made a microloan on www.kiva.org to a Nicaraguan woman. Great therapy: always makes me feel good."⁷³ Sitting at a computer and sending money to an unknown woman provides Kristof with the ability to improve himself, invoking Nikolas Rose's argument that one of the hallmarks of neoliberalism is the self-improving subject.⁷⁴ Such a subject is thus the exceptional citizen with the sovereign ability to give support and life to some and to withdraw it from others.

Kiva remains popular because it enables welfare as consumer choice, allowing viewers to scroll through the names, images, and descriptions of people in need, or to choose whether to give to a male or female, or community. There are quite a few choices—Kiva shows there are so many needy people around the world—even as viewers learn nothing about why and how so many become needy, if their neediness and the US consumer's prosperity are linked, or how and why inequality seems to be increasing across the globe. Megan Moodie has argued that Kiva obfuscates a highly unequal relationship enabled by these networked connections that are assumed to be peer-to-peer, but which are actually organization-to-organization.⁷⁵ She further observes that the site, like so many others, provides no information on how and why borrowers (most of them women) become needy. Moodie points out that the most important risk associated with these transactions affects the donors rather than the borrowers. She critiques the belief that such online giving provides a closer connection to the clients, as both Kiva and many journalists claim. For instance, the *Wall Street Journal* reports: "Some of the newer Web-based nonprofits, such as DonorsChoose and Kiva,

are attractive because contributors say they allow them to connect directly with their recipients. Donors or lenders can hand over money directly to, respectively, teachers and students in urban public schools or individual entrepreneurs in developing countries, rather than sending a check that ends up with an abstract recipient.⁷⁶ This narrative of both digital media and humanitarianism—that digital media can provide the transparency lacking in most corrupt organizations or developing states—utilizes what are seen to be the democratizing aspects of new media. Digital media is assumed to be more direct and more transparent because clients are vetted by the new media organization and because the donor can choose among recipients. These online humanitarian sites rely on the putative closeness and immediacy of the Internet experience and its possibilities for encouraging consumption, even as they also rely on distance to enhance the narrative of need and to mystify the process of welfare and development.

Despite its popularity, Kiva has not been immune to criticism. After complaints from its donor communities, Kiva had to admit that it does not actually have direct connection with borrowers. However, it continues to suggest that technology can one day provide this experience. Premal Shah, one of Kiva's founders, admitted that though legal issues prevent direct peer-to-peer contact, he sees this “disintermediation” happening in the future “when people in the developing world begin using their mobile phones to use credit and make payments.”⁷⁷ Yet, the problem is not just technology. It is also that sites such as Kiva imply that the viewer is capable of deciding on the more worthy recipient simply by consuming online images and narratives. Although these images produce entrepreneurial and capitalist subjects that seem to be different from the usual images of the pain and suffering of distant others in the Global South,⁷⁸ all of these projects intensify the inequality between donors and borrowers, between generous humanitarians and suffering others. At the very least, those in need are now indebted to new groups and individuals who may or may not continue to support them.

Some critics of microlending have charged that such organizations seem to benefit only distant others. In response, newer organizations have emerged to both give to local people in need and to replace microlending with outright charity. This model combines the crowdfunding approach of Kickstarter with the charity and humanitarian aspect of Kiva. The newer online giving organization HandUP.org focuses on giving to local homeless people in San Francisco. Created in 2013 by Rose Broome and Zac Witte, who sought to connect San Francisco's wealthy tech community with local homeless people in need, it too relies on an individual's decision to give to one of the

many needy people described on the website. Once again, there are portraits and narratives of those seeking help, hoping to attract the attention of an online humanitarian. As an article in the *New Yorker* described, “donors can adopt a homeless person through financial contributions, and receive progress reports on how he or she is doing.”⁷⁹ The *New Yorker* article reported that the founders are hoping to expand the model to other cities. While the project hopes to move people’s attention to those living in their own city, it also departs from Kiva’s model in that giving is not related to awakening entrepreneurship among the recipients, but to allowing donations for all sorts of reasons, from buying shoes for children to getting furniture or equipment for people’s homes. It is thus a more openly charitable enterprise rather than a microlending one. However, HandUp produces charity as the main connection between people dwelling in the same city, and, similar to other private welfare models, it replaced the language of rights or welfare demands with the language of charity and choice, with their attendant uncertainty and short-term, consumer-based attention. At best, it draws attention to local homeless people and their needs (if, indeed, the narratives that accompany recipient photographs are their own), but it also suggests that charity and inequality are now the main modes of relating to fellow citizens.

There is no doubt that humanitarianism, whether online or off, depends on individuals genuinely wishing to help, but it also bolsters the neoliberal idea that states cannot provide for their citizens. In the process, these organizations consolidate the power of the exceptional American humanitarian. They provide images of suffering others that are contrasted with empowered, choice-making rescuers. The latter are visible as the numerous volunteers and humanitarians traveling to the Global South and celebrated as role models or celebrities; or, as Kiva’s armchair donors and communities who are described on the website as “Kiva’s vibrant community of active and inspiring lenders.”⁸⁰

Conclusion

In *Contemporary States of Emergency*, Didier Fassin and Mariella Pandolfi argue that well-meaning individuals who are ethically motivated to humanitarianism share a great deal.⁸¹ For instance, they have in common “the temporality of emergency . . . [they] reject the sovereignty of states in the name of a higher moral order” and “together construct a previously unseen political and moral order in which cynicism and ethics mingled and became indistinguishable.”⁸² Fassin and Pandolfi argue that what has emerged is a “new

international political order” in which “the politics of military intervention are now played out in the name of humanitarian morality.”⁸³

In the widespread circulation of US humanitarian projects, the “moral order” that Fassin and Pandolfi describe has become domesticated as American through the reiterations and intertextualities of popular media in collaboration with nongovernmental organizations, educational institutions, corporations, state security projects, and sedimented histories of empire. Exceptional American humanitarian citizens claim the sovereign power of rescue and welfare, as well as its opposite: the power to neglect and abandon the others they create. In the process, the moral order remains a form of US soft power, intimately linked to the imperial state; the state does not disappear, since it is also involved in moving the work of welfare to individuals and enables the actions of the humanitarian citizen. Nonstate organizations and individuals are supported by state funding, citizenship privileges, tax rebates, documents, transportation, militarized security, and other forms of implicit and explicit support. While the visual culture of humanitarianism that circulates in the United States constructs public and private divides between the US government and the American citizen, humanitarian visual culture only exists because of collaborations between private and state entities. This visual culture enables American citizens to see themselves as generous in alleviating the suffering of distant others. In the context of ongoing militarizations and an endless war on terror, neoliberal welfare and humanitarianism constitute the soft power of American empire. How such imperial power becomes visible in who can or cannot be the exceptional citizen becomes clear in the contestations and ruptures of missionary projects in the new century, as I show in chapter 3.

3. Muslims, Missionaries, and Humanitarians

In chapter 2, I argued that humanitarianism became a requirement for American exceptional citizenship, embedded, ubiquitous, and visible in numerous institutions—educational, business, religious, and government—during the first decade of the new millennium. I also argued that this humanitarianism built on a history of European colonialism and its production of the male adventurer-turned-humanitarian who testified to the necessity and altruism of imperialism, especially in the context of the US empire’s ongoing violence and wars. In the context of advanced neoliberalism, most people in the United States become convinced of the necessity of humanitarianism, and of the goodness of humanitarians, even as the state reduces welfare and the rights of all its inhabitants. In this chapter, I focus on how humanitarianism became incorporated as soft power and essential to the geopolitics of the war on terror during the presidency of George W. Bush. Humanitarianism worked

to produce exceptional citizens and their Others in four key ways: first, it produced the United States and its citizens as exceptional Christian humanitarians, especially in contrast with Muslims, whose humanitarianism became suspect as linked to terrorism. Second, the state used the law of exception, as delineated in the work of Carl Schmitt, to deploy legal statutes that were deliberately vague and flexible to criminalize mostly Muslims (along with a few Others) claiming to do humanitarian work; the use of “material support” clauses in US antiterror laws only focused on “foreign” (mostly, Muslim) humanitarians, while white Christian or “domestic” organizations (such as white supremacists) were not targeted by the “material support” law. Third, in the first George W. Bush administration, white Christian evangelicals received sovereign, exceptional status through government support and funding to carry out welfare work that allowed them to remain unaccountable to federal guidelines, with little oversight on hiring, budget, and disposition of government funds. Finally, fourth, what emerged was a geopolitical struggle over who could be humanitarian since numerous countries, religious organizations, and churches carried out missionary work and began to rename it as humanitarian and also carried out humanitarian work that enabled them to hide missionary activities. In global contexts of widespread suspicion of missions and missionaries by those wielding political power, such politics of humanitarianism and missionary proselytizing are sites of struggle between nationalisms, authorities, neoliberal capital, and sovereignties.¹

In the book *Three Cups of Tea*, when Greg Mortenson travels to Afghanistan to build schools for girls, his efforts gain urgency when he sees the existing schools funded by the Saudi government. Mortenson compares his progress to that of the Saudi government, mentioning despairingly that “it seemed that ten *Wahhabi madrassas* had popped up nearby overnight.”² He feels that American influence cannot compete with Saudi power in Pakistan and Afghanistan that has provided an education to children based on the Wahhabi version of Sunni Islam supported by the Saudi monarchical state. For Mortenson, such proselytizing is illicit because of “the unlimited supply of cash that *Wahhabi* operatives smuggle into Pakistan, both in suitcases and through the untraceable *hawala* money-transfer system—that has shaped their image among Pakistan’s population.”³ Thus, not only is religious education to be deplored but also the method of money transfer, called the *hawala* system, based on verbal contract and honor systems between parties in different sites. Mortenson neglects to mention that such transactions have been going on for centuries across South Asia and the Middle East and were central to histories of trade. Instead, like the US government, he sees *hawala* funds as threatening because

they are outside the corporate banking systems of the West.⁴ He notes that one Saudi publication reported in 2000 that the Saudi-based Al Haramain Foundation “had built ‘1,100 mosques, schools, and Islamic centers’ in Pakistan and other Muslim countries, and employed three thousand paid proselytizers in the previous year.”⁵ While admitting later in the book that not all madrassas fund extremists, Mortenson nevertheless holds them responsible for indoctrinating bright students and teaching them to be misogynistic. “Arab Sheikhs,” he says, “were bringing the brightest students back to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait for a decade of indoctrination, then encouraging them to take four wives when they came home and breed like rabbits.”⁶ Oil wealth, he concludes, “is aimed at Pakistan’s most virulent incubator of religious extremism—Wahhabi *madrassas*.”⁷ Here, concerns about the power of Gulf money are linked to racialized views of Muslim cultures and to criminalizing money transfers that come from histories of trade, which continue to be low-cost ways for immigrants to transfer funds to families across nations and continents.⁸ Coauthors Mortenson and David Oliver Relin present this conclusion three-fourths of the way through the book, after readers are confronted with much evidence of Mortenson’s bravery, humanitarianism, and expertise on the region. While deploring the effects of Wahhabi schools and preachers, they do not mention other proselytizers in the region, such as Christian groups, or even the effects of his own, American secular presence as another form of “soft” power.

Three Cups of Tea, published in 2006 in the midst of George W. Bush’s global war on terror, captured and disseminated popular perceptions about the need for American soft power. Mortenson presents Wahhabi madrassas and the hawala funding networks that seemingly operate outside Western and international banking systems as anti-American. Even though the book mentions the effects of regional wars and state neglect, and recognizes that madrassas are often the only educational institutions in the region, Relin and Mortenson assert that madrassas foment anti-American and radical Islam. They construct the urgency of Mortenson’s work through a particular understanding of the war on terror and its alleged cause in Wahhabi Islam proselytizing. In doing so, they erase the longer regional history of anticommunism and Soviet–US wars, International Monetary Fund (IMF) structural adjustment programs, South Asian geopolitics, British partition and colonization, the rise of Wahhabi and non-Wahhabi movements, and US support of Saudi Arabia.

The war on terror context in both South Asia and the Middle East has meant that both so-called secular organizations such as Mortenson’s Central

Asia Institute and religious organizations and charities came to exist in different conditions and take on new meanings. The war on terror's modes of differentiation categorize religious organizations as enabling the US's soft power. Further, they position these organizations as extensions of national-religious, rather than sectarian, projects. After 9/11, American power became identified with Protestant Christian right-wing identity under the George W. Bush administration, appearing in the language of a new "crusade" against Islam.⁹ This constructed "war" between homogenized notions of Muslims and Christians erased the many divergent sects and groups within these religions as well as many other religious groups existing across Arab and Middle Eastern communities. Realigning American identity and nationalism with Protestant Christianity, Bush also erased the presence of so many Christian denominations as well as other religious communities in the United States. In using such phrases, and giving special status to late twentieth-century right-wing evangelical movements, the Bush administration went on to fund religious organizations in new collaborations between public and private religious agencies. To be sure, Bush did come to change his rhetoric over time, taking back the "crusade" remark, and not all Christian organizations made such antagonistic claims. Yet for some, evangelism took on intensified fervor and the recognition given to such groups by the George W. Bush White House in its first term suggested they were exceptional citizens for the nation in a time of a full-blown war on terror.

I argue in this chapter, however, that for many Christian and Muslim religious organizations both in the United States and the Middle East, neoliberalism and postwar religious movements created similar ways to conceptualize nationalism and religion in terms of a notion of humanitarianism. More traditional versions of religious charity and volunteerism took on new guise as humanitarian projects, aligning them with the humanitarianism I discussed in chapter 2, in order to argue for the legitimacy and necessity of their volunteer work. Yet, in the context of the war on terror, the US government demonized the work of Muslim charities and NGOs while seeing Christian ones as legitimate; indeed, the government constructed Christian humanitarians as exceptional citizens while seeing Muslim ones as potential terrorists. I bring a postcolonial and transnational approach to understanding both Islamic and Christian missionary work in South Asia and the Middle East to critique how US imperialism demonized the former while relying on the latter, in the process rearticulating the meaning of these religious identities, given that Christianity and Islam have long and heterogeneous histories in these regions. Such an approach brings to bear a history of colonialism and

European Christian missions within the modern period in understanding how missionary work participated in imperialism, and also allows us to see the complex relations between colonial governments and missionary organizations.¹⁰ This history, finally, reveals how distinctions between the colonial state and private Christian churches can be, at times, extremely fuzzy.

I examine Muslim and Christian organizations' post-9/11 recuperation of missionary work as a humanitarian project. Such humanitarianism reflects the logic of both modernizing development regimes and neoliberal notions of the entrepreneurial subject and of private welfare as superior to public, even though the public-private division is often unclear. In the twenty-first-century transnational context, with so many missionary projects arising from different nations and communities, the US government and US churches worked hard to valorize Christian humanitarianism as benevolent and Islamic humanitarianism as terroristic, thereby erasing their many commonalities and constructing humanitarianism as a Western and Christian project.

Historians suggest that humanitarianism rests on the idea of a common humanity and a particular ethics of saving by a heroic Western and secular subject. In examining the history of what he calls "the humanitarian narrative" in nineteenth-century Europe, Thomas Laqueur argues that this narrative is marked by a claim of a common bond between those who suffer and those who are helping, as well as by a belief in the necessity of action in helping. He locates this narrative within the rise of eighteenth-century capitalism, rather than of Christianity,¹¹ though he leaves out the colonialism that undergirded capitalist industrialization. Identification with victims through aestheticized sentiment was important, as I showed in chapter 2 with Mortenson, the US Navy, voluntourists, and digital humanitarians. But as these examples demonstrated, racialized histories of colonialism produced the American belief that only certain groups of people (particularly, white American, Christians) could express that sentiment. In this framework, others cannot be humanitarians, because their goals are seen as nefarious. As discussed in the previous chapter, with the neoliberal withdrawal of states from welfare, especially in the Global South and the United States, humanitarian work became seen by many around the world as one way to address social needs without disturbing the inequality and privileges of dominant Western elites. That many religious missions began to call themselves humanitarians by the end of the twentieth century is noteworthy in this new phase of advanced neoliberal capitalism.

In the United States, the context of what was called the global war on terror allowed the United States government to monitor and block the

movements of funds by nonwhite and mostly Islamic, Muslim, and Arab charitable organizations based in South Asia and the Middle East over concerns that these donations were enabling terrorism. In the process, the US government came to view hawala transfers as criminal, even though such transfers of funds had operated for centuries across South Asia and the Middle East, and had also extended into Europe and North America via diasporas from these southern regions. The hawala system is based on individual peer-to-peer money transfers, whereby a person in one country would pay another in the same country, and the latter would instruct their contact in the second country to pay that money to whomever was intended as a recipient. Done without going through banking systems and by forms of trust and relationships, these continue to be used by immigrants, who are impacted when these become criminalized by the American state. Such criminalization contrasted with the lack of such scrutiny over organizations such as Kiva, which also claimed to be doing peer-to-peer connections. In seeking to find how Al Qaeda and other organizations designated as supporting terror were moving their funds, the US government criminalized many Muslim citizens as well as Arab and Muslim-supported or -created NGOs, thus expelling these citizens and groups from becoming humanitarians and exceptional citizens.

Sherene Razack has argued that after 9/11, Muslims were cast out of citizenship in Canada and the United States. Extending her argument, I suggest that they were not simply cast out of citizenship in general, but were specifically expelled from the exceptional citizenship of white, US Christians who claimed humanitarianism and neoliberal charity as normative Christian practices. Under the claim that it was cracking down on “terrorist” funding sources, the US government created laws and criminal cases against Arab and Muslim-sponsored charities, which it almost always called “Islamic charities” to suggest that these were especially linked to radical Islamists, rather than to the more widely accepted notion of zakat and charity that have long existed across the world in Muslim communities. Such charities were then accused of supporting terror.¹² The *Washington Post* reported in 2006 that since 9/11, three Muslim charities in the United States were shut down and over forty were targeted for investigation.¹³ New forms of racialized profiling and surveillance were used to cast suspicion on Muslim organizations seeking to transfer zakat funds (those given as part of the duty of all Muslims to the community) to organizations in the Middle East. As one of the seven pillars of Islam, zakat has been important for supporting poor Muslims the world over. Zakat funds are used for giving of alms, feeding the poor, and creating orphanages, as well as supporting refugees, travelers, and migrants.¹⁴

The US government crackdowns were enabled by security expertise and news media that suggested that zakat funding was merely a cover for terrorism funding.¹⁵ In contrast, white Christian humanitarian organizations went unquestioned and were assumed to be legitimate charities. Christian humanitarian work was supported by state regulations and celebratory media coverage of humanitarians as exceptional Americans, as well as neoliberal ones who brought together religion and capitalism.¹⁶ There are others granted US citizenship status who are excluded from such belonging as Americans, and these unexceptional figures become visible as either criminals or threats to national security.¹⁷ Especially in the George W. Bush administration, the US government explicitly supported Christian faith-based organizations (FBOs) providing welfare, while criminalizing Muslim agencies doing similar work.¹⁸ Such criminalization continued even during the Obama presidency. Through this practice, the liberal doctrine of separation of church and state, and of public and private, has become further muddied, enabling the exceptional charity of Christians. In the process, Muslims' rights to religious expression through zakat was impacted, leading to legal challenges.¹⁹ The fact that many of these challenges did not succeed also means that Muslims had to struggle to participate in the humanitarianism that could make them exceptional neoliberal citizens.

Religion and Charity in the Neoliberal Era

Beginning in the 1970s, neoliberal welfare reforms created opportunities for religious organizations to provide welfare in the wake of retreating state provisions. In this context, many US Protestant churches began operating nationally and transnationally under new logics. Transnational religious activists found opportunities in the Global South in the aftermath of IMF-mandated structural adjustment programs reducing state-sponsored welfare. American evangelical church leaders were particularly aggressive in this regard, emphasizing free market reforms as central to religious "choice," adopting development and human rights language.²⁰ They were heavily supported by the US government and by many American citizens.²¹ These evangelical church leaders aggressively identified and aligned their work with white, American nationalism. Billy Graham's ministry is a good example of such an alignment.

The trajectory of Billy Graham's ministries, including the organization Samaritan's Purse, is an example of the relation between the US state and evangelical organizations through the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Graham's success reveals the rise of American evangelical missions after World

War II.²² Although American Pentecostal churches have a longer history of missionary activity,²³ Graham's "crusades" (as Graham called them) exemplified the postwar charismatic preaching and televangelism that reached millions of people both in the United States and outside of it. In his preaching, Graham identified the United States as a Christian nation, and, as one historian suggests, his theology "blurred the boundaries between religious, national, political, and spiritual identities," transforming the "civil religious frame of the Christian nation into an evangelical one."²⁴ Graham was close to several presidents, including Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon. He spouted virulent anticommunism (at one point, he advocated bombing North Vietnam in ways that would have killed a million people) and anti-Semitism, but also supported capitalism and an end to segregation, as well as the work of Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. and Nelson Mandela. He preached his gospel to millions, creating evangelical "world congress" meetings in the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1980s Graham began to train evangelists to work around the world, and the later spread of American evangelical Christianity is partly attributable to this work.

The post-9/11 effects of Graham's preaching are visible in an offshoot of his ministries, the organization Samaritan's Purse. Bob Pierce founded Samaritan's Purse in 1970 and after Pierce's death, the organization was headed by Graham's son, Franklin Graham. In its mission statement, Samaritan's Purse describes itself as both evangelizing and undertaking rescue and development work: "Samaritan's Purse travels the world's highways looking for victims along the way. We are quick to bandage the wounds we see, but like the Samaritan, we don't stop there. In addition to meeting immediate, emergency needs, we help these victims recover and get back on their feet."²⁵ Operating in many countries around the world, the organization focuses both on spreading Christianity in Africa, Asia, and Latin America as well as on emergency needs and long-term welfare. Development and proselytizing go hand in hand, and much of this proselytizing involves denouncing Islam and converting Muslims. Franklin Graham has called Islam an evil, terrorist religion and has said that Islam has "declared war on the world."²⁶ In 2003, Samaritan's Purse created controversy when its lobbyists asked the Bush administration to allow it to enter Iraq during the American occupation.²⁷ The organization has been active in several Muslim countries; for example, one of its missionaries sued the organization when she was kidnapped in Sudan in 2010.²⁸ Samaritan's Purse has gained global adherents by involving many church members, not simply missionaries who want to travel overseas but also members in projects such as Operation Christmas

Child, which sends gifts, school supplies, and Bible stories all over the world. Rescue, proselytizing, missionary saving, and development work collaborate as the group preaches American Protestant evangelical ideas that combine neoliberal capitalism with individual responsibility, Bible study, and an anti-abortion, antigay agenda. Samaritan's Purse shows the blurry line between private and public/state funding under US neoliberalism, especially when the organization disburses US government funding during its rescue operations. In 2001, villagers in El Salvador receiving United States Agency for International Development (USAID) funds via Samaritan's Purse had to participate in prayer meetings, and were given religious tracts and asked to accept Jesus Christ as their savior before they could get help. US officials did express concern when such practices were reported, but noted that the organization met performance goals.²⁹ Organizations such as Samaritan's Purse are not alone in this work of constructing American Protestant evangelical missions as development and humanitarian projects. World Vision and Christian Care are two other such organizations, among many, and they share Samaritan's postwar American evangelical approach.

Erica Bornstein's research on these organizations' work in Zimbabwe finds also that they blur the language of humanitarianism and development, creating emergent ideologies of Christian development that conjoin spirituality and capitalism. Protestant evangelical organizations were present in Zimbabwe before independence (1980) as relief organizations and continued their presence after independence, undertaking more welfare work as neoliberal structural adjustment became institutionalized. Such organizations, Bornstein argues, mediated discontent but were unable to correct burgeoning inequality.³⁰

In recent decades, World Vision has promoted the agenda of gender equality as a path to development, one that has been promoted by many feminist NGOs. It does so by focusing on preventing sex-selective abortions, child marriage, and gender-based violence. World Vision's website is full of images of young girls, similar to Mortenson's book cover, so that it relies on notions of innocence and the deployment of figures of children, especially girls, as proper targets of humanitarian work. Such images are designed to attract donors and missionaries.³¹ In a shift away from missionary goals, the organization began to engage with major development projects that came to focus on women as catalysts and harbingers of development, a focus visible also in the United Nations Development Fund's Millennial Development Goals.³² In doing so, they continued to claim, as colonial regimes have done for centuries, that Westerners are more open to women's empowerment than

are other cultures and communities. In such cases, humanitarian work for women's empowerment becomes the sign of the progressive exceptional citizen.

The twenty-first century marked an increase in Christian missionary activity, expanding American humanitarian citizenship as a new form of exceptional, Christian, imperial sovereignty.³³ Christian evangelical missions (fundamentalist, Pentecostal, and others) became part of the American state and US geopolitics. In the process, the practices of these missions and missionaries shifted. Ju Hui Judy Han finds that in the new century, South Korean and American Protestant evangelical missions to China and Africa incorporated secular notions of humanitarianism and development into their religious arguments. These missionaries began viewing themselves as compassionate donors and humanitarians, undertaking mission work under the new guise of humanitarianism. In the process, they furthered global inequalities, as I detailed in chapter 2.³⁴ Some reject the term "missionary" for the term "volunteer" in attempting to downplay the evangelical goals of their organizations.³⁵

Evangelical missions to Muslim countries have continued though shifting Middle East politics have altered these projects, as the missions are now shorter and fuse voluntarism, tourism, and evangelism,³⁶ thus incorporating evangelism into the Greg Mortenson-like projects of "saving" brown women and girls. Development NGOs often have religious affiliations, and conversion and welfare work in tandem.³⁷ For example, George W. Bush's funding for HIV/AIDS in Africa involved funding faith-based organizations that promoted abstinence to prevent the spread of the disease.³⁸ In Muslim central Asia, in a more West-friendly country such as Kyrgyzstan, US evangelical groups have created a powerful network of missionaries who work through development projects. As anthropologist Mathijs Pelkmans demonstrates, "by connecting fleeting humanitarian efforts with the long-term residence of missions teams" these missionaries are able "to integrate local communities in a network that spans from the rural heartlands of Missouri to the mountains of Kyrgyzstan." Pelkmans also notes that these missionaries often hide their proselytizing by calling themselves "volunteers" or development or aid workers, using notions of "freedom of choice," "open societies," and "democracy" to promote their efforts. For example, the evangelical Christian missionary organization Frontiers, which focuses on proselytizing to Muslims, teaches its members to hide their missionary identities and instead act like aid workers or language teachers.³⁹ In some countries, conservative American Christians have come under fire for spreading discrimination and vio-

lence against LGBT people,⁴⁰ as well as for forcing conversions in exchange for development.

Since the 1970s, Islamic religious revival movements have not been far behind Christian evangelical ones in gaining supporters and donations and, much like Christian movements, have taken advantage of new technologies and neoliberal inequalities. What Mona Atia calls “pious neoliberalism” has drawn millions into the *dawa* (“volunteer”) movements in the Arab and Muslim countries of the Middle East. *Dawa* movements conjoin charity and economy, public practices, and Islamic norms, and they build on traditional practices of doing good deeds through private actions within a public sphere.⁴¹ In the case of Egypt, as Atia relates, while zakat donations helped poor people in some ways, the Egyptian zakat committee was unable to enact distributive justice. In the late twentieth century, some zakat committees began seeing zakat, traditionally a right for the needy (orphans, widows, education, medical support), as more useful in enabling microenterprise and development. Such zakat committees connected microenterprise and development to religious precepts—mirroring the neoliberal work of organizations such as Samaritan’s Purse and World Vision. This produced what Atia calls “faith-based development.” During and after the Hosni Mubarak regime (1981–2011), Egyptian zakat committees increasingly used zakat funds not just to support the poor but also to give them religious lessons and produce entrepreneurial subjects.

Islamic charities sponsored by Saudi Arabia and other Persian Gulf states have also been active in charitable and humanitarian projects that are tied to religious teaching. For example, Saudi Arabia began heavily funding Islamic NGOs in many parts of the world, since that nation had benefited hugely from the same oil crisis that had bankrupted many countries of the Global South and led to structural adjustment programs. In his book on famine in Africa, Alex de Waal analyzes the Islamic NGOs operating in Sudan since the 1970s, showing they played increasingly active roles in the Sudanese government in the 1990s.⁴² Gulf states also funded religious schools during this period, and Islamic NGOs worked with Muslim and non-Muslim governments in many regions.⁴³

In the context of the twenty-first-century global war on terror, as well as increased Palestinian displacement and dispassion, zakat has become increasingly criminalized in the United States, particularly zakat from diasporic Muslim communities. Much of the criminalization stemmed from accusations that US-based Muslim charity organizations had contributed to Hamas, which the US government designated as a terrorist organization.

However, as Jonathan Benthall points out, such accusations are largely unsubstantiated. Benthall's fieldwork in the West Bank town of Nablus found little evidence of this alleged relationship between zakat funds and Hamas, finding instead that the needs of impoverished and displaced Palestinians has led to zakat donations from much of the Middle East, most of which is directed toward medical and educational support, as well as toward needy families and orphans.⁴⁴ In the context of the war on terror, Muslim organizations, whether supported by Islamic states or Muslim individuals, have generated greater suspicion from the US government because they are perceived as more radical and as racially Other to secular and religious European or American Christian organizations. Muslim organizations have also generated greater suspicion because they are new players in the Western-style development projects that have previously been funded by those supposedly secular and religious European and American institutions.⁴⁵ One result of these missionary geo-conflicts is that in the United States, Euro-American organizations can claim exceptionalism while Muslim organizations doing similar work are criminalized.

Since 2001, as the war on terror has shaped US national security concerns, crackdowns on Muslim charities have come at the same time as expansion of funding for evangelical US Christian organizations. During the Bush presidency, this close relationship between evangelical Christian organizations and George W. Bush led to charges of religious discrimination and financial abuses by evangelicals, as well as several constitutional challenges.⁴⁶ In this context, the US government began to use antiterror laws to surveil and regulate financial transfers across national boundaries, with the result that transnational development agencies avoided working with Muslim organizations, since they could be seen as linked to terror groups.⁴⁷ Muslim charities were seen as partners of terrorists, while Christian charities—especially conservative evangelical Christian organizations—gained federal and state funds for missions and welfare work. The Bush administration also poured funding into projects empowering so-called “moderate” Muslims, intent on gaining some legitimacy in Muslim communities and nations. But the results of these endeavors were limited, since few in the Bush administration could agree on whom or what to target as threats, or the chief reasons for growing anti-Americanism.⁴⁸ Despite this, Bush tripled the USAID budget after 9/11, with more than half of those funds heading to Muslim-majority countries.⁴⁹ Evangelical Christian organizations benefited from these changes in US funding policies. Under the George W. Bush presidency, US Christian evangelical missions were major grantees of USAID, pushing neoliberal

agendas that include free market capitalism, individual agency, and limited government.⁵⁰

In this twenty-first-century neoliberal context, it has become difficult to separate religious from humanitarian organizations (which can be religious or secular and from any political stripe) both in the United States and the Middle East because all such organizations claim to be doing humanitarian or development work, and states have come to sponsor religious organizations even in what is seen as the secular West. Humanitarian organizations are hardly apolitical, given both the long history of European colonialism and the more recent geopolitics of exceptional American soft power.

Expanding State Welfare Funding by Faith-Based Organizations

In the last decades of the twentieth century, the United States empowered US Christian missionary projects by incorporating religion into welfare, with the goal of reducing state-provided welfare. While federal funds had gone to religious organizations for decades before this, though under the condition that funding for religious work would not be state funded and had to be kept separate from welfare work, in the 1990s it became possible for faith-based organizations (FBOs) to receive federal and state funds even while professing religious practices during their welfare work. These changes began with President Bill Clinton's welfare reform, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, which created a charitable choice provision allowing community organizations and churches, which were clearly religious organizations for the most part, to obtain government funds for welfare programs.⁵¹ Faith-based organizations were encouraged to compete with secular organizations for government grants under the logic that they had previously been discriminated against, though they were not to use the government money for direct funding of religious activities. During debates over the bill, several scholars and experts argued that FBOs were essential because the state could not hope to provide the services necessary.⁵² While the provision was partly also a political strategy by Democrats and Republicans to garner the votes of religious conservatives, it came under criticism during the Bush administration for enabling employment discrimination on grounds of religious affiliation.⁵³ It was also criticized for violating the constitutionally mandated separation of church and state.⁵⁴

President George W. Bush, a conservative Christian (Episcopalian), established the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives (OFBCI) in January 2001.⁵⁵ Five centers in the Departments of Education,

Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, and Justice and Labor were created to audit and eliminate obstacles to providing government funding to FBOs. The OFBCI's goal was to reduce state responsibility for welfare, a practice that Bush had begun as governor of Texas. Throughout his presidency, Bush issued executive orders that replicated what he had done in Texas as governor and which aimed to increase and expedite the participation of FBOs in government agencies. The Bush administration also encouraged private giving through a variety of tax deductions and the removal of federal impediments. It sought to expand the work of those who saw themselves as "social entrepreneurs," combining market solutions and humanitarianism to provide welfare, both in the United States and globally.

In his remarks about the OFBCI's founding, entitled "Rallying the Armies of Compassion,"⁵⁶ Bush emphasized that while government "has a solemn responsibility to help meet the needs of poor Americans and distressed neighborhoods," it does not have "a monopoly on compassion." He described "civic, social, charitable, and religious groups" as "quiet heroes" and compared their putative success to the "failed formula of towering distant bureaucracies that too often prize process over performance." "Americans," he stated, "are a deeply compassionate people and will not tolerate indifference towards the poor." While he conceded that government "cannot be replaced by charities," he suggested that "it can and should welcome them as partners." In his plan, "neighborhood-based caregivers" have to replace "traditional social programs (that) are often too bureaucratic, inflexible, and impersonal." He positioned nonprofits as valiant, "outmanned and outflanked" underdogs that have been "neglected or excluded" and now need a "level playing field" and a "seat at the table." He claimed that they use "care and compassion," helping in "ways that government cannot," and are "lonely outposts of energy, service and vision" and "precious resources, great gifts of American society."

While the OFBCI project seemed to open the doors for all religious organizations to collaborate with the government, it was designed politically to incorporate Christian conservatives as key members of White House staff and thus keep Bush's political base intact. In practice, the OFBCI distinguished between trustworthy FBOs (Christian, preferably white, conservative, and evangelical) and duplicitous FBOs (Muslim). Bush's courting of Christian conservatives involved incorporating well-known Christian conservative activists into the White House, with the blessing and support of a broad army of activists excited that they were going to be able to expand the ambit of the charitable choice provision into Christian conservatism.

R. Marie Griffith and Melani McAlister report that Andrew Natsios, a former vice president of World Vision, was brought in to head USAID in 2001; in 2005, World Vision became the second-largest recipient of USAID funds for work overseas.⁵⁷ Natsios became controversial for his racial biases about Africa and Africans, once saying that Africans could not be given antiretroviral drugs because they lacked “a concept of time” and that there were no roads or doctors on the continent.⁵⁸

Christian conservatives also had particular goals for their organizations. As Christian conservative activist David Kuo recollects, these conservative activists wanted “real” FBOs to get federal funding, but they also wanted to circumvent federal nondiscrimination laws put in place by the Civil Rights Act of 1964.⁵⁹ The Christian conservatives wanted, according to Kuo, “religious groups receiving federal funds [to have] an unfettered right to hire and fire people based not only on their professed religion but also on whether they lived according to the ‘rules’ of their religion.”⁶⁰ Republicans such as Tom Delay and Dennis Hastert wanted the law to allow FBOs to discriminate on the basis of not just religion, but “practices.” Specifically, they wanted FBOs to be allowed to purge LGBT people from their organizations and to discriminate with impunity, revealing how state power endowed such persons and organizations with sovereignty, making them exceptional citizens operating under the law of exception. The transfer of sovereignty to these citizens thus takes place through the participation of the state, breaking down, in many instances, the divisions between what is public and private.

While some Christian conservatives such as Kuo professed a “compassionate conservative” approach, clearly that was quickly forgotten both in courting votes and in supporting prominent Christian conservatives, as well as in the provision’s implementation. While fiscally conservative Republicans were more interested in “tax cuts, business growth, [and] a strong military,”⁶¹ the FBO legislation was clearly meant to draw more socially conservative and evangelical voters to the Bush White House. The strong presence of Rick Warren, Chuck Colson, and other evangelicals in the policy’s drafting, as well as in the many conferences created by the White House about the OFBCI, all suggested a strong evangelical Christian project that was decidedly antiabortion, anti-LGBT, and very white.

Although the OFBCI’s Compassion Capital Fund was supposed to disburse major funding to small groups previously ineligible for federal funding, most of the funding initially went to Christian conservative groups. According to David Kuo, who served as the OFBCI’s deputy director under John Dilulio in the Bush years, such discrimination was not seen as deliberate

but rather as the result of the fact that evangelical Christians constituted the faith-based policy world around the White House. The review board that distributed funds to selected organizations, those that were “politically friendly to the administration,”⁶² was made up of mostly white, Christian conservatives. One reviewer later disclosed that she had given non-Christian groups zero points on their applications. As she related to Kuo, “when I saw one of those non-Christian groups in the set I was reviewing, I just stopped looking at them and gave them a zero.”⁶³ Many other reviewers did the same, thinking that the project’s goal was to help specific Christian groups. While activists such as Kuo claimed their goal was to convince socially conservative African Americans and Latinos to join the Republican Party on the basis of shared anti-LGBT and antiabortion politics, such groups often did not get funding while the heavily white Christian conservative insiders did.

For the most part, larger, older, and more savvy FBOs obtained greater government funds than smaller and newer organizations,⁶⁴ and the wall between public and private was broken down for these organizations. In the context of faith-based initiative implementation at the state level, one research study found that these new policies were more likely to be implemented in states where evangelical movements were strong, and were used to strengthen these movements while further weakening the church/state separation,⁶⁵ thereby turning FBOs personnel into exceptional citizens. Such practices brought evangelical Christians into bureaucracies by creating faith-based “liaison” positions, thus promoting one religious denomination over another and “legitimizing religious actors as political actors.”⁶⁶ These changes created a greater role for religion in the public sphere, but there is little evidence that these organizations were able to significantly improve social services.⁶⁷ Importantly, in states where the faith-based liaisons were African Americans, FBOs received fewer resources than in states where liaisons were white evangelical Christians.⁶⁸

Until 2004, most OFBCI funding went to Christian groups, raising constitutional questions over government funding for organizations that discriminate in hiring on the basis of religion.⁶⁹ Critics argued that these organizations did not abide by federal nondiscrimination regulations governing beneficiaries and hiring requirements. In a report from 2006, the General Accounting Office (GAO) found that FBOs regularly violated the rule that federal funds could not be used for “inherently religious activities.”⁷⁰ This report came as a response to questions from Congressmen George Miller (D-CA) and Pete Stark (D-CA), who asked GAO to investigate whether the new laws provided more or better welfare than the state, whether constitutional safeguards were

in place, and whether grant-review procedures were fair to all organizations.⁷¹ No doubt, this was in response to the Christian conservative presence in the White House, which, by the end of the first term of President George W. Bush, had fallen somewhat out of favor with the White House, especially with the rising power of Vice President Dick Cheney.

The GAO report highlighted just how much these evangelical groups had operated as exceptional, citizen groups, being endowed with the sovereign power of the exception, since they used federal funding with little oversight and no accountability to federal guidelines. In its response to Miller and Stark, the GAO found that grant reviewers stated that the review process was fair because it did not ask organizations to identify whether they were FBOs. Between 2002 and 2005, federal agencies gave over \$500 million to encourage FBO participation.⁷² The GAO report also noted that few agencies included information on safeguards for federal compliance with nondiscrimination and the prohibition of using federal funds for “inherently religious activities.” One agency even told GAO that one program it funded was exempt from such prohibition. The GAO found that “the scope of the exception was unclear” and that some organizations violated the law by undertaking explicitly religious activities (such as praying) during federally funded work.⁷³ The GAO also stated that it was unable to find data to answer whether FBOs received funding advantages over secular organizations, first because it was unable to figure out how an FBO was defined (the report mentioned this limitation several times), and second because such publicly available data did not exist. In addition to these concerns, the GAO reported that in 2005 the five centers established in federal agencies spent most of the funds dedicated to expanding FBO and community participation on staff salaries and benefits. Some funding even went to intermediary organizations intended to help expand FBO participation.

Clearly, there were multiple problems with the OFBCI project, raising questions about discrimination. The GAO report also revealed that government agencies did not collect credible data in the standardized way, which would have allowed proper analysis of the effectiveness of the new provisions. The GAO report showed that some parts of government were unwilling to go along with the mandates of other government agencies or the White House, and it thus challenged the exceptionalism of evangelical groups. It is clear that the exceptional status given to this particular group came under attack from within the government itself, as their sovereignty led them to see themselves as outside the law, eliciting protest and critique from other bureaucracies, denominations, and groups.

Outside research replicated these findings and even went further. One researcher has stated that there is little evidence to show that FBOs are more effective than state programs in providing welfare,⁷⁴ and there have also been questions raised about the training and knowledge of service providers, especially around discriminatory hiring practices. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), in particular, challenged the constitutionality of the charitable choice provision on the grounds that it violated the separation of church and state. In a statement from March 12, 2003, the ACLU stated: “We need to protect individual religious freedom, including the freedom to receive social services without feeling forced to adopt religious beliefs with which one may disagree. Explicit protections must be put in place that prohibit religious coercion in the provision of social services. Taxpayer-funded programs must respect the private choices of all Americans to worship as they see fit.”⁷⁵ Mark Chaves argues that the charitable choice provision was flawed because it was based on the misguided assumptions that FBOs had been previously discriminated against during federal-funding procedures, that FBOs were doing a great deal of welfare, and that they were better at doing it.⁷⁶

In summary, during George W. Bush’s first term, increasing state support was given to evangelical Christian organizations, though this discrepancy did not last beyond the first term. Such state actions enabled the White House to build political support by creating one white Christian group as having an especially favored status as exceptional Americans and, indeed, endowing them with sovereignty that enabled them to function as exception to the law.

Excluding Muslims from Humanitarian Citizenship

State surveillance and racial harassment of Muslims, Arabs, and South Asians, so overt and punitive after 9/11, was a contrast to the exceptionalism accorded to evangelical Christians.⁷⁷ In examining how such a broad net of suspicion and criminalization was cast across so many Muslim groups, many scholars compellingly argued for the salience of race as an analytical framework. David Goldberg’s theorization of the “racial state” has also been a critical contribution to this debate, as he considers how racialization is central to all modern states,⁷⁸ and there is a long history of the United States as a racial state from its founding moments. Yet, in examining more recent state practices, Sherene Razack argues that Muslims have become a “race” in Canada and the United States alongside nonwhite immigrants and First Nations groups because they have been “cast out” of citizenship as targets of

policing and constructed as different from a white “civilized” community.⁷⁹ The surveillance and security state has incorporated race into its logic of rule. In examining the global emergence of the security state, Paul Amar suggests that new global “racial, caste, and ethnic” distinctions have emerged, and “new missions of policing” require recognition of their “embeddedness within racial, ethnic and/or caste orders.”⁸⁰ For Amar, recent iterations of “race” and “ethnicity” are a global effect of policing and security formations that have commonalities across national divides. Legal scholar Asli Ü. Bâli argues that the preventive detention of Muslim and Middle East immigrants in the United States after 9/11 suggests that Bush’s war on terror included a war on particular immigrant groups, revealing the connections between the eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and twentieth-century US history of discrimination against racialized immigrant groups and the new twenty-first-century politics of terror.⁸¹

Within this longer history, there emerged new forms of discrimination against such groups that worked alongside older forms of criminalization through surveillance and detention. This new form was to use the American security state to construct Muslims and Arabs as criminal and therefore not exceptional Americans by criminalizing their humanitarian work. It is now well known that these groups were subject to a great deal of harassment, from unauthorized surveillance and detention, demonization in media and in politics, defacement and attacks on houses of worship, and violence against individuals who “looked Muslim,” as well as deportation and secret rendition to prisons outside the country. Brought to bear were all technologies of state and nonstate sovereign power to work outside the Constitution and to violate the rights of these citizens.⁸² The state also began to carry out monitoring and surveillance of Muslim NGOs and charitable organizations through their money transfers; Wadie Said argues that the ban on providing “material support” to a designated foreign terrorist organization (FTO) is “by the government’s reckoning, the most important statute employed in terrorism prosecutions.”⁸³ This ban emerged within Section 2339B of the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996 and criminalized any “material support” of organizations designated as an FTO to prevent charity becoming a pretext for supporting terrorism.⁸⁴ Section 2339B’s definition of an FTO refers to the Immigration and Nationality Act, Section 219, through which the secretary of state has to designate an organization as an FTO. It enjoined financial organizations to report the existence of any funds linked to an FTO, with the threat of penalties if this reporting was not done. It also allowed the attorney general to proactively initiate civil action, stating:

“Whenever it appears to the Secretary or the Attorney General that any person is engaged in, or is about to engage in, any act that constitutes, or would constitute, a violation of this section, the Attorney General may initiate civil action in a district court of the United States to enjoin such violation.”⁸⁵ In addition, using the International Emergency Economic Powers Act of 1977, Bush issued Executive Order 13224, enjoining the Office of Foreign Assets Control, part of the Department of Treasury, to block the assets of any organization if it determined the organization was linked to a terrorist threat to the United States.

The result of such laws was that giving to American Muslim charities declined by 40 percent after 9/11. The ACLU report *Blocking Faith, Freezing Charity* argues that a “climate of fear” intimidated Muslims and prevented them from religious practices, including giving zakat.⁸⁶ Anthropologist Erica Caple James finds that antiterrorism financing laws had “reportedly chilled” Muslim-to-Muslim philanthropy.⁸⁷ The decline in giving came as a result of the government advising donors to heavily scrutinize their charities through “anti-terrorist financing procedures.”⁸⁸ The government linked many of these charitable associations to transnational finance networks that were said to be funding “specially designated terrorist organizations,” and these activities were heavily surveilled by the US government. In particular, Muslim charities were and continue to be seen as terrorist-related groups under both 2339A, which targeted material support for particular designated offences, and 2339B, which focused on support of FTOS. In reviewing cases under the material support statute that took place between 2001 and 2007, Sam Adelsberg, Freya Pitts, and Sirine Shebaya found that one-third involved support to Al Qaeda, with two other major organizations being Hamas or FARC (the Colombian cartel). This constitutes a substantial number of prosecutions of Muslim or Arab organizations.⁸⁹ They point out that the fear of prosecutions has also impacted many other aid organizations.

The government’s surveillance of Muslim Americans slowed zakat donations and required many private businesses and religious organizations to share information with the state. As one legal scholar reveals, “the government subjected mosques to surveillance, wiretapped phones, fingerprinted and registered more than eighty thousand Arab and non-national residents,” and issued “well over one hundred thousand secret warrantless demands, known as national security letters, to financial institutions, telecommunications companies, and other businesses to obtain data on unknowing targeted individuals.”⁹⁰ Electronic fund transfers and emails became, and continue to be, particularly subject to government surveillance.

While both the definition of what counts as “terrorism” and the question of how organizations become identified as being FTOs or as supporting terror or FTOs are vague and imprecise and often generate legal controversy,⁹¹ the “material support” clause led to harassment and persecution for many Arabs and Muslims and their organizations. Significantly, domestic terrorists such as neo-Nazis and other armed white militias believed to have only domestic networks, were left out under statutes 2339A and 2339B because it focused only on foreign-connected organizations. As legal scholar James Ward points out, “inexplicably, the statutes make no mention of funding to terrorists without any international connections,” revealing the statutes’ purpose of prosecuting US residents and citizens with international connections.⁹²

The Global Nonprofit Information Network has traced how US government investigations, as well as its antiterror laws, affected charities working in the Muslim world and those run by Muslims. Government actions and surveillance troubled many non-Muslim organizations and all banks and financing businesses because they were left with the burden of showing that funds were not linked to FTOs or any acts of terror. These organizations sought guidance from the government to create “safe harbor” provisions, arguing that one problem with the US Treasury Department’s Anti-Terrorist Financing Guidelines was that they require nonprofits to take on the “burden of government-style investigation on charitable organization and convey no presumption of innocence even if the Guidelines are followed to the letter.”⁹³ There were other legal concerns as well. Legal scholar Eric Sandberg-Zakian argues that designating an entity a “specially designated terrorist organization” under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act violated the Fifth and Sixth Amendments to the US Constitution because such designation occurs without a trial even though it becomes a “criminal punishment.”⁹⁴ He argues that the groups become so designated by bureaucratic process that expels them from the rights given to others. In addition, it is often extremely difficult to get off the list, once an organization becomes designated as supporting an FTO.

The “material support” statute has raised First Amendment issues, as some argue it violates the right to religious freedom and civil liberties.⁹⁵ According to Michael Freedman, the law hindered Muslim religious practices, which is unconstitutional, without helping the government prevent terrorism.⁹⁶ As one legal scholar puts it, “because Islamic law mandates that members give alms, known as *zakat* . . . the giving of money to groups that represent their objectives to be humanitarian complicated Western efforts to prevent the flow of fund to Islamic groups that both help people and engage

in violence.⁹⁷ As a result, the material support clause and the designation of groups as aiding terrorism have faced challenges in the courts, which ask how funding political and humanitarian work can be criminalized.⁹⁸ US courts have ruled that, indeed, such humanitarian or political giving can be criminalized and that “even ‘humanitarian money’—that is, funds intended for benevolent purposes—simply cannot go to foreign groups that engage in political violence.”⁹⁹ In some cases, says one scholar, “court decisions left the impression that, despite the requisite ‘should have known’ statutory intent, even innocent donors can be persecuted for supporting terrorism.”¹⁰⁰ Such decisions reveal how Muslim humanitarianism cannot be seen as the work of exceptional citizens, but may be always under suspicion as threatening to state security. In contrast, many other so-called international organizations have not been scrutinized or even prosecuted as have Muslim organizations.

For instance, in 2006, the Treasury Department froze the assets of KindHearts, an Ohio-based organization, without instituting criminal proceedings or even designating the organization an FTO. The Treasury Department did not give the organization this designation until four years after their assets were frozen. It seized all of its assets, including paper documents and computers, leaving the organization unable to continue. Under the Patriot Act, the government did not have to provide evidence to justify the seizure. KindHearts sued, with the help of the ACLU, to have the government-seized documents returned. The district judge overseeing the suit agreed that the organization’s Sixth Amendment right, “impairment of the right to counsel,” was violated if the government did not turn over copies of the documents to KindHearts’ counsel. The government had to allow defending counsel copies of paper documents but still did not provide copies of electronic files. The judge stated that the paper documents were insignificant because the electronic data was more significant to the government’s case, declaring, “given the government’s underlying contention that KindHearts was a money funnel for overseas terrorists, its records of its electronic communication are of especial importance and potential pertinence.”¹⁰¹ The government refused to provide any evidence that KindHearts was sending funds to Hamas. Instead, government lawyers stated that KindHearts fundraisers and officials rendered the organization suspect because the individual officials had allegedly “coordinated with Hamas leaders and made contributions to Hamas-affiliated Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development and the al-Qaida affiliated Global Relief Organization.”¹⁰² In 2009, the ACLU won the case, blocking the government from designating KindHearts a “specially designated global terrorist,” that is, an FTO designated as such by the secretary of

state without further judicial review. However, the court did not return the organization's seized assets.

Even as the US government views electronic communications and transfers as particularly suspicious, it criminalizes Muslim individuals in particular. Here, it is not the mediated regulation of money or the surveillance of money transfers that finds criminal activity, but rather the profiling of Muslim individuals. Experts state that funding surveillance has not yielded much in the way of results and has allowed the FBI to target US citizens and to expand surveillance over more and more groups and populations.¹⁰³ In the process, banking corporations raise fees for customers on the grounds that they have to add onerous regulation costs to their expenses, and they complain about the heavy burden of such regulation.

While many prosecutions of zakat-giving organizations have not been successful, the US government has won some significant cases with the help of the Patriot Act's "material support" clause and problematic trial practices. The government was able to use the "material support" charge as the lead count in eight convictions out of 162 total federal prosecutions; however, out of 108 material support prosecutions, just nine resulted in convictions and several resulted in hung juries, some of which were later turned into convictions.¹⁰⁴ For example, in 2007, charges against the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development tried in Dallas resulted in a hung jury. However, in 2008, the Holy Land Foundation was convicted on charges including money laundering, tax fraud, and supporting terrorism, while about three hundred other organizations and individuals were named as "unindicted co-conspirators" so that they could be named in the trial without charging them of crimes.¹⁰⁵ The "material support" clause and the designation of groups as sponsoring or aiding terrorism, despite their vague and contested nature, were used to show that Muslims and Arabs could not be exceptional citizens.

Legal and State Logics

One legal scholar states that post-9/11, the US government closed down some of these "American Islamic charities" with "speed and efficiency."¹⁰⁶ This new crackdown on Muslim organizations was made possible by George W. Bush's executive order targeting humanitarian organizations, which was a divergence from previous government policy.¹⁰⁷ In media coverage of the trials, however, few journalists mentioned the humanitarian or welfare work done by Muslims or zakat organizations in the United States. In contrast to their lauding of individual white humanitarians such as Mortenson, who

are constructed as exceptional, Muslim humanitarian activity was viewed with suspicion. As discussed in chapter 2, this selective criminalization of humanitarian work is visible in Dave Eggers's account of the Muslim man detained in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina on suspicion of terrorism while he was rescuing people trapped in their homes.¹⁰⁸ After 9/11, Muslim organizations have increasingly found it difficult to even get a bank to work with them, and without a reputable bank they face difficulty in transferring funds to organizations they support.¹⁰⁹

Since 2001, most US courts have upheld these examples of charity asset freezing, despite numerous constitutional challenges.¹¹⁰ In the process, Muslim humanitarian work becomes criminal activity precisely because money is seen to be fungible; humanitarian funding, the US courts ruled, can also be aiding terrorism. It is believed that the “[specially designated foreign terrorist organizations] that accept contributions for a school or hospital can funnel those resources to instrumentalities of violence, or free up resources for violent goals.”¹¹¹ In this framework, even refugee camps can be used for planning violence.¹¹² The clause has been upheld in *Holder v. Humanitarian Law Project* (2010), which examined whether the Humanitarian Law Project would be allowed to help Kurdish and Tamil movements with human rights and humanitarian issues without being designated as helping terrorism. After a decade of litigation, in 2010 the US Supreme Court upheld the material support clause, citing Congress's declaration that “foreign organizations that engage in terrorist activity are so tainted by their criminal conduct that any contributions to such as organization facilitates that conduct.” The decision goes on to state that “support frees up other resources within the organization that may be put to violent ends. It . . . helps lend legitimacy to foreign terrorist groups.”¹¹³ The implication of this decision is that such organizations are false humanitarians, using charity to recruit and retain followers. As such, Muslim organization are implicitly defined as different from non-Muslim, white American organizations, which are believed to be the true humanitarians and exceptional American subjects.¹¹⁴

In the wake of the Patriot Act, legal scholars and finance experts began to worry that donor-advised funds (DAFs), many of which had been created by finance corporations such as Fidelity and Vanguard, were being used to channel funds to terrorist organizations. One scholar suggested that “terror-free DAFs” be created to enable “open and legitimate charitable giving by well-intentioned Muslim-Americans [that] could send an unambiguous message that such people are not radical extremists, they neither espouse nor support terrorism, and they desire to contribute to U.S. national security.”¹¹⁵ Despite

this intent, the very concept of a DAF that has to be scrutinized and made “terror-free” may end up replicating the same problems of antiterrorism legislation. That is, no matter how much organizations may try to avoid funding a terrorist organization, it is not clear on what grounds a group may become designated as a terrorist group. Organizations are continually added to or removed from the State Department lists of terror organizations so that there is no surety that once an organization is believed to be in the clear, it will remain so in the future.

Some of the accusations against Muslim organizations come from “experts” such as Matthew Levitt, a former State Department official who has stated that “terrorist groups systematically conceal their activities behind charitable, social and political fronts.”¹¹⁶ Jonathan Benthall, an anthropologist who has done extensive fieldwork with zakat organizations in the West Bank, has refuted Levitt’s argument, finding no evidence of such subterfuge, even though Israeli state policies have pushed Palestinians to even more desperate living conditions that then compel them to rely on zakat support from around the region.¹¹⁷ Other government “experts” argue that because money is fungible, financial assistance does not need to be directly linked to a “terrorist act” and that there is a “functional link between nonviolent programs and violent acts” allowing groups to recruit and retain membership.¹¹⁸ The US Supreme Court has ruled that “providing material support to a foreign terrorist organization—even seemingly benign support—bolsters the terrorist activities of that organization.”¹¹⁹ The important assumption here is that non-Muslim (and often Christian), white, normatively “American” humanitarian organizations are not supporting violence, unlike Muslim organizations. As I showed earlier, the deceptive practices of evangelical Christians, who disguise missionary work as development or aid work, are examples of how humanitarianism can be used as a cover for proselytizing. But such missionaries also claim to undertake development projects in the process, revealing that such white Christian and non-Muslim humanitarian organizations provide welfare in some of the same ways as do the Muslim ones.

In an article titled “Charity Considered as a Terrorist Tool,” legal scholar Norman Silber writes that “terrorists and their sympathizers may have been using one of America’s greatest strengths—its tradition of philanthropy—to undermine national peace and security.”¹²⁰ Silber claims that the Bush administration suspected “several Muslim groups operating in the United States” of “being fronts for terrorists committed to violent activities here and abroad.”¹²¹ He calls for new controls on chartering nonprofits and for donor-advised funds to better investigate the organizations receiving funding since

the “vulnerability of donor-advised funds to potential abuse is significant.”¹²² He discloses that even though one organization, the Quranic Literacy Institute, had its assets frozen by the US government in 1998, two years later Fidelity, the US finance corporation, gave them funds. Although there is little evidence in Silber’s article that any of these donor-advised funds were giving to groups that the US government managed to successfully charge as providing material support for terrorism, the generalized claim of possible terrorist infiltration informs the article as well as much of the other post-9/11 writing on donor-advised funds.

Becoming Humanitarians

Despite US government surveillance and criminalization of US Muslim organizations, many who work in these organizations see themselves as humanitarians working in humanitarian organizations. Some even reject the Muslim zakat framing of their work, instead claiming to be nonreligious humanitarians. Historian Sally Howell reveals that one organization, the Al-Mabarrat Charitable Organization, which was established in 2000 by Lebanese Americans to support orphanages in Lebanon not associated with Hezbollah, was raided by the FBI, which froze its assets and harassed its members. The organization leader rejected the claim that they were a religious organization. Rather, he said, “We are a humanitarian organization. We have no religious or political affiliation.” This rejection of religious affiliation and affirmation of humanitarianism are repeated on Al-Mabarrat’s website.¹²³ Perhaps organization leaders see humanitarianism as less suspect than religious charity, as the former term is supposedly more secular. Calling themselves humanitarians might also align organizers with normative US citizens, rather than with those constructed as outsiders or aliens,¹²⁴ though it is unclear whether such claims might work to prevent surveillance or even the “material support” charge.

The uncertainty and vagueness of the “material support” clause, along with regulations established by the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, have created a great deal of anxiety for many nonprofit organizations. Organizations providing consultation and support to nonprofits spent a great deal of time trying to make sure that their clients could steer clear of the clause’s perils, since the government’s terrorist watch list constantly changes. There have been attempts by humanitarian umbrella organizations, religious groups, and the government to create some means for Muslims to carry on with zakat duties, but these attempts reveal the extra burden carried by Muslim organizations. And in the end, there are no guarantees that organizations can

escape surveillance or persecution. The *New York Times* reports that “Muslim groups struggled for years to persuade the Treasury Department to produce some kind of seal of approval for legitimate charities that adhered strictly to humanitarian work.”¹²⁵ Erica James’s research shows that groups in Michigan turned to “risk-based” philanthropy and charity in an attempt to work with “best practices” and avoid governmental harassment and scrutiny.¹²⁶ The American Charities for Palestine had to sign an agreement with USAID to make donations only to vetted educational and health organizations.¹²⁷ Muslim Advocates, a legal network based in San Francisco, teamed up with the Better Business Bureau to “improve the fiscal management and administration of American Muslim charitable organizations.”¹²⁸ According to the Muslim Advocates staff attorney, they aimed to “restore donors’ confidence in charitable organizations that support Muslim causes” by demonstrating that they meet “the highest standards of legal compliance, financial accountability, and good governance.”¹²⁹

In 2005, the Treasury Department issued a “best practices” report as “voluntary” guidelines for charitable organizations.¹³⁰ The report begins with the concern that humanitarian and charity organizations are vulnerable to becoming conduits for inadvertently enabling transfer of funding to terrorist groups. The report lists all the organizations on US, United Nations, and other countries’ terrorist watch lists so that “terror financing” can be avoided. It warns that its guidelines are only suggestions and that each organization must exercise due diligence to avoid supporting terrorist groups. It insists that there is considerable risk that charitable organizations will support terrorism and provides, within a footnote, a list of publications and evidence for the statement.¹³¹ This “voluntary” and “best practices” approach is directed toward all kinds of charities, not just Muslim ones.¹³² In 2010, the Treasury Department amended some of the guidelines in response to some critiques, but they vigorously refuted two specific critiques: one, that the risk was overstated, and two, that the guidelines were burdensome.¹³³

Techno-War and “Terror” Financing

Armand Mattelart argues that the war on terror was enabled by collaborations within “the entire information and technology complex.”¹³⁴ Concepts such as “network-centric” warfare and cyberwar by shadowy government agencies and private corporations exist alongside nontechnological and much more “traditional” mechanisms such as federal antiterror laws that popularize surveillance and secrecy technologies. Racist and Orientalist ideologies

combine in the twenty-first century with current technologies to create new entities to be surveilled and feared. The “terror network” concept so loved by security experts,¹³⁵ which has a vast political economy, has emerged with the help of media makers circulating criminality narratives through powerful organizations that provide credibility and content. The images of “terrorists” are made visible across media of various kinds, including digital databases, television news, crime shows, cinema, and even flash cards that are issued by government officials to identify “terrorists.”

Internet and communication technologies have enabled global inequality at new scales and speeds, and new cyberwars are aimed at blocking the movement of information that enables transfers of people, goods, and weapons. David Murakami Wood and Stephen Graham argue that such technologies are “configured to add friction, barriers, or logistical costs to the mobility and everyday lives of those deemed by dominant states or service providers to be risky, unprofitable, or undeserving of mobility.”¹³⁶ Organizations such as Kiva, which I described in chapter 2, may be able to move funds relatively quickly, depending on destination country, unlike those organizations suspected of terrorism. Kiva then comes to be an exceptional citizen, whose claims of transparency seem to function without government regulation of terror financing, and which can become an example of American humanitarian generosity. While Kiva’s transfer of funds across national boundaries is assumed to be transparent and seamless, with donors believing that microlending organizations are more honest than more traditional NGOs, the movement of funds by organizations marked as Muslim are assumed to be suspect, and heavily scrutinized. In this war on terror framework, money transfers based on personal connections, such as hawala transfers, are the most suspect because unlike multinational bank transfers, they exist outside state regulation and surveillance and outside the financial cybernetworks of the global banking system. Because of suspicions of terrorism, even reputable nonprofits may come under surveillance by the US government, the UN, or other countries around the world if they are run by Muslims. No Kiva-like honesty or transparency is assumed for the funding flows of these organizations.

The US exceptionalized discourse of “foreign terror networks” is constructed around fears that informal personal mobility and networks may escape the scrutiny of authorities. For instance, one former Justice Department official writes, “even as sanctions, regimes, and blocking actions have been expanded internationally with increasing cooperation and technical savvy, they do not fully reach the most crucial regions . . . the current regulation of

informal value transfer systems (IVTS, i.e., hawala transfers) and alternative funding models lack the sophistication necessary to penetrate these havens.” He goes on to argue for more public and private aid to “render vulnerable populations more resilient to terror groups.”¹³⁷

Tracking the networks of so-called “terror” groups has included surveillance and mapping of the finance networks of many organizations around the world. Since 9/11, the US government has required banks to monitor, save, and report information on customers and transactions. Technology companies sell millions of dollars of software products to allow banks to comply with such regulations, even as there is debate as to whether such technology is required or effective. Companies such as World Check have databases, according to an article in the *Economist*, that offer “banks and governments profiles of more than 300,000 people who may present a ‘heightened risk’ to financial institutions.”¹³⁸ Some security experts argue that terrorists do not need all this funding to operate, while others argue that these regulations have prevented terror attacks in the United States. The *Economist* also points out that few terrorists have been caught because of fund transfer surveillance, that money laundering and other fraud continues, and that most terrorist attacks required very little money to carry out.¹³⁹ The banking industry, however, did not escape charges of culpability, since they settled charges filed by the US government for helping transfer funds that were linked to Iran.¹⁴⁰ Arab Bank was also charged in a similar suit for aiding Hamas and lost, based partly on testimony by a witness who had headed the Israeli military’s Palestinian affairs division, which given the long history of the conflict in Palestine, might have been driven by a political agenda. In addition, in 2014, the relatives of US military killed in the Iraq War filed a lawsuit against major European banks, charging that they had helped move funds between Iran and those attacking US military in Iraq.

Armand Mattelart suggests that further evidence of the collaboration between public and private entities is clear in the US Treasury Department monitoring of global funding flows.¹⁴¹ The CIA’s Terrorist Finance Tracking Program works with the collaboration of the Society for Worldwide Interbank Financial Telecommunication (SWIFT), a Belgium-based organization that enables the transnational functioning of banks.¹⁴² National security agencies collaborate with technology organizations and corporations to track the movements of funding through transnational organizations such as SWIFT, whose acronym suggests that European finance organizations are conduits for speedy fund transfers. However, the organization also collaborates with governments in the search of “terror networks.” Thus, the technology that

allows financial mobility may, in collaboration with international and national policing agencies, become an obstacle, a checkpoint, or a policing mechanism for some organizations and some groups.

During the Barack Obama presidency, government-sponsored humanitarianism was further expanded, and the Bush FBO initiative was modified. Obama modified Bush's Office of Faith-Based Initiatives,¹⁴³ and he established the Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships Office with the goals of reducing abortion, promoting better fathering, and increasing interfaith dialogue. The Serve America Act of 2009 expanded the number of AmeriCorps participants from 75,000 to 250,000. It included incentives for Senior Corps, as well as school-based funding for "service learning" (i.e., unpaid volunteer work by students). The White House Office of Social Entrepreneurship was created with \$50 million dedicated to nonprofit growth and innovation. In his remarks at the twentieth anniversary of the Points of Light Institute in 2009, President Barack Obama sent a message about the importance of volunteer service: "In the end, service binds us to each other and to our community and to our country in a way that nothing else can."¹⁴⁴ President Obama, too, favors neoliberal notions of humanitarianism and volunteerism as he reveals through his view of "service." In his remarks at the twentieth anniversary of the Points of Light Institute held at Texas A&M University, Obama recognized the importance of the collaboration between former presidents Clinton and George H. W. Bush to raise money for Asian countries after the Indian Ocean tsunami and then after Hurricane Katrina in 2005. The combination of neoliberalism with nationalism and empire are visible in this collaboration between Democrats and Republicans. Here, we see the bipartisan use of the language of American exceptionalism as linked to humanitarianism, and indeed, as beyond politics.¹⁴⁵

As he spoke to students at Texas A&M, Obama recognized that "service" is needed: "that service isn't separate from our national priorities, or secondary to our national priorities—it's integral to achieving our national priorities." He announced that because of the need for everyone to do such "service," he had signed the Edward M. Kennedy Serve America Act and expanded AmeriCorps and Senior Corps, which "gave people a change to give back" as well as created hundreds of partnerships with organizations, nonprofits, foundations, and corporations. Although Obama did mention that government is important, he asked people to do "service" rather than advocacy or fight for rights. This neoliberal politics is not surprising, nor is his continuation of some war on terror surveillance programs. Despite his repudiation of the term "war on terror," he did not stop its surveil-

lance projects, including the surveillance of Muslim charities, persons, and organizations.

Ultimately, given that the United States is a majority Christian country, the Welfare Reform Act's Charitable Choice provision of 1996, which is still the law of the land, cannot but end up expanding and favoring the majority religion. Even President Obama's review board for these funds included a majority of people affiliated with Christian organizations, though it also had a smattering of Jewish organization-affiliated people, one South Asian organization-affiliated person, and one Muslim organization-affiliated person. Under the Obama administration, US government sponsorship of private religious humanitarianism may not have heavily favored Christian conservatives and evangelical groups as much as it did under the first George W. Bush administration, but it still seemed to favor Christian organizations as constituting exceptional citizens, those who are endowed with the sovereign right to give welfare to those they wish, to take on the task of saving the security state, and to support the soft power of the empire through their humanitarianism. Yet, simply being humanitarians is not enough to save the empire. Indeed, as I will show in later chapters, private exceptional individuals also share the tasks of surveillance and security.

4. “Security Moms” and “Security Feminists”

Securitizing Family and State

As feminism has become disseminated across the global landscape through the twentieth century, it has become heterogeneous, diffuse, and diverse. Feminisms have become entangled with states, nations, transnationalisms, religion, class, race, caste, and sexuality, among numerous social movements. Feminisms have also emerged in conservative, liberal, and radical versions in the US context, producing social movements, identities, and subjects as well as many contestations over political affiliation and terminologies. What has been called “imperial feminism” has a long European history that has come to be shared in the United States through attachments to whiteness and empire.¹ Many feminists in the United States provided consent to a war based on the Orientalist idea of “saving” Muslim women, a project that came to include mostly white women and some others as well. Others saw themselves as allies of government and supported the war, demanding more

security—for state and family—from the government. In the process, a particular American imperial feminism altered what it means to be an American woman or feminist: to claim equality, empowerment and alliance with a state and nation. This process was not, however, without contradictions over normative ideas of motherhood, femininity, and sexuality.

Within the United States and across the globe, feminisms are diverse, contested, and conflicted. The twenty-first-century global war on terror has highlighted this diversity. Some who call themselves feminists collaborate with constructions of the normative white citizen or the white, Christian, heterosexual mother—a struggle that I examine in this chapter. Meanwhile, others struggle against racial feminine and feminist norms: for instance, women of color, intersectional, antiracist, or anti-imperial feminists, and antiwar feminists, as well as many who do not want to call themselves feminists because of its association with whiteness, race, and empire. Some joined antiwar movements, distraught by the death of soldier sons and daughters,² while others joined the military, seeking jobs and wages. Yet others became patriotic after 9/11. Some feminists are concerned with empowering women or enabling their equality and parity with powerful males, while others focus on opposing racism and imperialism from within the United States. Despite these differences, all feminists and feminine subjects were affected by neoliberal policies and imperial wars, as all were recruited into the militarization and securitization of everyday life. For instance, the ubiquity of warnings posted in all public spaces in the United States that “if you see something, say something” enabled an extra vigilance on the part of everyone to be alert concerning the presence of nonwhite and “Muslim-looking” persons, and reporting these Others became a duty for some.³

This context of an ongoing and endless war on terror, as well as the impact of decades of neoliberal policies that have come to naturalize self-improving and self-protecting subjects working as individuals to save not just the nation but the security state, produced three subjects that I focus on in this chapter: the security feminist (a specifically feminist subject empowered by the state); the security mom (a female, not necessarily feminist, subject but with some aspects of US feminism); and the national security mom (mom and feminist), who combines the work of protecting the national security state and the American family while struggling for empowerment and against gendered discrimination in her workplace. These are different but linked figures of exceptional citizenship. They are different in the locations where they are found (the home and/or the workplace) and in their goals (keeping safe the American family or the American security state). Yet, they share similar

investments in US empire; they are exceptional US citizens working to save and protect the American security state. They are also linked through a notion of female empowerment as an important state and imperial project, one justifying US military intervention.

The security feminist appears as a liberal, white, and patriotic feminist working for the state and military. The security mom appears as a conservative, white, and patriotic supporter of state security and the heterosexual, white family. They both build on a long history of US women's participation in imperial expansion, tying nationalist and military projects along with the state security, to women's advancement and security in the home and nation.⁴ For instance, after 9/11, First Lady Laura Bush, along with many American women from both political parties as well as some feminist organizations, supported the bombing of Afghanistan as a way to save Afghan women and girls from the Taliban.⁵ This was a project of "saving brown women from brown men," as Gayatri Spivak and others have made clear.⁶ It tapped into long-standing European and US imperial projects and extended them into the twenty-first-century war on terror.⁷ Participation in this project of rescue produces the female exceptional American citizen, securitizing feminism and saving the security state. Yet, even the sovereignty of this female figure is not secure given the context of the continued production of insecurity by the state, corporations, and neoliberal policies that reduce welfare and individualize adversity, as well as the gendered and raced inequalities embedded in US culture that privilege dominant white masculinity. The security state uses this feminism and feminized work while not according it the powerful sovereignty that it gives other exceptional subjects. Thus, the security mom and security feminist come to be insecure and often tragic figures.

The security feminist and the security mom are twinned figures in the twenty-first-century US neoliberal empire, offering both liberal and conservative, "hard power" and "soft power" ways that women can uphold, enable, and belong to the empire.⁸ Yet, both figures also reveal how the security they seek for family and nation is increasingly impossible. Like US empire itself in this period, the security feminist and security mom become increasingly anxious and insecure. As a mode of power generated by the state and its political economy, insecurity creates subjects and institutions of racial empire, such as the feminist and the mother. Still, differently raced mothers and feminists come to have quite divergent sorts of insecurities, as some come to support the security state and some are targeted by it.⁹ Insecurity is also a gendered project, as forms of sexual, economic, social, and psychological violence produce subjects who work unceasingly as exceptional citizens to

protect themselves, their families, the state, and nation.¹⁰ In this chapter, the figures I examine emerge through the intersectionalities and contradictions of twenty-first-century security and surveillance in two intertwined institutions: the American family and American counterterrorism. The security mom is a conservative female feminist and exceptional citizen who embraces whiteness and fears nonwhite and foreign Others as threats to the heterosexual family. The security feminist is a female counterinsurgency expert whose empowerment and claim to liberal equality are dependent upon her participation in the global war on terror and the security state. The figure of the security mom recuperates histories of racialized fears of brown and black males entering the white home and nation, and also recalls the presences of women in peace movements. Meanwhile, the security feminist builds on histories of militarized femininity and feminist struggles for equality and parity in the military. The long history of US surveillance of African Americans, as well as the history of women supporting the US empire and white nation,¹¹ ground the logic of security that asserts itself through these twinned figures.

After decades of neoliberal state retrenchment and economic policies benefiting the wealthy, security has come to have both affective and material consequences. The insecurity of jobs and livelihoods has increased alongside the security state's militarization and endless wars. In this milieu, security and fear are prevailing structures of feeling experienced differently depending on gender, race, religion, and class. Emergent moral panics, fears of terrorists, discourses of child predators, and concerns regarding sexual violence have accompanied a period of financial instability leading to the financial crash of 2008 and growing awareness of widening economic disparities.¹² Such fears produced a powerful conservative movement, while they also created struggles for equality and social justice. The National Security Administration's (NSA) continued surveillance of all people—not just Muslims or noncitizens—meant that fear of government, terrorists, immigrants, men of color, LGBT people, and many others became part of the fabric of everyday, ordinary life.¹³

The logic of vigilantism, enjoined by the ubiquity of the phrase “if you see something, say something” that governmentalized the war on terror, has securitized the domestic sphere of home and nation. Since the eighteenth century, the family has historically and affectively been considered a secure space in Western liberal thought, a “haven from a heartless world.” Social contract theory suggested the separation of public and private realms, which gave the home its sacredness. However, as feminists have argued, this construction of home didn't protect women but rather protected the heterosexual family

and white male privilege. As Carole Pateman and Charles Mills reveal, the social contract is a sexual-racial contract empowering white males to rule the private sphere and keep it sacred.¹⁴ As these feminist critiques of home as the site of violence and power have shown, the idea of home is rife with contradictions including desires for protection, the violence of protection, a haven as well as imprisonment and enclosure, normative ideas of property, family, and citizenship as well as constraints on neoliberal ideas of human potential.¹⁵

Building on this complex history, the project of securitizing the home and the family in the twenty-first century harnesses powerful surveillance technologies and a particular version of female empowerment concerned with breaking the “glass ceiling” in order to save the security state. To be sure, security feminism is not the only social movement that has become militarized and securitized with the rise of the US security state, and women are not the only subjects incorporated into it. Immigrants, people of color, and LGBT people all have been hailed as participants through the projects of “diversifying” the military and government agencies. Yet these two female figures, the security mom and the security feminist, the one protecting the home and the other protecting the security state, are important in their attempts to maintain the division between public and private even while transgressing the boundaries of civilian and military, home and work, domestic and international. Their work in securitizing the security state makes them exceptional citizens, even as their sovereignty is more insecure than that of their male counterparts.

Motherhood, Neoliberalism, and the Security State

The combination of social, sexual, and economic insecurity emerges from decades of neoliberal policies that have now become naturalized, producing tensions and contradictions, as well as desires for a more militarized state. While this book focuses on the United States, neoliberal policies were implemented by leaders of the UK and the United States, Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, respectively, in both countries starting in the 1980s. These policies created new sorts of moral panics that deflected public attention from institutional changes that reduced public welfare and increased private corporate power. In an insightful essay concerning the moral panics regarding child predators and media representations of child sexual abuse that emerged in the UK in the 1990s after Prime Ministers Margaret Thatcher and Tony Blair had promoted neoliberalist domestic policies, Vicki Bell argues that

representations of child abuse and sexual predators produced the mothers as vigilantes and abusers as monsters, but also challenged neoliberal policies. Such mediations, argues Bell, diverted attention away from ongoing concerns over government security and legitimation.¹⁶ Mothers demanded the whereabouts of those accused of being pedophiles, and Bell argues that this challenged the political rationalities of neoliberal government: “Neoliberal government runs smoothly only if parents can trust that the state is indeed providing both a basic level of general security and trustworthy information by which to make their risk assessments.”¹⁷ She argues that because the state was unable to provide information that would enable mothers to “fulfill their roles as rational risk assessing parents,” the media stepped in, reaffirming the state as rational and the mothers as emotional and nonrational.¹⁸

Bell’s essay is useful for analyzing the limits and crisis of twenty-first-century neoliberal security.¹⁹ There are links between what was happening in the United States and the UK, but also some divergences. Although Bell describes the UK, neoliberal policies of welfare retrenchment and the global war on terror in both countries led to an emergent network of state security and surveillance technologies stretching across state agencies, corporations, and powerful individuals. The UK had already been a heavily surveilled society, but new forms of surveillance against a different set of bodies emerged through moral panics in both places. In the United States, the American family was a key part of this project. The project of state security sutured parental concerns about family security to government concerns about state security, incorporating parents—and mothers in particular—into the security state. Securitizing motherhood in the form of the security mom naturalized state security as intrinsic to normative motherhood, rather than providing contradictions to the neoliberal or security apparatus.²⁰

As this chapter will show, the US security state claims to secure the family by producing normative and exceptional citizens, but in the process it also produces precariousness and insecurity for most of its inhabitants. For the most part, such a protection project is used for the security of the heterosexual, middle-class family (normatively seen as white), though sometimes queerness is also scripted into these security concerns.²¹ In the convergence of numerous fears created by social movements and the neoliberal security state—which are enhanced, commoditized, and circulated by multiple media—the security mom, in this first decade of the twenty-first century, became powerful by assuming the militancy of an anxious and fearful nation. Needing to secure the family from multiple social, economic, and political threats, such a mother became a product and a consumer of media security

and surveillance projects. In the context of the war on terror, the security mom feared “terrorists” and “aliens” while she surveilled her nation and home. The security mom embodied both the assertion of authority and the anxieties of the end of the century and its new wars, and was a key vehicle and target of neoliberal power, becoming an exceptional citizen in the process. Similarly, the security feminist, increasingly either a single woman or a single mother, became visible as the counterinsurgency and counterterrorism expert. Her empowerment as a security expert and as a woman became conjoined. Working in government and military to carry out surveillance to save her state, she was also neoliberal in her belief in individual striving to succeed and to gain equality with her male counterparts. Yet such success, and its focus on the struggling individual, often produced the security feminist as a lonely and tragic figure. It was against this female figure that the masculinist state asserted its gendered power to suggest that such striving was necessary “soft power” but also unfeminine or queer.

The Rise of the Security Mom

Security moms, birthed from twenty-first-century wars and neoliberal economic reforms, emerged into public view during the US presidential election of 2004,²² building on what was earlier called the “soccer mom,” enabling women to self-identify as powerful, and politicized guardians of the (mostly, white and middle-class) home. The outpouring of concern for the American nation, support for wars, and victories for political candidates claiming to be strong on security made the security mom normative and part of the security economy thereby producing profits for private enterprises in militarization, policing, and incarceration industries.

In a *USA Today* article published on August 20, 2004, conservative columnist Michelle Malkin published a manifesto introducing the security mom to the nation.²³ In this manifesto, Malkin explains that she owns a gun, is a voter, is married to a fellow conservative, and has two children. Malkin’s website explains that she is also Asian American, a Christian, and calls herself a Generation X’er,²⁴ suggesting that women of all races could become security moms. As she states: “Nothing matters to me right now than the safety of my home and the survival of my homeland. . . . I am a citizen of the United States, not the United Nations.”²⁵ Since 9/11, she writes, she had begun to monitor everyone around her: “I have studied the faces on the FBI’s most-wanted-terrorists list. When I ride the train, I watch for suspicious packages in empty seats. When I am on the highways, I pay attention to larger trucks

and tankers. I make my husband take his cellphone with him everywhere. . . . We have educated our 4-year-old daughter about Osama bin Laden and Saddam Hussein. She knows there are bad men in the world trying to kill Americans everywhere. This isn't living in fear. This is living with reality. We drive defensively. Now, we must live defensively too."²⁶ Malkin quotes a conservative activist, Kay R. Daly, a security mom of two in Northern Virginia, who has said, "Hell hath no fury like a momma protecting her babies." The two figures that Malkin states she fears most are "Islamic terrorists" and "criminal illegal aliens"—both figures of nonwhite males infiltrating the American nation—though she mentions that she also keeps a watchful eye on truckers and her husband. Although clearly a Republican commentator in the media, she claims she would vote for whoever provides the most security: "Do they have what it takes to keep suicide bombers off our shores and out of our malls?"²⁷ Malkin ended her manifesto thusly: "To paraphrase the Iron Lady, Margaret Thatcher: Gentlemen: this is no time to go warm and fuzzy. Security moms will never forget that toddlers and schoolchildren were incinerated in the hijacked planes. . . . As they (the terrorists) plot our death and destruction, these enemies will not be won over by either hair sprayed liberalism or bleeding-heart conservatism."²⁸ There is much to take apart, here. At the very least, this article in a mainstream newspaper, *USA Today*, constructs American children as requiring a pedagogy of "terror."²⁹ It ventriloquizes Margaret Thatcher—one of the chief architects of neoliberalism—as having a strong security vision and articulates a version of US nationalism,³⁰ in which home is joined to homeland, and motherhood involves protecting the state and/as family. While such a discourse of home as homeland is often found in other periods and regions, the US context of the war on terror enabled this version of the mother for whom state, national, and family security were merged. The security mom figure is not just a mother who sacrifices her children to state security, nor is she a subject of the state by sole virtue of her reproductive labor. Rather, she sees the security of home, state, and nation as coconstitutive, requiring the actions and vigilance of private individuals who are members of the heteronormative, American family. Within the family, the mother is tasked with upholding this security project through violent surveillance and a pedagogy of the war on terror.

Malkin's conjoining of neoliberalism and security harnesses gendered essentialisms to resolve several contradictions in conservative, neoliberal ideologies. These contradictions are visible in her designation of liberals as "hair sprayed" and conservatives as "bleeding hearts," deliberately transposing political ideologies and perhaps ridiculing any remnants of George W.

Bush's "compassionate conservatism" (and displacing Margaret Thatcher's famous hair-sprayed style onto a liberal motherhood) for a 2004 election-year spin. Security is to trump all other considerations, even the concern for privacy and protection from the government that formed much libertarian and conservative thought. The economic rationales against government spending and deficit reduction, which are part of the rhetoric of conservatism, are to be left aside in claiming the necessity of a vast security apparatus. Malkin reprised a national motherhood, willing to send its young people to war—though determined to keep her own husband and children close to her and under her surveillance.

As of the writing of this book, more than a decade after this *USA Today* article, Malkin's security mom manifesto remains posted on her website. This website is active, celebrating mothers (for instance, one mother who lost her son in 9/11, and another who lost her son to drug war on the US-Mexican border).³¹ The site continues the project of her manifesto of 2004, but with condemnation of the Obama administration for not providing security even though there have been few incidents of terrorism by any Islamic groups in the United States. On her website in 2016, Malkin says that there are many women like her who remain concerned with national security. These women have become "warbloggers," she says, with "intense passion and dispassionate analysis," and they have had to "take homeland defense in their own hands."³² By championing these bloggers, Malkin implies that neither President Obama nor the US government can be trusted to provide security—despite the fact that over a trillion dollars have been spent on homeland security over the decade since 9/11.³³ While she claims security moms are concerned about the "war on terror," Malkin says they are also concerned about the threats caused by "illegal aliens," because the borders (by which she means the Mexican border, for the most part) have not been secured, allowing jobs to leave and "illegal aliens" to enter. She argues that even the "GOP elite gravely underestimate the wrath we security moms feel toward Washington's fatal addiction to 'cheap labor' and 'cheap votes' at the expense of secure borders."³⁴ Malkin sutures global and national economic precariousness through a populist and racialized anti-immigration and Islamophobic politics that casts immigrants as dangerous Others, disguising the predations of economic and political elites and solidifying white racial sovereignty. Malkin's politics and her website reveal her political shifts and continuities between the early 2000 and 2016, as the logic of the security state and of anti-immigrant racism comes into conflict with the global aspects of neoliberal capital, though not with

the neoliberal project of welfare retrenchment nor the individualization of security.

In the period of Jim Crow, white women's safety was used to justify the lynching or imprisonment of black men.³⁵ In the twenty-first-century war on terror, middle-class women's safety is used to justify the detention of Muslim men, the widespread incarceration of people of color, and the surveillance of everyone.³⁶ New modes of online data gathering have led to "predictive analytics," which government agencies use to increase policing and surveillance, create "no-fly lists," ramp up detention, implement renditions, and deport migrants.³⁷ Malkin's discourse of proper motherhood, starting in 2004, attempts to erase racial difference through participation in surveillance. Thus, she states that she practices "surveillance" on her husband for his safety, never letting him leave without a phone. Her paranoia coincides with the widespread belief that all children now, especially teenagers, must have a phone so that they can be reached at every moment to make sure that they are safe, a project whose racialized dimensions I explore in chapter 5. The injunctions posted all over public spaces in most cities and towns, asking people to "say something if you see something," has governmentalized security as a task for all citizens who can become exceptional by protecting the security state. It is not just public space that must be surveilled but also the domestic. According to this security framework, even the heterosexual family must be under surveillance since in Malkin's imaginary, it is under attack from gays, lesbians, feminists, immigrants, black men, and Muslims. Malkin continues to use safety and security discourse to justify surveillance, constructing the family as threatened and surveillance technologies as tools for the empowerment of the mother.

Malkin was a frequent commentator on Fox News for some time, and published opinion columns in several newspapers.³⁸ A Filipino American, she started her conservative career opposing affirmative action policies while a student at Oberlin College, and later married a fellow student, who is a white man and a conservative. She was, and continues to be, particularly useful to the Republican Party as an Asian American woman who espouses an anti-immigration, prowar, and antigovernment ideology, and can be used to show that right-wing conservatism has nonwhite members too. Malkin inhabits the position of the token nonwhite, who can rise within the political media since there aren't that many Asian Americans who would profess such allegiance to anti-immigration politics. The Republican Party uses her as an alibi to deflect critiques of their racism, while prominence given to her by

Fox News and Republicans gives her a platform. Her books, published by a conservative press, establish her credentials as a conservative advocate for a strong military, hard power, surveillance, and anti-immigration policies. She has, for instance, argued (against all evidence to the contrary) that the internment of Japanese Americans was appropriate because of their supposed loyalty to the Japanese emperor, and that the racial profiling of Arab Americans is justified.³⁹ She is also evidence of the minority of Asian American immigrants who are socially conservative and who understand themselves as model Americans who need to protect America against newer immigrants.⁴⁰ There are Asian Americans who profess strong conservatism, based on a variety of reasons, both political, religious, and historical. Some arrive in the United States with upper-class and conservative beliefs, and comprise transnational elites who have incorporated neoliberal ideals against welfare and a desire to participate in American capitalism. Others come with military backgrounds and histories in their countries of departure that push them toward strong support for the security state, though some of these groups might oppose anti-immigration and racist politics. Yet, others profess patriotism in face of the “forever foreign” status given to Asian Americans over their two-century presence in the United States. There is also racism against African Americans and Islamophobia among Asians and Asian Americans in both the Asian continent and in the United States, as well as a strong support for a security state. Such a complex politics among Asian Americans—emerging from diverse histories, ethnicities, and transnational allegiances—suggest that Malkin’s racial identity and political beliefs are not remarkable, and enable her to become valuable as a media figure, adding an image of “diversity” to the Republican Party. She becomes useful for disavowing the whiteness of American racial sovereignty and for consolidating the project of racialized violence, even as she gains prominence among conservatives in the process, and shares the power and privilege of association with whiteness.

In response to Malkin’s security mom manifesto of 2004, many liberal commentators asked whether the security mom was in fact “real.” For instance, columnist Ellen Goodman responded to Malkin by claiming that the security mom was an urban legend rather than a new demographic (though Goodman also stated that women are inherently concerned about security),⁴¹ perhaps missing the point that Malkin was constructing an identity that would hail many women. In her article “The Myth of ‘Security Moms,’” Goodman writes: “I’m not denying women’s concerns about security. Whether it’s domestic violence or crime in the streets or terrorism after 9/11, women are more likely to worry that they or theirs are vulnerable.” Goodman protests

Malkin's conservatism and militarism, though she too comes to see protection and security as central to motherhood. For Goodman, too, women have an intrinsic desire for security. In her account, all women need protection from "terrorism" and "violent crime," but she also includes "healthcare security, retirement security, and economic security" as women's needs. Like Malkin, Goodman (who identifies as a liberal) connects the term "security" to a naturalized and essentialized definition of women. While Malkin uses the term "security mom" to designate women as mothers seeking to protect their innocent children, Goodman allies herself with the 1990s UN internationalist human security paradigm that recuperated the term "security" to change its focus on particular nationalisms and states.⁴² This "human security" paradigm was used to move away from state security as the project for American women, suggesting that a less warlike project would be liberal protection of all persons. Although Malkin and Goodman seem to be politically at odds, they both understand women to have an essential relation to security as protection. Although Malkin's nationalism and Goodman's internationalism set them apart and Malkin's security mom relies on nationalist feminist discourses as its condition of possibility, both assume a feminist project that essentializes gender, suggesting a woman's natural role is as a mother who protects her children.

The security mom is both a political and media demographic who emerged in the early 2000s, but she is also a subject of the security state who embodies the insecurity produced by the neoliberal securitization of everyday life. In 2003, Karen Tumulty and Viveca Novak wrote in a *Time* magazine article that the security mom was created out of anxiety following 9/11, because women felt more vulnerable and became more protective of their families, wanting more defense spending and state security. Tumulty and Novak attributed these anxieties solely to 9/11, rather than to decades-long decline in the economic health of working- and middle-class families, to black concerns about police and state violence, and the emerging notion of new threats for post-Cold War militarism, as well as the many racial projects that reduced welfare benefits for nonelite and nonwhite populations.⁴³ Given this framing, it is not surprising that security moms appeared again in the US presidential election of 2012, when right-wing groups struggling for electoral gains against the Democrats and Barack Obama's candidacy asserted a white racial sovereignty based on anti-immigration views, social conservatism, oligarchic masculine power, and corporate hegemony. News media stated that the security mom was back and visible through polling in states such as Florida and Ohio.⁴⁴

Perhaps it can be said that the security mom never went away, because conservative politics relied on proliferating threats to the American family from LGBT politics, feminists, immigrants, Muslims, black groups, as well as terrorists. The protection of this family is not a new phenomenon, though, within the modern state, the family has long been a site of struggle for individuals, the nation, the state, bureaucracies,⁴⁵ and, more recently, a variety of private entities including corporations and NGOs. In the US neoliberal context—in which social conservatism, white racial sovereignty, and imperial projects are intertwined—these diverse entities have stakes in defining the normative family. Conservatives mobilize citizenship and consumption through racialized and heteronormative discourses about the “traditional” family needing special protection. At the same time, neoliberal elites use the term “class war” to deflect critiques of economic inequality and the massive concentration of wealth within a tiny group of people and corporations.⁴⁶ Both state and federal governments rely on corporations for surveillance, adding to insecurities emerging from changing ideas of privacy, fuzzy public/private divides, and new collaborations between states and private transnational capital. Combined with new media technologies, the project of surveillance encompasses all kinds of social relations, including the family. In this context, US motherhood is constructed through media and its technologies in ways that link it to security and surveillance. Cindi Katz suggests that in the privatized state, such as the twenty-first-century neoliberal security state, parents become spies, doing the work of the shrunken neoliberal state that cannot provide a social wage. Instead, she reveals, “All the state does is monitor.”⁴⁷ Katz describes how within the context of twenty-first-century war, the US government relies on individuals and groups to participate in surveillance and how parenting turns into surveillance. Yet the state is not as enervated as she suggests, because it actively enables such surveillance, even by devolving sovereignty to and collaborating with particular individuals and corporations. Although the US state has lost its ability (and willingness) to embody power in the form of providing welfare, it seeks to be powerful through collaboration with private entities—not only with the family but also transnational corporations and with security moms and security feminists who then become exceptional citizens.

In this context, the security mom’s genealogies include white racial libertarianism, American antigovernment and hyperindividual beliefs, and a long history of anticommunism and social conservatism.⁴⁸ Yet she has some aspects of the liberal humanitarianism that I discussed in chapter 2: liberals who believe that private individuals and nonprofit organizations can better

provide social welfare because the state is inefficient and ineffective and that Americans are exceptional citizens who are able to save the nation, the state, and the world. While not all humanitarians share the virulent antigovernmentalism of the conservative security mom, many have come to see neoliberalism as the new normal while they decry the corruption and power of elites. Both humanitarians and social conservatives support private welfare, sharing some opposition to government surveillance (depending on who is being surveilled), and they both believe in American exceptionalism and empire. Many across political divides now consider surveillance necessary to both the state and the family, which, as I argue in the following chapter, unites public and private domains in new ways. The neoliberal security state provides opportunities for collaboration across political differences through the securitization and militarization of motherhood in the form of the security mom. It also provides such opportunities through the securitization and militarization of feminism in the figure of the security feminist.

The Rise of the Security Feminist

Although there has been important work on the relation between empire, women, and domesticity, the emergence of security feminism comes in the aftermath of long struggles for equality and parity in many institutions in the United States, including the military, corporations, and education. Security feminism reveals this struggle as well as a devotion to the security state, and it is the security feminist's loyalty to the latter and desire to work for it that brings up contradictions and marks the complexities of those who inhabit such a feminism. Such a feminism's contradictions have been difficult to resolve, as I will show in the rest of this chapter.

The relationship between empire and domestic ideologies has a long history in the United States,⁴⁹ showing indeed that domesticity and imperialism have always been interconnected. As I've demonstrated, neoliberalism produces the security mom as one kind of exceptional citizen. Another exceptional citizen produced in this context is the security feminist, who has ties to the US military and counterterrorism agencies. The US military utilizes women and mothers as officers, soldiers, and contractors, producing both the subjects and agents of militarized security through their participation in combat as well as their support for military power.⁵⁰ Similarly, US government agencies utilize women and mothers as spies and counterterrorism experts, many of whom move over into these civilian jobs after their military careers. The generalized anxiety caused by the war on terror's public

and private security enterprise, as well as widespread economic insecurity, leads many women to seek jobs in the military and intelligence agencies that can offer some stability. Occupying these positions, along with the military's need for diversity and patriotic subjects, produces emergent security feminisms.

Security feminists have become increasingly visible in popular media especially in the aftermath of 9/11, as figures both heroic and tragic. Valerie Plame, for instance, became famous as a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) operative whose name was disclosed by a member of the Bush administration in retaliation for her husband's opposition to the Iraq War, so that she could no longer continue in her position. In popular culture, such figures have become more and more common, as women are often now represented as heroic soldiers of the nation, even as gendered inequality and insecurities suffuse those representations. The series *Covert Affairs* ran from 2010 to 2015 on the USA Network, with the main character, Annie Walker, as a CIA agent. In contrast to the centrality of motherhood in representations of the security mom, security feminist characters such as Annie Walker (played by Piper Perabo), Carrie Mathison (played by Claire Danes) of the Showtime award-winning series *Homeland* (2011–present), and Maya (played by Jessica Chastain) of the Oscar-winning film *Zero Dark Thirty* (2012) are most often single women, obsessed and haunted by their responsibility to secure the nation. Carrie Mathison is a character with bipolar disorder and though suffering emotional difficulty and breakdowns, she is able to obsessively focus on deflecting terror attacks, ordering drone bombings and sleeping with the enemy, while being critical of the CIA bureaucracy. Along with the focus on this character's mental illness, the series also suggests the power of a female character able to break with the institution she works with and follow her own obsession with counterinsurgency work. As James Castonguay has argued, the series may be critical of the effects of the war on terror, but it upholds the power of what he calls "the democratic security state" to carry out surveillance and counterinsurgency. Castonguay argues that the series is invested in creating an insecure empire that ends up copying its enemy, in the style of Cold War cinema's "paranoid style."⁵¹ Advertisements for this series use Orientalist representations to contrast Carrie's whiteness and visibility against veiled nonwhite women, suggesting a long European colonial narrative of the whiteness of the powerful Western woman contrasted with her hidden, mysterious, and threatening Other.

Zero Dark Thirty's Maya brought attention to the role of women in the CIA, largely because of the film's notoriety and its depiction of the effective-

ness of torture; this question of effectiveness became a matter of debate and disclosure by the government.⁵² Numerous journalists covered these concerns in the wake of the film's release and attempted to describe the "real" women in the CIA who had inspired the film. In the process, these intelligence analysts and agents came to be celebrated as strong women and as feminists who were able to break the glass ceiling in the security and military industries—though such praise was not unalloyed with gendered assumptions about women's essential nature and proper behavior. Women did work in US and UK security forces and intelligence services during the Second World War.⁵³ However, this recent war on terror harnesses contemporary feminist politics to show these women as heroic subjects *and* as victims of neglect, discrimination, or inequality,⁵⁴ as well as deviant gendered subjects. Their exceptional feminism is depicted as securing the state, even as there is disapproval of the women's behavior and media commentary about such deviance and misogyny resulting in pain and anxiety. Their reconciliation with motherhood and the heteronormative American family is itself insecure.

Many women in the counterterrorism services and industry have come to deplore these popular culture representations. Some of these women have turned to writing their own books to claim that such contradictions are simply fictional. Reporters have also taken up their cause. In a *New York Times* article from 2015 titled "Good Riddance, Carrie Mathison," columnist Maureen Dowd writes that Mathison's "real-life counterparts" in the CIA "can't wait for her to clean out her desk."⁵⁵ According to Dowd, the "C.I.A. sisterhood is fed up with the flock of fictional C.I.A. women in movies and TV who guzzle alcohol as they bed hop and drone drop, acting crazed and emotional, sleeping with terrorists and seducing assets." She quotes one such "real-life" agent, Gina Bennett, describing her as "a slender, thoughtful mother of five who has been an analyst in the Counterterrorism Center for 25 years" and who "first began sounding the alarm about Osama bin Laden back in 1993." Dowd goes on to report that another agent, Sandra Grimes, "a perky 69-year-old blonde who helped unmask her C.I.A. colleague Aldrich Ames," dislikes the TV and film characters who look like models wearing clothes their real-life counterparts could not afford. Dowd reveals that Bennett and her cohorts claim that they are better agents than their male colleagues and not as dysfunctional as their fictional counterparts. According to Dowd, the women say that they have much to offer because women are good "puzzle-solvers" and are more rational because they trust their "gut less." Dowd quotes Kali Caldwell, an African American woman, who tells Dowd that senior military officials are surprised at her presence in the CIA, not only

because of her gender but also because of her race. Having established the diversity of this group of real-life counterterrorism security feminists, Dowd argues that they have made gains for diversity at the CIA. There is a daycare center at Langley, the CIA offers flex time, and the agency even went to recruit at an LGBT conference in Miami.

Notwithstanding these strides, Dowd also includes comments from her interviewees about the difficulties of combining the work of being wife, mother, and counterterrorism expert. Bennett tells Dowd that family and security are difficult to reconcile, and she had to create a “wall” between her family and the horrors she saw at work where she was faced with “people who are trying to kill lots of people in horrendous, painful ways.” Although her marriage broke down, she calls herself “Elastigirl,” both mom and superhero. She tells Dowd, women like her are at the “top of their game.” Dowd reports Bennett saying, “I’m right up there with the big dogs. Girls, c’mon. Leave the saving the world to men? I don’t think so.”

Despite her key role in security industries, the security feminist herself feels insecure and reveals an insecure form of feminism. This feminism combines arguments for gender equity and the language of empowerment with stress produced by the proximity to foreign threats and counterterrorism work. The security feminist’s career leads her to attempt to wall off work from home, even though it seems to have interrupted her marriage and infiltrated the home. Security feminism, consequently, seems rife with difficulties, as Dowd’s article reveals. Dowd and her interviewees demonstrate and disavow the violence of war, conjugate “bed hop” with “drone drop,” and offer the animated character of Elastigirl (white girl power) as real inspiration. Family, job insecurity, multiculturalism, inclusion, and violence are comingled in this articulation of popular feminism and empire. Security feminism’s version of motherhood suggests that while there is need for a “wall” between the foreign and the domestic, between the horrors outside and the children within, there cannot be such a wall. Counterterrorism requires the belief that foreign agents will enter the domestic space, as much as terrorism work cannot but enter and affect their own homes and families. The horrors of the war on terror that infiltrate the home become productive, however, since they empower women to be effective counterterror agents and security feminists.

Dowd’s column, which purports to show the power of the “real” women in counterterrorism, inadvertently reveals the anxieties of security feminism. The division between public and private—the wall that Bennett describes—becomes a futile attempt to separate imperial war from the family, the domestic from the foreign, and heterosexual marriage from the insecurities of

neoliberal gendered inequalities. Walls, as Wendy Brown argues, are being created all over the world by twenty-first-century security states, indexing popular desires to keep the unmanageable results of neoliberal globalization at bay.⁵⁶ Yet these do not prevent the traffic between public and private; the walls simply spectacularize the desire for an impossible sovereignty. The walls stand for a desire for sovereignty based on territoriality, but also reveal a white feminism hoping to claim sovereignty by aligning with state security (as are other neoliberal security subjects I have been examining thus far in this book). Yet in Dowd's column, for these security feminists, the failed desire for the wall subtends the American family, as it does this version of female empowerment and equity feminism. The search for security, consequently, is aporetic and vexed. Security feminism is empowered but fractured, powerful but traumatized, as it cannot secure the heteronormative, white, American family.

As with Dowd's media coverage of real-life counterterrorism experts, popular media similarly produces an empowered and anxious feminist who fails to resolve the contradictions of security feminism. In director Kathryn Bigelow's film *Zero Dark Thirty* (2012), the main character Maya is a strong woman, conventionally attractive because she is white and thin, but also obsessive, nervous, and unhappy. Her devotion to counterterrorism is made visible when Maya is able to observe brutal interrogations and remain focused on the hunt for Osama bin Laden. She is represented as an Ayn Rand-like feminized version of the American hero figure found in numerous Hollywood films, whose masculinity is exceptional and autonomous, and who flouts his superiors, his organization, and its rules in order to achieve his goals; bureaucracy and the state are impediments to his progress and achievements. Maya is the normatively white, blonde American female version of this type, showing the triumph of the individual and his or her work to secure the state,⁵⁷ despite the obstacles of a bureaucracy determined to thwart her quest. The film's dark colors and the lighting used to depict the South Asian setting accentuate her whiteness,⁵⁸ even as her friendship with another woman, Jessica, at the military base, suggests queer possibilities that come to have no future. Timothy Melley has argued that the film denies the asymmetries of American power by depicting it as a quest of one individual, Maya. At the same time as it gestures toward the violence of the security state in torture scenes,⁵⁹ it resolves any potential threat by focusing on the heroine's struggle for recognition within the CIA. Maya embodies the exceptional neoliberal citizen—the security feminist—who will save the state and American power, because the state is characterized as nurturing an inept bureaucracy.

Maya is able to participate as an equally competent American operative in the male-dominated world of the CIA, and this equality requires her to use violence, torture, and single-minded devotion to her goal. Her whiteness and Americanness stand out among the many burqa-clad women (and men hiding as women) in the film. The Pakistani women are stereotypically represented as dark, veiled, unfree figures who serve to highlight Maya's white, American empowerment. Her friendship with Jessica also gestures to a homonationalism that is to be contrasted with South Asian culture.

Despite her success, however, Maya does not have the male American hero's triumphant power, since the film depicts the personal cost of her devotion to state security. Her only affection and joy seem to come from her connection with another woman, Jessica, who, in a conventional turn within Hollywood's depiction of lesbian tragedy, seems to be more interested in the men she meets, and whose death Maya is unable to prevent. Although Maya-as-security-feminist shares much with the security mom, including her support of violence and her concern for state security, she diverges from the security mom through her renunciation of family, sex, and all relationships with men. She sees other men as obstacles to her path, or as instruments of violence who are to be used to take out enemies. In addition, her friendship and desire for Jessica also have no future. In dislodging a purely heteronormative narrative by combining security feminist and female friendship stories that cannot acknowledge desire or sexuality, Bigelow depicts Maya's only friendship as being with another woman, though this female bond becomes a source of sorrow: Jessica is killed, recalling a long history of the tragic lesbian in Hollywood cinema.⁶⁰

In *Zero Dark Thirty*, both femininity and feminism emerge as central to the protection of the security state through the killing of bin Laden, but it is a feminism based on binary gender and which struggles to remain exceptional and white. As a female counterterrorism expert, Maya leaves the task of killing to the men, telling the all-male US Navy SEAL team tasked with killing bin Laden, "Kill him for me." The film distinguishes Maya from these men by contrasting their camaraderie and masculinity with Maya's loneliness and femininity. The value of maternal and familial ties is made evident by their very absence; once the mission is accomplished, Maya cries as she leaves for home, bereft by her lost relationships, the death of Jessica, and the sacrifices she has made for state security. Femininity is also at the center of the film's most important traumatic scene, when Jessica—who is depicted as Maya's opposite in being feminine, social, and, thus, vulnerable—is killed by a suicide bomber.⁶¹ White femininity is a source of power and pain, of success in coun-

terterrorism but also leading to tragedy, insecurity, and unfulfilled desires. As film commentator Larry Gross puts it, “Maya is quite simply one of the loneliest, most solitary characters ever to serve as the protagonist of an American studio film.”⁶² Gross ignores the long history of similar masculine characters in numerous Hollywood productions. For Gross, male protagonists are allowed to be lonely, while female protagonists, especially those not heteronormative, are damaged by such loneliness.

Several scholars have asked whether Maya is an example of feminism or of a postfeminism that considers feminism as either redundant or passé in the United States and within the new century. Some commentators have seen Maya as a feminist.⁶³ Others consider her a product of an antifeminist or postfeminist culture.⁶⁴ Some argue she is postfeminist because despite her portrayal as the equal of men, the film does “little to aid the cause of feminism.”⁶⁵ For one scholar, Maya’s neoliberal postfeminism resonates with audiences of many political stripes because “it tethers together several taken-for-granted clusters of appealing nationalistic tropes—the notion of fighting just wars, the neoliberal notion of benefiting from hard individual labor, the profit that comes from unswerving dedication to country,” and a celebration of American exceptionalism.⁶⁶ Although these commentaries are insightful examinations of the film’s contradictions, they homogenize feminism as a singular project of white women and American power.

In contrast to those claiming Maya as an antifeminist or postfeminist, other commentators described her as explicitly feminist. One popular commentator claiming Maya’s feminist credentials is Peter Bergen, CNN’s national security analyst and author of the book *Manhunt: The Ten-Year Search for bin Laden*.⁶⁷ Bergen was an advisor on the film, and explains in his article from 2012 “A Feminist Film Epic and the Real Women of the CIA” that *Zero Dark Thirty*’s Maya could be based on a woman at the CIA who was also single-mindedly focused on finding bin Laden.⁶⁸ Bergen argues that this woman embodied the CIA’s progress toward gender equality. Bergen quotes a retired CIA operative, who says that when he started in the agency “there were to my knowledge four senior operation officers who were females, and they had to be the toughest SOBs in the universe to survive. And the rest of the women were treated as sexual toys.”⁶⁹ Over time, Bergen reports, the CIA appointed many more women, some of whom did counterterrorism work, especially in the unit focusing on bin Laden. One woman, according to Bergen, was Jennifer Matthews, a CIA officer who worked on the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. According to Bergen, Matthews “provides something of a model” for the character of Jessica in the film. Matthews graduated from a small Christian

college in Ohio and started to follow bin Laden's activities in the mid-1990s, but, unlike Maya, she married and had three children. Bergen states that she "knew Islamic history cold, and how al Qaeda believed it fit into that history, which made her a formidable interrogator of al Qaeda detainees, some of whom found the fact that she was a well-informed female particularly disconcerting."⁷⁰ Matthews died in Afghanistan after an Al Qaeda operative, whom the CIA was trying to attract, detonated a bomb killing Matthews and several other CIA officers.

In a *Washington Post* article from 2012, Greg Miller explains that the woman on whom Maya is based was seen as "prickly" by the CIA, was not promoted for her work in the search for bin Laden, and hence felt slighted by the agency.⁷¹ At the time of the film's release, many news reports questioned why women in the CIA were not promoted and suggested that gender discrimination was an ongoing problem at the agency. Former CIA agent Valerie Plame suggested that women were particularly suited to the CIA because they are more attentive to facts, are "more attuned," and can "read body language better"—adding that "sometimes the subtleties are more important."⁷² In a PBS television interview with Charlie Rose, director Kathryn Bigelow, one of the few powerful and Oscar-winning female directors in Hollywood, similarly commented on women's special qualifications for intelligence services.⁷³ Such commentaries argued powerfully for the feminist inclinations of the filmmaker, and the film as a feminist project representing some of the problems and progress faced by women in the intelligence services and, importantly, by security feminists hoping to be exceptional citizens saving the security state.

The disclosure in 2014 of CIA torture reports by the US Senate Intelligence Committee, led by another powerful woman, Senator Dianne Feinstein, later revealed that another counterterrorism CIA agent, Alfreda Frances Bikowsky, might also have been an inspiration for Maya.⁷⁴ Bikowsky has now become associated with CIA torture. Many have vilified her participation in torture as violation of the Geneva Conventions and also as unproductive because it could not even be justified on the grounds of producing intelligence.⁷⁵ In examining how torture came to be normalized as standard procedure during the Iraq invasion, some journalists were indignant about the torture, while others sensationalized the fact that a woman, implicitly against her essential nature, could authorize torture. Bikowsky has also been discredited as being incompetent at her job because she failed in warning about 9/11 even though she had been on the Al Qaeda investigation since 2000. In her book from 2008, *The Dark Side: The Inside Story of How The War on Terror Turned*

into a *War on American Ideals*, *New Yorker* staff writer Jane Mayer described Bikowsky as “hard-driving” and “overzealous,”⁷⁶ and especially excited to be present at Khalid Sheikh Mohammed’s interrogation. Mayer reports one CIA colleague saying that Bikowsky “thought it was cool to be in the room” when Sheikh Mohammed was being water-boarded, and she was reprimanded and reminded that the torture “was not supposed to be entertainment.”⁷⁷ Mayer describes Bikowsky as the “hard-driving, redheaded former Soviet analyst who had been in the Bin Laden Unit . . . who was reviled by some male colleagues for what they regarded as her aggression.”⁷⁸ As these descriptions show, the CIA’s aggressive war-corporate network included both essentialized notions of gender and nods to diversity, in the process of vilifying the security feminist. Mayer’s book suggests that Bikowsky was both promoted and disliked and that her pursuit of bin Laden and willingness to watch torture were seen as aberrant both to her gender and to the CIA. It is surprising that Mayer pays little attention to the gendered dimension of scapegoating Bikowsky for what seems a widespread practice of torture by the CIA, one that reportedly was condoned by the highest powers in the Bush White House. Mayer’s book reveals also the CIA’s essentialized notions of gender and of Muslim cultures that were used in the torture of detainees. For instance, she reports that Mohammed was “questioned by an unusual number of female handlers, perhaps as an additional humiliation,” and another prisoner was subjected to the sounds of “hysterical screams that he was told was his wife being tortured.”⁷⁹ Security feminism is thus useful to save the security state, asserting sovereignty and exceptionalism in claiming American empire and its power over life, death, and the suspension of international laws. Yet security feminism across media platforms is both celebrated and reviled.

National Security Mom: Bringing Together Security Feminist and Security Mom

In his news article from 2012 about the Bigelow film, Peter Bergen mentions another woman in the CIA, Gina Bennett, who might also have been a model for the movie’s feminist figures. While Maureen Dowd presents Bennett in her article from 2012 as primarily a counterterrorism expert, Bennett was also a writer at the time of Dowd’s interview, having published in 2008 a book titled *National Security Mom: Why Going “Soft” Will Make America Strong*. Bennett is not a security mom in the vein of the politically and socially conservative Michelle Malkin, or the aggressive security feminists of film and print media. Instead, she sees herself as an advocate of what she calls

“soft power”; in contrast to military invasion, she claims a different version of counterterrorism that she has learned from being both a mom and a security expert. In *National Security Mom*, she presents herself as reconciling national and family security in ways that differentiate her from security moms such as Michelle Malkin or the Maya-like heroic security feminists in film and television.⁸⁰ If Malkin and Maya are belligerent and rely on violence and militarism to achieve their goals, their exceptionalism lies in their being able to accept violence and war and thus take on the task of the state. Bennett, however, seeks a soft power maternalism for protecting the security state, arguing that hard power may not be the best road to defeating terrorism. *National Security Mom* combines normative notions of motherhood (the security mom) and the superachieving counterterrorism woman (the security feminist) to domesticate the CIA. Through analogizing the work of the CIA and the work of parenting, Bennett securitizes motherhood and the family, depicting the mother/spy as exceptional citizen working to secure the nation through her maternal power and prowess.

Bennett’s authority and expertise come from having worked in the US State Department’s Bureau of Intelligence and Research. On her cover, Bennett alleges her book is based on twenty years of experience working for the CIA. Bennett’s expertise is stated in the claim that she was the main author of the now-declassified *Trends in Global Terrorism: Implications for the US* report from 2006, which warned that decentralized and diffuse groups of Muslim jihadists continued to be a threat to the United States and Europe even after many years of counterterrorist war.⁸¹ Her book is presented as sharing much of what she has learned about counterterrorism, which she suggests are lessons learned also from her experiences in parenting. The book’s website states that it offers “the basics of current terrorism trends and national security policymaking from a parent’s perspective.”⁸² In the book, Bennett eschews the kind of security feminist approach represented by Maya in *Zero Dark Thirty*, criticizing women who “try to out-tough-talk men to avoid being considered soft.”⁸³ She insists that “understanding the suffering of people is not being ‘soft’ on terrorism” but is instead “a critical step towards figuring out how to diminish the influence of terrorists.”⁸⁴ Bennett appeared on *The Oprah Winfrey Show* during a segment devoted to “superwomen,” and the CIA mentioned this media appearance on its website.⁸⁵

Like Malkin’s security mom, Bennett’s national security mom analogizes family and nation-state, claiming that governing a family is similar to governing a nation-state. In doing so, she places the heterosexual, middle-class, white family at the center of the US state and identifies its members

as normative citizens. Yet, it is clear that her normative claims are difficult to sustain, as Bennett's later divorce—mentioned in the interview of 2012 with Maureen Dowd—makes visible. Even as Bennett's belief that the world can be understood through good parenting could, on the one hand, be seen as more positive than the usual demonization of the Other, it infantilizes the world and its myriad peoples. Her comment to Maureen Dowd in 2012 that women make better counterterrorism experts because they can outthink their male colleagues is tempered by a claim in her book from 2008 that being a good mother and wife make her a good agent. Her family analogy flattens the pluralism and heterogeneity of the nation-state, and indeed, of the world, portraying multiple forms of difference as phases of growth to be outgrown in the making of a country or nation.

Bennett's folksy tone in *National Security Mom* is meant to resonate with a maternal audience interested in national security; counterinsurgency becomes akin to mothering in this bizarre juxtaposition. Chapters in the book include "Redefining National Security: A Parent's Perspective," "Scrapbooking is a Requirement," "What We Teach our Kids Is Good Advice for America," "If You Make the Mess, Clean it Up," "The Strength of a Nation Derives from the Integrity of the Home," and "The Hand that Rocks the Cradle is the Hand that Rules the World." Using homespun sayings to provide parenting and counterterrorism advice, Bennett suggests it is not military power but "values" taught at home that make "America strong and secure."⁸⁶ She believes there are similarities between parenting and counterterrorism. For instance, she argues, if intruders destroy a house, they cannot destroy a family because its values and relationship hold it together.⁸⁷ Cleaning a house becomes similar to cleaning up the mess in Iraq, and in both cases, the result may not be perfect. Although children may use different ways to clean up their rooms, working according to their personalities and inclinations, such a cleanup will not be perfect or long lasting.

The more serious message of the book is the rationale for endless war. Like parenting, the struggle for security must always continue. Bennett avers that it is not possible for counterterrorism work to remove all terrorist threats, and she advocates a maternal approach to global problems. She argues that the main question is what is tolerable and acceptable, rather than what can be completely cleaned up. Similarly, she cautions that terrorism cannot be eradicated and that there will always be terrorists, thus justifying a war without end. Because of this, she warns, it is better to learn how to live with some risk and threat, much as good parents teach their children to survive dangers. Knowing about threats is helpful, and understanding motivations, underlying

reasons, and the role of political actors can help, but complete security is not possible. Parenting and national security are aligned. The values of democracy, Bennett believes, will secure the United States. Like the struggle to maintain the American family, the struggle to maintain the security state as exceptional continues.⁸⁸ Bennett's security mom thus expresses the devotion to security visible in Malkin's conservative politics, but it is tempered by her experience as a counterterrorist security feminist.

After its release in 2008, the CIA reported that Bennett's book had been featured on the *Oprah Winfrey Show* during a tribute to "superwomen," revealing the book's credibility through a hugely popular television show that caters to many groups of American women.⁸⁹ Oprah presented the book to daytime, mostly female audiences, but the book also circulated among more specialized and scholarly audiences as well. In a presentation in March 2009 about the book at the Woodrow Wilson Center for Public Policy in Washington, DC, Bennett appeared intent on forging a security approach by which Americans could retain their global power through values, maternalism, and knowledge.⁹⁰ She presented herself as able to see the flaws of American policies just as a mother might see the flaws of her child, while still being a good parent: "I prefer to accept that American policies have had bad results in some places rather than sticking my head in the sand. I do not believe a war of attrition can defeat terrorism; I believe it demonstrates more character to allow people whose beliefs you reject have their say; it takes more integrity to admit you've made mistakes; and it takes far more courage to refuse to change in the face of a threat. I'm a mother and that is the strength I know." In this presentation, as in her book, Bennett depicts terrorism as a problem that can be managed by mothers, because they understand the world in the same way they understand their children. Mothers all are different, according to Bennett, and have different motivations, as do children. In cautioning that all terrorism cannot be prevented, Bennett constructs herself as the proxy of the security state that promises only partial security, working in the realm of culture and information, rather than with "harder" tools. At the same time, she also presents herself as an entrepreneur in the counterterrorism business, busily engaged in surveillance and security as projects of pedagogy for all. This produces a world in which enemies of the United States proliferate, and "American" values become the purview of the heteronormative family. While Bennett, the national security mom, might disagree with Malkin, the security mom, and Maya, the security feminist, over waging war as an effective tool of counterterrorism, like Malkin, Bennett upholds the normative heterosexual, white American family as the locus of Ameri-

can exceptionalism—even as this family cannot be sustained because of the demands of war. This exceptionalism and the insecure yet normative family are the founding assumptions of her work, such that her care and sympathy toward non-American Others stem from her role of global parent and global police. This is a soft power approach to the endless war on terror, one more akin to Greg Mortenson than to Michelle Malkin.

What is visible in the construction of all three of these exceptional citizens—the security mom, the security feminist, and the national security mom—is that counterterrorism and the security state cannot ensure complete security of the normative family and nation. Gender impacts how sovereign these subjects can be. In the context of an advanced neoliberalism that engenders protests and ruptures, these contradictions become visible in the media narratives I have described. Consequently, security moms and security feminists remain tragic, or afraid to be taken seriously. What results is the counterterrorism expert trying to hold her roles as wife, mother, Elastigirl, and spy, or the lonely Maya weeping as she returns to the United States. The white-identified American woman claims to save the world or to have better intelligence, even as wars seem unending and unwinnable. What is apparent in the twenty-first-century United States, then, is the limits of security, even for those exceptional subjects who securitize the family at the expense of welfare and social security.

5. Digital Natives

Threats, Technologies, Markets

On her website *Digital Security Mom*, Bernadette Murray writes that she created the site “to empower parents with the ability to protect their families online.”¹ She relates that she began the site when she found photographs of her son posted on Facebook, apparently without his permission. As an information technology project manager, she believes that sharing her experience and expertise can help other parents protect their children’s privacy and security. Murray joins many parents who, with the advent of digital and social media, have become concerned about their children’s online safety. These safety concerns reveal the imperative for security moms to protect their children in the face of new media technologies as well as the impossibility of security in a context where multiple entities benefit from producing insecurity. Insecurity has a political economy, one that is considered an economy of information, but that information comes to have several forms: as *intelligence*

for the security state, as a *commodity* for Internet and media companies to collect and sell, and as *personal information* for families to ensure the security of children.

Murray's concerns and hopes are reflected in scholarly research on children's online safety as well as in popular advice for parents, which have appeared in numerous books, articles, and websites. These texts reflect a powerful rhetoric of moral panic about sexuality and safety on the Internet, which is allied with broader concerns about state surveillance resulting from fears about terrorism and the war on terror. Much of this insecurity is generated by the widespread belief, shared by the public as well as technology and parenting experts, that Internet and communication technologies have created a generational divide between children who think and behave differently from their parents because they have grown up in the digital age.

This chapter is concerned with the production and consumption of the idea of the "digital native," the notion of children in the digital age being different from their parents, and the ways that this notion of generational difference is integrated into the economy and the regulation of information. The figure of the digital native reveals the relationship among digital communication technologies, proper parenting, the normative white, heterosexual American family, and the making of exceptional citizens in the context of the security state. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, children became, as Caren Kaplan, Erik Loyer, and Ezra Clayton Daniels have revealed, the "precision targets" of these technologies.² Gary Marx and Valerie Steeves suggest that to both complement and counter such precision targeting, parenting came to include surveillance.³ This chapter focuses on the construction of the child as the instrument and target of security state surveillance, specifically the child as the digital native. I argue that the construction of the digital native as an exceptional security state citizen is of critical concern to a number of institutions and individuals. These include experts who provide parenting advice about media use, state agencies that create laws protecting children and corporations while also using corporations to surveil customers, and corporations that participate in the political economy of insecurity to gather personal information to sell to other businesses. All of these entities create the American digital native as an exceptional citizen: a white, "native" and middle-class consumer and informant, who is both feared and celebrated as the subject needed to save the security state, but also a subject in need of protection from their own dangerous desires.

As Marx and Steeves point out, parents are now expected to surveil; the American family is securitized in the twenty-first century as a project of

surveillance, connecting militarism to family and gender. This securitization reveals itself in both the figure of the digital security mom and the popular belief in a “digital divide” between children and parents. Parenting and education experts suggest that though parents are insecure about their knowledge of new technology compared to their children, they must both enable children to work and play on the Internet while also protecting them from its dangers. How to nurture children—and *which* children is the issue here—to become “exceptional citizens” of the neoliberal security state becomes the project of proper parenting. At the same time as the Internet is viewed as essential to education and to the future,⁴ panics arise about the safety and protection of the child. This concern for children’s online safety has produced state and familial insecurities that I trace in this chapter.

In chapter 4, I suggested that motherhood has become an object of control and a technology of the security state. The confluence of antiterrorism practices, existing social divisions, emerging social media, economic inequality, and wars in the Middle East all contributed to the making of the insecure security mom. In the United States, motherhood not only governmentalizes the security state but also articulates and recuperates its anxious desires for security and surveillance. The concern around surveillance is critical to creating what is seen as the private sphere of the normative, white, liberal family, even as notions of privacy have been altered in relation to the long history of race, class, and sexuality, the advent of state/corporate surveillance and data collection, and the needs and desires of consumers. In the twenty-first century, the ruptures of the liberal state are also more visible, as the security state became the dominant state form in the United States. The confluence of militarism and neoliberalism altered notions of the private and public sphere such that the critique of the liberal idea of separation between public and private, made by feminists and critical race studies scholars,⁵ became recuperated through decades of neoliberal policies as an outmoded liberal ideal. It, then, was incorporated across a range of political projects, both progressive and conservative. The insecurities resulting from such changes were often represented in popular media as a consequence of the Internet and new media, rather than to a host of other economic or political causes. These fears produced a new invented past for the white heterosexual American family, a past in which American children roamed freely and safely across urban and rural spaces. This imagined past was reserved for the white family, since the period of post-Cold War prosperity benefited white families more than those who were engaged in struggles for civil rights or whose lives were circumscribed by the violence of the state. This imagined past was con-

trasted to a fearful present, though forgotten was how such a past was only possible for white and middle-class Americans—and perhaps only for some decades after the Cold War since, by the 1970s, inequality had begun to rise.⁶

The pervasive twenty-first-century technologization of surveillance enabled by Internet economies, advanced neoliberalism, and empire created fears around security and insecurity that has helped construct what is seen as proper American parenting and the normative American child. As economic and social insecurity became endemic through neoliberal state policies and practices, making boundaries visibly contingent, flexible, and fuzzy, the struggles to remain liberal and to separate the public from the private, the family from the state, and the corporation from the state became more difficult. How to keep this family secure in the terms of normative, neoliberal citizenship became a difficult question.⁷ The emergence of Internet and new media came to be seen as the cause of these anxieties, in ways that we recognize from the history of technology, when every new technology receives blame for sociopolitical changes and social anxieties.

While every new technology has produced these fears, Internet and media technologies instrumentalized them, especially regarding the safety of children, in order to sell more technology products and to gather consumer information. By the end of the twentieth century, and the emergence of what came to be called the “information society,” Internet companies were gathering data from millions of customers, as were governments. Moreover, with the advent of closed circuit televisions (CCTVs) and webcams, anyone could carry out surveillance. Gary Marx called this new form of social life “surveillance society,”⁸ characterized by the ways that digital information could be gathered by anyone able to purchase the tools. Such tools became easily available for all kinds of projects that enabled discrimination based on social ideologies and biases.⁹ Surveillance became part of everyday activities in places such as North America, where a vast array of tools for monitoring children, neighbors, friends, intimate partners, consumers, citizens, and noncitizens proliferated, putting into crisis older notions of privacy and the idea of the private sphere. The digital surveillance regime of the US government became powerful into the new century, and it gathered information from digital media companies, making it even more difficult for any individual to control their information.

Such surveillance and data gathering and selling were not unopposed. Some argued that if corporations gathered data on ordinary people, these people should have access and knowledge about what was collected.¹⁰ The leaks of National Security Agency (NSA) data gathering by Edward Snowden

showed that all citizens, and not just Muslim Americans or nonwhites, were being surveilled by the state in tandem with telecommunication companies. Digital technology surveillance tools suggested the impossibilities of and desires for security, leading to a now constant search for better and more effective security products. The desires for the privacy of the American family, while aligned with the security state, also came into conflict with the state and technology companies seeking to extract private and personal information from consumers. In addition, the production of the “American family” as white, heteronormative, and middle class—despite all demographic evidence to the contrary—continued apace with racialized language of dangers from new media technologies. Many whites expressed anxieties over online dangers, echoing other white fears about immigrants and nonwhites as dangerous and foreign others infiltrating the white home and nation. Consequently, in the first few decades of the twenty-first century, how to remain “exceptional” as a citizen and nation, and how to create such citizens within the American family, became struggles against changing inequalities and new populations, as well as racial/imperial and geopolitical fears.

Securitizing the Family, Racialized Surveillance, and the War on Terror

Global concepts of privacy have shifted considerably in recent decades as states now have the capacity and desire to use digital technologies to surveil their populations in new ways. Governments increasingly desire this because the Westphalian state is now threatened by all sorts of insurrections, particularly what is now called “terrorism.” In their desire for control and information, nation-state governments construct data profiles of figures of threat and danger from the masses of digital footprints gathered by corporations.¹¹ Transnational collaborations in the pervasive hunt for “terrorists” have enabled states to amass authoritarian power over many groups across the globe; for example, Muslims along with many brown and black Others, are being criminalized across Europe and North America, racialized in ways that recall the targeting of communities within American imperial history. Other groups become targets as well: Kurds in Turkey, Christians and Muslims in India, Shi’a Muslims in the UAE, and political dissidents everywhere. The long colonial history of racialized criminalization in Europe and North America endures in the digital age, where struggles over data privacy and data collection now define the reach of the security state. Even the advent of “predictive analytics,” in which some groups are profiled as having the capac-

ity and intent to commit criminal acts, relies on racial and colonial logics.¹² The predictive analytics used in making the profile of a putative criminal or terrorist is based on data collecting and constructing—itsself an ideological activity—and on mining for correlation rather than causation, so that the profile itself is presumed to imply intent.¹³ For black youth this profile, gained through policing that now includes mining social media, has led to further surveillance and incarceration. The New York Police Department (NYPD), for instance, has already tried to incarcerate one African American youth on conspiracy charges by looking at online social networks such as Facebook.¹⁴

The historical effects of racial, colonial, and Orientalist stereotypes have long been used to suggest that some groups are more dangerous than others. Predictive analytics have primarily relied on ideologies of group identity rather than individual behavior to judge criminal intent, as suggested by the widespread net cast on immigrant communities after 9/11.¹⁵ The security state and corporations intent on creating consumers and markets collaborate to gather information that constructs, justifies, and enables such analytics.¹⁶ In 2002, the FBI as well as the New York City Police began to carry out surveillance on Muslim mosques and neighborhoods. Some of this surveillance involved using demographic information to “map” neighborhoods and carry out video surveillance and tracking of individuals, as well as using digital technologies to gather information and to monitor activities of individuals. It also included recruiting community members who were asked to spy on friends and family and to surf websites connected with their networks in order to report their findings to the FBI.¹⁷ In carrying out such surveillance on their own communities, these informants were offered the difficult choice of supporting the security state and becoming exceptional citizens who further the work of empire and capital, or being seen as aliens and threats to the nation. Yet, for many Muslim Americans, such choices are foreclosed; their religion and race mean that they cannot become exceptional citizens, but instead are stigmatized within communities and also by the police who seek their help. Many carry out this work to protect themselves or to aspire to good citizenship, but this aspiration is difficult to fulfill.

If surveillance includes the work of antiterrorism, as the FBI and other police claim, it is also the case that media and Internet corporations gather information about consumers. With the leaks about government surveillance by Edward Snowden, struggles between such corporations and the government over the control and disclosure of US citizens’ personal data show the extent to which such data is both commodity and intelligence. It is a commodity when Internet and media corporations can gather and sell

consumer information to enable the production, advertising, and marketing of consumer goods.¹⁸ It is intelligence when it is gathered and used by governments and the security state. Such surveillance, which is extensive and encompasses many groups, creates widespread concerns about privacy and the desire to control personal information.¹⁹

When parents participate in the task of monitoring their children, they are also sharing information about these children with the technology industry, thereby naturalizing the family as the agent and product of surveillance. With technology tools, parents believe they can keep their children safe by surveilling their online and offline movements; thus, governmentalized surveillance and security are not just produced through the idea of mothering and parenting, but also through a mediated rearticulation of family relations *as* relations of surveillance. In this framework, the normative family is one that surveils children and wherein children surveil each other, while the dysfunctional family is one unable or unwilling to surveil.²⁰ If constant monitoring of children is the norm, those who could not or would not carry out such monitoring—like those families who, based on class or race, have to work several jobs and do not have the time or resources to monitor—can then be seen as dysfunctional. In this securitization of the “private” family sphere, middle-class children are constructed as digital natives, characterized by their proficiency with new technology and their purported inability to distinguish between life online and offline, as well as their constant connectivity. The concept of the digital native, of course, relegates to the margins all those who are unable to afford the new gadgets or the connectivities that they require.

Surveillance by nonwhites, noncitizens,²¹ or Muslim youth often leads to terrorism charges, while surveillance of these groups by whites, citizens, and Christians flourish—as the latter are emboldened by the state’s injunction “if you see something, say something.” Moral panics about the dangers of the Internet are linked to the capabilities of digital technologies to transform social relations, especially relations between parents and children when parents feel that children are more knowledgeable about the Internet and computer hardware. At the same time, these technologies construct the normative family as one that uses technology to protect children from new dangers, new identities, and new modes of profit making.²² While national security mom Gina Bennett analogizes parenting and counterterrorism (as I argue in chapter 4), the digital security mom suggests that parents must use surveillance technology products to guide children along productive paths to enhance their education via Internet access and to keep them from

becoming either perpetrators of violence or victims of cyberbullying and sexual predators. Rather than fighting Internet surveillance, both the state and individual families encourage regulating it, though such regulation has been weak in controlling corporations and the state.²³ In sum, the state's interest in surveillance and in gathering information on citizens and Others have trumped all other interests, including those of individuals. As neoliberalism became naturalized, individuals have assumed the work of surveillance as well as the blame for insecurity, if it failed as all such products do.

As Internet technologies flourished in the last decades of the twentieth century, numerous companies have emerged to sell surveillance and security software and hardware. Gary Marx and Valerie Steeves reveal that surveillance and “related communication are offered as tools of responsible parenting and convenience” and that tracking—“online and offline—is presented as an essential part of effective and loving parenting” as well as effective family relations.²⁴ Not only are middle-class children surveilled by innumerable technologies from conception on, with fetal and baby monitoring taken for granted as responsible parenting, but gadgets and toys that encourage spying and sharing personal information also teach them to surveil themselves and others.²⁵ National security mom Gina Bennett (whom I discuss in chapter 4) participated in the project of governmentalizing security, enlisting children in the project, so that they could grow up wanting to be spies and counterterrorism experts.²⁶ In this context, parenting includes constant surveillance, and those parents who cannot or will not maintain constant surveillance over their children are now blamed for their poor parenting. Thus, those parents—especially those not white and middle class, who work at multiple jobs, or who cannot access surveillance technology—are constructed as delinquent.

It is not that technology is responsible for these renewed moral panics, or even for the surveillance and securitization that I discuss in this chapter. Gill Valentine and Sarah Holloway suggest that properties of technology are “not inherent but emerge in practice.”²⁷ I would argue that these properties also are part of the design. Technology is shaped by the needs and desires of capital and, in the case of the Internet and with the advent of email, by military research.²⁸ Torin Monahan suggests that “technologies shape social practices in non-neutral ways . . . encouraging certain uses or interactions and discouraging others” while enabling social and historical inequalities.²⁹ New technologies recuperate old fears and shift human relations precisely because corporations and people endow technologies with specific properties. Twenty-first-century surveillance responsibilities emerge

from the properties attributed to new technologies as well as from political, social, and economic contexts and histories of gender, sexuality, empire, and capitalism.

It is not just the state that benefits from the insecurity and surveillance of the family. Companies that collect and commodify personal data also benefit. These companies constitute the other “private” entities (along with the family and individual citizens) charged with being exceptional citizens, by sharing surveillance and information with the state. In the contexts of the security state, new media, and concerns over American empire, sovereignty has become split between three sometimes competing realms: the family, the security state, and corporations. Concerned with safety and privacy, the US Congress created laws regulating the gathering of information by businesses, though in ways that were weak and often ineffectual. Most important, collaborations between states and corporations for surveillance purposes resulted in flexible and fuzzy boundaries between what is public and what is private. Furthermore, the heterogeneity of the security state has meant that some state agencies allow self-regulation and some promise weak regulation, while others collaborate with businesses to surveil their citizens. The citizen is figured in all of these contexts as both consumer and informant. Corporate sovereignty comes into tension with individual and family sovereignty, a struggle between two realms of private power that the state regulates by according certain corporations, individuals, and families their liberal rights while denying them to others.

Not all children have benefited from state protections. While black and brown youth continue to be seen as criminal threats to community and state because of their race, the concerns regarding children and new media focus on online safety and the necessity for education, thus endowing these children (and particularly middle-class and upper-class ones) with a futurity denied to children of color left to the carceral state. While the surveillance of the white, middle-class child is articulated through the need for protection from outsiders, “aliens,” and strangers, as well as from the harmful effects of pornography available in visual media, there is also a pervasive fear that children themselves are dangerous.³⁰ One reason given is because they are assumed to be easily corrupted by external forces outside the home and the heteronormative family, as digital security mom Bernadette Murray reveals. Children are seen as unable to understand why such privacy is important.³¹ Some of these attitudes may be attributed to a long history of childrearing in the West based on Christian ideas of original sin.³² The fear of children’s sexuality has been a driving force in much of Western social and cultural

politics.³³ The history of every new technology reveals these fears, especially with regard to fears of girls' sexuality.³⁴ While some parents fear new technologies would bring new dangerous influences into the home, others view these as enabling children's latent dangerous tendencies. Importantly, what lurks in this familial discourse is the fear that children are not what parents believe them to be. These coconstituting fears, antagonisms, and desires for protection are part of the war that was waged within the rapidly changing "American family," a war with religious, political, and topical overtones referencing Christian, imperial, and domestic politics—which include the "war on crime," the "war on drugs," and the "war on terror."

The Digital Native

The construction of the child as a digital native brings histories of race, gender, and empire into the advanced neoliberalism of the twenty-first century, as ideas of racial and gendered differences are used to claim that public education is inadequate and needs technology experts as well as private technologies to improve it. Education and technology expert Marc Prensky coined the term "digital natives" in 2001 to name what he saw as differences between the generation growing up with new technologies and older generations whom he called "digital immigrants."³⁵ In his widely read and circulated article "Digital Natives, Digital Immigrants," Prensky argues that students in the Internet age "think and process information fundamentally differently from their predecessors" and that growing up with digital technologies has caused their brains to develop differently.³⁶ According to Prensky, "our students' brains have physically changed" from those of previous generations. Although he partially qualifies this declaration, questioning "whether or not this is literally true," he goes on undeterred to assert that "we can say with certainty that their thinking patterns have changed."³⁷ In another article titled "Do They Really *Think* Differently?" Prensky claims that evidence from neurobiology and psychology bolsters his claim that because all brains are malleable, children's brains must have changed under the impact of computers.³⁸ This unproven connection then becomes the basis of his expertise and his ability to sell educational technology products.

He asserts assumptions about generational differences while making technologically determinist claims, many of which have been disproved by researchers,³⁹ but what is noteworthy about Prensky is how his description of the culture of new technologies and media expressed essentialist notions of gender, race, and migration. For Prensky, the "native" is the child of the

Internet, a normative figure who is gendered male, while the immigrant is the older, analog subject living in the historical past as well as in another anachronistic country. The foreignness and otherness of the digital immigrant—that she is not a citizen, much less an exceptional citizen—are clear. Prensky states that such immigrants need to assimilate into the new world, and their older knowledges are of little use for this new generation of “natives.” In these two articles, Prensky argues that the generation coming of age with computers is fundamentally different in the ways their brains learn and process information. Consequently, they need different educational products, such as video games and other new teaching methods. He advocates not only advice and consulting for schools, parents, and educators but also new educational products that capitalize on these ideas of newness and brain malleability.

In using these metaphors, and relying on notions of generational difference, Prensky ignores the fact that many of these technologies were made and invented by actual immigrants who have contributed to the making of Silicon Valley, for instance. Moreover, his claims regarding Internet usage based on generational difference homogenize and Americanize the existing diversity of national and global users and producers. In the process, the argument simplifies terms such as “native” and “immigrant” as it constructs an exceptional citizen supposedly born of new technology. Prensky ignores racial, class, and gender differences within generations, and uses a racially charged language of nativism that erases American history of Native Americans as natives and white European Americans as immigrants. By ignoring these specificities, Prensky makes American contexts into universal ones and the white, male, middle-class, computer-owning, and video-game-playing American child into the normative citizen.

In using the language of native versus immigrant, Prensky calls upon a number of racialized assumptions about migration and belonging that emerge from the history of US racial formations. First of all, he suggests that immigrants are neither pedagogically adept nor intelligible, because of their strange accents and speaking styles. For example, he states that in schools, “Digital Immigrant instructors, who speak an outdated language . . . are struggling to teach a population that speaks an entirely new language.”⁴⁰ To this generation, school “feels pretty much as if we’ve brought in a population of heavily accented, unintelligible foreigners to lecture them,” such that students “often can’t understand what the immigrants are saying.”⁴¹ Prensky’s claim draws on a long history of racism against immigrants, particularly Asians, who are often discriminated against for their accents. Jane Hill has argued that such statements produce a “white public space,”⁴² through moni-

toring the speech of immigrants; Prensky certainly whitens Internet technology production and consumption. Legal scholar Mari Matsuda has argued that such “accent discrimination” hides a host of other forms of discrimination based on race and that injunctions to enforce American accents are a form of domination used particularly against Asians.⁴³ Within this US racial history, Asians and Asian Americans are viewed as always foreigners, thus having precarious links to national belonging and citizenship.⁴⁴ Prensky’s formulation expels Asian Americans from American belonging and from the possibility of becoming exceptional citizens.

It is not simply that these digital immigrants are accented foreigners that Prensky finds to be a problem but also that, according to him, they lack the skills needed to be part of the workforce of the future. While digital natives receive information fast, and can “parallel process and multi-task,” he argues, “digital immigrants typically have little appreciation for these new skills that the Natives have acquired and perfected through years of interaction and practice.” Digital natives, he claims, have “little patience for lectures, step-by-step logic, and ‘tell-test’ instruction.”⁴⁵ The digital immigrants thus have to change—to move forward—because “it is highly unlikely the digital natives will go backwards.”⁴⁶ That Prensky is implying many non-English-speaking immigrants as the context for this argument—particularly Asians, Africans, Latinos, and Middle Easterners—is clear not simply in this language of migration to America as moving forward in time and space, but also when he argues that digital immigrants can learn the new language from their children, echoing the racialized assumption that immigrant children are more adept at learning English than their parents. It is not surprising then that Prensky goes on to argue that “smart adult immigrants accept that they don’t know about their new world and take advantage of their kids to help them learn and integrate. Not-so-smart (or not-so-flexible) immigrants spend most of their time grouching about how good things were in the ‘old country.’”⁴⁷ For Prensky, the immigrant can be “smart” only when she realizes her ignorance about the “new world” and valorizes life in the United States over that of the country from which she emigrated.

While Prensky’s digital native is constructed as a nonimmigrant American, this figure is also constructed as male. His criticism of school teachers becomes gendered when taking into account the fact that a majority of K–12 teachers are women. Prensky reveals this assumption in an example of one way in which the educational software his company offers is more relevant to this new generation. He mentions that when some professors came to his company with a new computer-aided design to be used by engineers, they

were faced with resistance from users. Prensky and his marketers had the “brilliant idea” to make the software into a first-person shooter game because the users of the CAD software were “almost exclusively male engineers between 20 and 30.”⁴⁸ This game, called “The Monkey Wrench,” Prensky recalls, became “phenomenally successful” among digital natives, such as “engineering students around the world.” Once again, by referring to a group gendered in a particular way, in this case engineering students as males who would be attracted to a shooter game, Prensky suggests that these digital natives are male even as he pushes his generational argument to suggest that these professors behave like immigrants. Prensky also insinuates that even the “professors” found the game difficult, while digital natives had no problems with it, saying that though it was “easy for my digital native staff to invent it (the game), it was more difficult to apply for use by professors, though eventually they were able to have the ‘mind-shift’ needed to use it.”⁴⁹ Although Prensky does not explicitly use the phrase “digital immigrants” to describe these professors as he does with the K–12 teachers, he does imply that even these—presumably male professors—are unable to understand the digital natives who are comfortable with shooter games.

While professors are shown as close to being digital immigrants, Prensky’s greatest scorn is for the K–12 teachers, whom he does see as digital immigrants: “It’s just dumb (and lazy) of educators—not to mention ineffective—to presume that (despite their traditions) the digital immigrant way is the only way to teach,” he states, concluding that “if the digital immigrant educators really want to reach digital natives—i.e., all their students—they will have to change. It’s high time for them to stop their grouching, and as the Nike motto of the digital native generation says, ‘Just do it.’”⁵⁰ Here, Prensky’s target is not only the racialized and gendered figure of the teacher who has an unintelligible accent, but also the teacher he considers “lazy,” “dumb,” unwilling to change, “grouching,” following “traditions,” and thus unsuccessful at teaching. According to Prensky, these teachers need to follow the Nike motto, “just do it.” He excoriates “immigrant educators” for not being more corporate and consumerist. Students and teachers should thus become consumers, following advertising slogans in their classrooms and learning to be market driven. Since Prensky is also in the business of selling technology to educators, his use of corporate slogans reveals attempts to make the classroom more neoliberal, with teachers and children becoming more entrepreneurial.

Prensky’s descriptions of teachers are part of a broader attack on education and teachers (and their unions) that is led by technology companies and

educational NGOs. Many leaders of these companies and NGOs claim that public schools and teachers are inefficient and have failed, that new technologies can provide better education, and that technology companies better understand effective teaching and learning. Such technology companies and technology NGOs have done much to undermine existing school systems through representations of teachers as incompetent and lazy, and schools as not accountable or efficient.⁵¹ These attacks are gendered in particular ways, as the teaching profession is predominantly female. As such, attacks on teachers by so-called experts such as Prensky are implicitly condemning digital immigrants as feminized and failed neoliberal subjects. In contrast, the masculine digital native is understood as more successful and efficient. These neoliberal attacks on teaching have changed attitudes toward public school teachers, who now are constantly monitored and surveilled, are hired and fired more frequently, and have less independence to develop new pedagogies in the classroom. Classroom audits and tracking metrics have become the norm, and even the Obama administration made neoliberal arguments about education through its policies on testing and on education being necessary for jobs, ignoring how important education might be for a host of other creative careers as well as for learning and citizenship. Consequently, Prensky seems to sell his educational products and services—through his company Games2Train—by attacking teachers with a racialized and gendered language of educational technology expertise and citizenship. In using the logic of technology as the secret to better education, and digital games as teaching tools, he offers educational products that promise to be more effective in the classroom. By retraining digital immigrants to be better teachers, his goal is to turn digital natives into exceptional citizens.

Digital Security Mom: Educating the Digital Immigrant

For technology industry producers, the digital native is an exceptional neoliberal citizen (hence also entrepreneurial and productive), and the pedagogy required for his learning requires more and better technology products. Because Prensky's digital immigrant is ignorant, she—as teacher and as parent—is also a target for educational technology products. Through these products, Prensky suggests, she can become a proper pedagogue. In constructing the digital native as a child, Prensky suggests that the child is more knowledgeable than “immigrant” parents and teachers. Such an implication has produced its own insecurities and moral panics, especially for parents. Teaching parents to overcome their ignorance has become a lucrative

industry, with a variety of experts, how-to books, magazines, websites, and products promising better parenting through better social media and digital knowledge.

By the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, these parenting fears produced the aforementioned digital security mom Bernadette Murray, whose concern for her son led to a blog offering her expertise about parenting digital natives. Much of her advice focuses on how to use “parental control” software, providing “digital immigrant” parents with basic information about computers, cell phones, and their security features. She also recommends particular security products. Along with information about Facebook scams, how to limit screen time, and how to address Internet bullying, her blog features requests she has received to speak at schools and offers to try out or recommend new software. In her pedagogy directed at parents, Murray reiterates Prensky’s concept of a dangerous digital divide between children and parents. That these security concerns point to divergent futures for different populations is made visible in Murray’s use of terms such as “curfew,” her warnings about undesirable “infiltration” into the home, and her argument that “playing outside” is a desirable alternative to time spent online. These recommendations ignore the context of many students of color who have curfews (implicit or explicit, across many cities) or students who are immigrants, often seen as threats to the nation, and for whom it is too dangerous to play outside.

In a September 11, 2013, post, Murray reports on a new app that puts a child’s phone in “curfew mode,” preventing Internet access. As Murray reports, not long after the Internet connection on her son’s phone was activated, the “‘time wasters’ began infiltrating the home,” meaning that her son was not just using his phone to stay connected to her and complete schoolwork, but also using it to access other websites. She states:

I soon realized it was far more difficult[:] taking away the phone also meant taking away the ability to communicate with my son and track his whereabouts via Find my iPhone.

Now I use AppCertain to put his phone in “curfew mode” whenever I need a little parental help encouraging the use of other non-phone activities like homework, playing outside, doing chores, and the like.⁵²

Murray’s post reveals the normative idea that a parent, a mother in particular, must make sure her child is able to use the Internet for education and safety; surveillance is productive because it enables homework or chores. She must know the whereabouts of her son at every moment and needs to circumvent

any chance of her child escaping this surveillance. If her child wants to remove his connection to his mother, this desire is viewed as a danger, though she absolves her child from blame. Murray suggests that it is not her child who is responsible for this resistance but outside “time wasters” who are “infiltrating” the home. Proper parenting means helping her child eliminate any online activity that is not about schoolwork or family work. Voicing nostalgia for the practice of “playing outside,” Murray shows how much she, as a parent, is both a digital native and a digital immigrant. Murray, the mother, must step in like the state to enforce an online “curfew” for her son if he does not agree to her surveillance or answer the phone when his mother calls. Murray does not tell us much about the companies that created or marketed the AppCertain product, whether it is reputable or not, or if there are any problems with the product itself.⁵³

On her website, Murray does not mention the regular curfews for youth of color enforced in some US cities. Nor does she mention the economic insecurity, food insecurity, and deportations that separate families and prevent children from “playing outside.” Nor is she concerned with preventing the US government from surveilling families in the war on terror, or keeping young African American children safe from violent police, gun-toting citizens, and vigilantes policing the nation. Murray includes no reviews of apps for parents of these children and few ways to produce security or privacy for low-income or nonwhite children, let alone digital maps helping them find safety. “Time wasters” are the threat here, as they take white, middle-class children away from the development of their bodies and minds toward exceptional neoliberal citizenship. The threat is from outside elements, foreclosing any recognition of children’s agency by turning them into victims. Yet, this child is to be feared, as he could be an activist, a protestor, a hacker, or plotting violence;⁵⁴ Murray’s child cannot be trusted to be left alone online and needs his parents to be always on the alert.

Murray’s recommendations for security technology products are designed to empower parents to better surveil their children. Surveillance apps to monitor children keep alive the belief that technology will solve all problems, that technological improvements will continue to provide greater security, and also, paradoxically, that parents have to be constantly on alert in surveilling their children because the technology cannot work by itself. Proper surveillance by parents will turn the digital native into the exceptional citizen, who will use the capacities of the Internet for the security of the family and the state rather than for threatening this security.⁵⁵ On her digital security mom website, Murray constructs the child as the digital native who is an exceptional

citizen but may also be the Other; anyone designated a native might be an intimate insider as well as a threat, and so must be kept protected from her own desires as much as from external threats.

Digital Natives and Gendered Dangers

There is a large popular literature about protecting children, especially girls, from online dangers.⁵⁶ Many fears also concern children's access to each other beyond parental control, so that interactions between teens, for example, are now more securitized with various sorts of tracking and monitoring devices. "Parental control" is a term that refers both to the Internet-filtering software that comes installed on many computers, as well as to a parenting style derived from security concerns (such as those exhibited by the security moms I examined in chapter 4). Although researchers have debunked popular beliefs regarding online dangers as common to a history of new and old media,⁵⁷ the insecurities and anxieties raised by digital technologies have created new parenting projects.

Some researchers suggest that the panic over outside threats is partly the result of American beliefs that the Internet is too transnational, diverse, and large; thus, they have little control over it or ability to understand it.⁵⁸ Others, such as Prensky, argue that because digital technology has created digital "natives," who have more advanced knowledge of the technology than do their parents, it has created a reversal of parent-child roles that make some parents very fearful.⁵⁹ This argument relies on some of the same generational logics expressed by Prensky. Given the remarkable variances in dangers to youth of different communities, it is notable that much of the popular anxiety over Internet dangers does not concern the safety or security of youths of color, who are most in danger of being targets of violence. Few books or websites focus on Internet dangers for African American children, for instance.⁶⁰ Rather, much of the focus is on a child undisturbed by racial violence, whose description represents middle-class, white, male children as digital natives in need of protection.

When it comes to girls, however, it is mostly in relation to sexuality that these online dangers are articulated, though, even here, class differences matter. For instance, while the Internet may allow many parents under Megan's Law to identify where "sexual offenders" reside, and thus presumably to move away from those areas, it offers few options for those not financially able to relocate. Similar to older anxieties over TV, radio, and other communication technologies, anxieties over new media reflect a fear of

strangers with regard to sexual assaults, “sexting,” online stalking, sharing of “private” information (such as addresses and phone numbers), and bullying. Media experts warn parents about sexual predators lurking on websites and luring girls to meet them outside the home.⁶¹ Parents are warned not to let their children give away personal information online or identify themselves in ways that might lead these predators to them. Few media experts warn of the threats to children from police or vigilantes, even though children of color are routinely securitized as carceral subjects both online and off.⁶²

In response to these insecurities, technology companies have marketed additional parental control tools for cell phone as well as computer users. Some of these technologies are direct transfers of military technologies.⁶³ Others are the result of software professionals and developers moving from government surveillance jobs to the private sector.⁶⁴ Such software enables parents to control their children,⁶⁵ as I have argued here; it also intensifies unequal gendered relationships within the heteronormative family that are already hierarchically organized by gender and differentiated by race.⁶⁶ Research suggests that girls are dealt with more authoritatively than boys, and teenagers are given more freedom than younger children.⁶⁷ The language of sexual dangers is significant in creating such gendered and sexualized inequalities.⁶⁸ Yet these dangers are often overblown. One set of researchers discovered that about 15 percent of students in the study were involved in behaviors that they called “risky,” such as sharing information with strangers or sexting. However, this group of students had other risk factors,⁶⁹ so it was not the technology that was responsible for endangering these children. Another study found that those with authoritarian parenting styles used the filtering software the most, and focused on restricting access for younger teens rather than older ones.⁷⁰

The marketing of parental surveillance software replicates the digital native/digital immigrant generational and racial divide by suggesting, first, that mothers and parents lack the knowledge of technology necessary to fully control and surveil, and second, that children—particularly boys—know more than parents when it comes to computers. Because of this, such software marketing has pitted parents against children: “we” parents against “them” children. For instance, in 2001, F-Secure, a security software company, addressed parents/consumers by stating in their advertisement that “today’s youngsters” are “the first generation of digital natives,” and though they may understand the Internet better than their parents, “we cannot remain passive observers.” Thus, although the Internet is a “magic playground . . . just a couple of clicks away the Internet is also pornography, child exploitation, gambling,

hate messages, bomb-making, and extreme violence.” F-Secure warns parents, “we really need to know what they are doing online.” The company assumes parents are ignorant about Internet usage, telling them what instant-messaging acronyms mean and emphasizing that children live in a separate world and speak a separate language.⁷¹ In this framing, children are at once both natives and unknown others, to be nurtured but also to be feared.

The production of fear in the context of endless violence sells these products. A survey done in 2010 by Care.com, a company providing caregivers to families, stated that “nearly one in three (30%) parents of children 12–17 years old fear bullying and cyberbullying over kidnapping, domestic terrorism, car accidents, suicide, or any other incident.”⁷² While the editorial suggests that good parents protect their children from these dangers, and offers advice for doing so, it deliberately leaves out terrorism or police as a lesser fear too; and domestic terrorism, often associated with white males, is not as feared as cyberbullying. Relatedly, in 2012, the company Verify Anybody launched a Facebook application, “Friend Verifier,” that claimed to be able to check out Facebook “friends” to see if they have criminal or sexual offender histories.⁷³ Many parents are concerned about their children’s “risky behavior” on the Internet, especially regarding sexual predators and online strangers.⁷⁴ One study revealed that about 30 percent of parents are present while their child is on the web, while others relied on parental control software; more than half looked at their children’s search histories.⁷⁵ These studies did not take race or class into account. Although it is not clear if the surveyed parents’ responses aligned with their practices, marketing assumes that parents believe this surveillance is necessary.

The proliferation of parental surveillance software and hardware reflects fears about the future of the heteronormative American family. *Sky Mall*, a catalogue found in the seat pockets of many US airplanes through 2015, recently featured an advertisement for Brick House Security (fig. 5.1).⁷⁶

These advertisements, particularly for the camera to record your bed to “see who is there when you are not,” articulates the militarization of the family, fears of its demise, and its surveillance. Unfaithful partners and unruly children can all be controlled by the distant eye of a person who can afford the hardware, software, and monthly subscription fee. Parents can place a GPS tracking device in a backpack or in a car, or send car speed alerts if a driver exceeds speeding limits.

These products suggest that the American family needs surveillance to make its members into exceptional citizens, since, without such surveillance, the digital native could become a danger to family and state. On the one

hand, digital media expertise and the ability to surveil are presumed necessary skills for the exceptional citizen. On the other hand, these same skills are presented as creating duplicitous children who lead secret lives by hiding their true activities, feelings, and interests from their parents. The fear engendered by such children is visible in an advertisement from *PC World Magazine* (fig. 5.2).

This image resonates with horror film representations of the child as well as the fear and pleasure that they engender. The software advertised, Spector Pro, suggests that the child, a young girl, is adept at hiding herself and can take on a mask that hides the “real” person.⁷⁷ The ad states that in 2010 Spector Pro was awarded the Mom’s Choice Award, for ensuring children’s safety while allowing them to “make smarter, safer decisions online.” The combination of security and children’s development is an ideal rhetorical package for managing the risk of going online, turning the child from threat to one who can be tutored through the software. In the image from the ad, what hides behind white femininity becomes the threat. The ad thus echoes fears of dangerous Others infiltrating the country by hiding behind masks of whiteness, while threatening Americans with terror. The iconography also recalls the dangers of presuming epidermal whiteness as an index of safety in the context of the war on terror. For instance, it echoes concerns that led to the racialization of Arabs, preventing them from being absorbed into whiteness. According to the terms of the US Census Bureau policy of 2014, Arabs now belong to a group called “Middle Eastern or North African” (MENA) after being legally categorized as white for over seventy years.⁷⁸ Before that period, Arabs were more likely to be designated as eligible for citizenship if they were Christians rather than Muslims,⁷⁹ suggesting that religion was critical for assigning racial identities. The new census term MENA emerges as a nonwhite identity because of the way that it conflates region with religion, assuming that all those from the Middle East and North Africa are Muslims and therefore a threat to America. The threat posed by the child who can change identities online then is compounded by racial fears of those appearing to be white, as well as gendered fears. The necessity of the Internet and its fearful effects work together so that surveillance becomes a commodified way to alert the family to the threat of Others to the nation, and to incorporate the family into the project of surveillance.⁸⁰

The participation of corporations in constructions of childhood has a long history in consumer and media culture.⁸¹ Digital technologies replicate some of these older representations and add newer technological monsters. Parental control technology has a joint policing/protecting function that emphasizes insecurity and nurture. In this context, products abound



BRICKHOUSE SECURITY

RECOVER DELETED TEXT MESSAGES & Hidden Data No Matter What Phone You Have

CELLPHONE SPY

017-CELLPHONESPYA: Cell Phone Spy \$148.95
007-P9900A: Cell Phone Spy Elite \$198.95

*Not all cell phones have SIM cards nor do all save data to the SIM
**Installing software without owner/user permission is illegal

CELLPHONE SPY RECON

007-CELL-RECONA: Cell Phone Recon \$169.00

*See complete cell phone compatibility at SkyMall.com
**Internet connection must be enabled

iPhone SPY STICK

186-IRECOVERYA: iPhone Spy Stick

*iTunes needed



Best Military-Grade Spy Video Camera

Sky Mall
CLASSIC!

Micro SD Card



Actual Size

Sound-Activated

- Solid metal construction
- Broadcast video quality
- Built-in rechargeable battery
- FREE clip & mount included

007-DVR80A: Mega-Mini Pro™ Spy Camera \$149.95

See Who's There, When You're Not



- Mini cordless alarm clock with hidden camera
- Record to SD card then view on your computer
- Snapshots capture motion activated photos or video

156-CLOCK-CAMA: Hidden Clock Camera iShot™ \$129.95

156-CLOCK-DVRA: Hidden Clock Camera iShot™ VIDEO EDITOR
SD2GBA: 2GB High Speed Micro SD Card \$19.95

Who's Been Using Your Computer

5 Second Install



- Record all activities by others on your computer*
- Capture full screenshots every 60 seconds
- Undetectable, compatible with all laptops & desktops**

007-PC400A: Stealth iBOT™ PC Monitor \$149.95

*Legal disclaimer: Only to be deployed on a PC that you own



Record Important Conversations

Smart "1-Touch" Recording

40 Hours of Audio Evidence

- Capture the audio evidence you need
- Instant playback on your computer
- "Conceal & Carry" in your pocket

007-D1400A: 2GB Voice Recorder/Flash Drive \$69.95

007-D1408A: 8GB Voice Recorder/Flash Drive \$99.95

FIG. 5.1. Brick House Security advertisement, SkyMall magazine, fall 2010.

FREE
SPECTOR PRO
ONLINE
DEMO

www.SafeWithSpectorPro.com

Unmask Your Child's Online Identity with SPECTOR PRO

See Everything They Do Online



It's easy... Just press PLAY to watch a video-style playback of all computer and Internet activity.

PLAY

Does Your Child Have a Secret Online Life?

The typical teenager has more than 100 chat buddies and 'friends' on Facebook and other social network sites. Do you know who your children communicate with online? Are they pretending to be someone they're not? Or worse: are they being approached by sexual predators or being harassed by cyberbullies?

Protect Your Kids Online with SPECTOR PRO

With SPECTOR PRO, you'll rest easy knowing your child is protected from the dark side of the Internet. SPECTOR PRO records everything on their computer, laptop, or Mac ... including chats, instant messages, emails, websites they visit, all Facebook activity, and much more. You can block chats and emails from strangers, and 'rewind and play' screen snapshots of everything your kids wrote and viewed on their computer ... giving you total visibility into their online identity and choices they're making.

SPECTOR PRO is the world's best-selling monitoring software based on its range of features, ease of use, and because it gives you everything you need to protect your kids from the dangers of the Internet.



PC MAGAZINE EDITORS' CHOICE

TOP 100 REVIEWS

★★★★★



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 Computer & Internet Monitoring Software

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Call us anytime

1.877.344.1491

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FIG. 5.2. Spector Pro advertisement, *PC World Magazine*, December 2010.

with names such as Net Nanny, eBlaster, Spector Pro, Win Spy, IamBig-Brother, PCTattletale, PC Pandora, McAfee Family Protection, Qustodio, unknowkids, SocialShield, Nearparent, MinorMonitor, PhoneSheriff, BeSecure, Safeeyes, AVG Family Safety, and WebWatcher. The marketing language used to sell these products is similar to that of Spector Pro, warning parents to be afraid of children roaming online, asking parents to monitor computer usage, and warning them to protect their children from being preyed upon by adults or bullies.

Software developers have created several different mechanisms for these parental control products, though these are constantly changing in the quest for more failure-proof technologies. In general, parental control software works by blocking particular URLs on a list in the repository, identifying and blocking banned words or images. Such software records screen captures, images reached, sites visited, and chat and instant message (IM) histories, as well as keystrokes. Software can monitor mobile phone usage as well so that information on the location of phones, photographs taken and uploaded, IM conversations and emails, and websites visited can all be scrutinized. Another parental control technology is time control software that regulates the time a child user can spend on games, chat, or social networking sites. Such software not only records information but also sends alerts to parents. One software product, KidsWatch, monitors for “inappropriate websites,” gives “predator alerts,” and provides time-management tools, suggesting that children need to be surveilled in order to protect them and to become productive.⁸² To meet the challenges of cloud computing and increased mobile technology use, these companies now offer greater capacity to surveil mobile bodies and dynamic monitoring of a rapidly changing Internet landscape. Security companies provide monitoring of mobile phone locations, sending alerts to parents if the phone moves beyond a virtual “fence.”

Marketing materials for the software Net Nanny also provide both surveillance and monitoring for time management. Net Nanny asks parents to gather information on each child so they can create different controls for each child. By giving the child’s mobile phone information to the company, parents can supposedly carry out remote management via Internet connections, allowing useful activities (such as schoolwork) while preventing harmful ones. According to its website, the product allows children to use the Internet to do their homework but not anything parents may not like. It states: “Net Nanny allows in the good, and keeps out the bad. Your family can use the Internet as a resource for homework and fun without fear of accidental exposure to undesirable material, or encounters with dangerous individuals.”⁸³ Net Nanny

makers suggest that children are innocent and unaware of the dangers that face them—contrary to some research that tells us that those doing the “sexting” might be quite aware of what they are doing and may be doing so deliberately.⁸⁴ Offering an Entertainment Software Ratings Board (ESRB) rating choice, as well as a “safe harbor” provision (which I elaborate on later in this chapter), the company can claim that it is more responsible than others. Although ESRB sounds like a government agency, it is an agency created by software companies to self-regulate so that government regulation can be prevented. It rates video games based on content, maintains a code of ethics, and certifies that companies are following laws on privacy for children.⁸⁵

Such parental control products, however, often create more insecurity than security, since they are designed with the recognition that many children can bypass the control. Although the software promises “parental control,” some manufacturers believe that mothers and parents are inept at or ignorant of technology. Any Google search for information on parental control software brings up websites with discussions on why these products might not work and why manufacturer claims are often overstated and misleading. In an article from 2009, for instance, Davey Winder points out that these controls can be bypassed by teens “who are savvy enough if they know about multiprotocol IM clients or web-based clients.”⁸⁶ Winder reports that “the new blocking methods encourage the child to find creative ways around the restrictions.” He goes on to say that “the majority of parents we spoke to were blissfully ignorant that their children might be bypassing the parental controls” and that a “frightening number, for example, didn’t know that they handed over the keys to the padlock by letting their children log in to their PC’s administrative account.” Winder asserts that some parents leave kids to set up the computer, enabling them to control the administrative settings, because parents are “pretty bad at using hard-to-guess passwords as well.”⁸⁷ Winder explains that kids can bypass time limits by resetting the system clock, and can easily find information on Google explaining how to hack the parental control software. According to the children that Winder interviewed, Google images showed them how to reach porn using a proxy server, while others used mobile phones to chat and do sexting. Perhaps most worrying for parents, according to Winder, was the revelation that if all else fails and the monitoring software is too good, teenagers can turn to Linux Distro.⁸⁸ Distro here refers to Linux’s free and open-source operating systems and software that enable applications, also open source, but which can be accessed outside of the commercial operating systems installed on most computers (Microsoft Windows, Apple OS X, or the like).

Many articles in both parenting and computing magazines on this topic conclude that parents need to be online and that the most important issue is “trust.” “If your children can’t come to you when they run into trouble online, there’s no software in the world that’s going to solve your problems,” says Winder.⁸⁹ But it is also possible that many parents are unable to continually monitor their children online. One study revealed that teens reported much less monitoring than reported by their parents, showing that parents are often unable to carry out all the monitoring they wish to do.⁹⁰ They might set up the software and not pay it any more attention, or look at it sporadically. While parental control technology requires continual attention, its demanding temporality is often not sustainable for longer periods, especially by parents with few computers in the home or other pressures in their lives. Thus, software companies can shift blame onto parents if complete control of children is not possible, thereby maintaining the rhetoric of successful technology and failed parenting (rather than the reverse). Such a shift in blame produces parents’ insecurity and continued pressure on them to surveil their children’s behavior. Motherhood and parenting in the United States are thus not simply governmentalizing the security state but also articulating and recuperating fears engendered by the desire for surveillance, precisely because parents cannot carry out the surveillance.

Such insecurity is useful, nevertheless. Many of these parental control products have goals other than simply selling surveillance, since these companies also gather personal information that they can sell to third parties. (In 2016, the government passed laws regulating such sales, but these promise to be short-lived and overturned in the Trump era.) Parents’ and children’s interaction with these technologies result in commodified information; information about users’ habits, desires, and behaviors online is quite valuable. As the subject producing this commodity, the family gains new value in the digital economy. Moral panics, allied with protection and desire for information and communication technologies (ICTs), create economic value because they commodify information.

Some scholars call this collection and analysis of data “dataveillance,” which is the by-product of biopolitics. Lynn Wrennall provides the example of the UK’s “contact point” database for government health services, which holds the personal health data of eleven million children. She argues that “child protection” services consequently become an apparatus for the making of virtual children.⁹¹ Wrennall suggests that such databases construct child-subjects rather than simply replicating an “offline” reality. As with other media, such databases and technologies are altering family relations.

The digital security mom is thus not simply a figure of fear and security in the context of the war on terror that produces the child as an exceptional citizen. Rather, she emerges as an agent providing information to another contemporary figure that is also private and exceptional: the corporation.

Protecting and Regulating Corporations and Families

As the US government surveils its citizens through collaborations with media and Internet firms—and as parents demand children’s online protection—the state has responded by devolving sovereignty to private corporations and other businesses, attempting to simultaneously control their power to surveil consumers and enable information gathering for surveillance purposes. Many businesses have also resisted state control over information. Corporations and other companies have a long history of gathering consumer information. Electronic and digital media have scaled up this practice immensely and produced digital information as commodity in a context where information, especially digital information, is valued by a number of entities. This struggle over privacy and security is part of what Elizabeth Losh calls “virtualpolitik,” the new-media-influenced version of *realpolitik* in which the state’s main connection with new media is its surveillance use.⁹² Insecurity, expressed by a variety of entities and governmentalized across the public, produces the opportunity to gather and sell information as a commodity. State regulation treads a fine line between enabling corporations to make profits and gather information, and protecting individuals and families. Despite these trends, the ideological battle over freedom and rights largely remains between the state and the individual, rather than between the three entities actually involved: the state, businesses as the private sector, and individuals and families as other private entities.

The rise of surveillance regimes enabled by the war on terror suggests that regulation in the new century involves a struggle over sovereignty between corporations, individuals, and state bureaucracies, with individuals on the losing end. The NSA-operative-turned-whistleblower Edward Snowden revealed that the US state gathers extensive telephone data as well as audio and visual information via the PRISM program from media companies including Microsoft, Apple, Facebook, Skype, and YouTube. This government program is able to monitor the emails and online data of most Americans.⁹³ The PRISM program was launched in 2007 after Congress passed the Protect America Act of 2007 and the amendment in 2008 to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 (FISA), which protected

corporations from liability if they shared their data with the government. After the Snowden leak, these companies proclaimed they had no knowledge of PRISM, though many viewed this denial as part of the laws that enabled data gathering and surveillance.⁹⁴ That such companies had to distance themselves from the state reveals fears concerning the negative impact of such disclosures to customers. As the government passed laws requiring companies to share data with the state, it also passed laws to provide some protection from data gathering even while needing companies to carry out data collecting that the state could mine. State bureaucracies collaborated with the corporate sector while also attempting to regulate it; these shifting state concerns and priorities dictate how much it collaborates with corporations. The security state trades regulation for information, sharing the work of security by forcing corporations to disclose information about citizens and others, but also enabling information gathering by passing weak data-collecting regulations. Such weak regulations are not always antagonistic for business since the state is concerned with collaborating with and enhancing (rather than restricting) the private sector, leading to a struggle of sovereignties between corporations and individuals, rather than between corporations and the state. Although it creates weak regulations, the state is neoliberal and focused on militarism and security rather than the welfare of citizens. Moreover, the state has devolved some of its sovereignty to corporations for the purposes of surveillance and militarization.

Despite individuals' complaints about companies gathering and selling their online information, and state agencies' concern about the increasing predations of businesses buying and selling private data, there has not been much interest in protecting most individuals from the corporate collection of personal data. The US Congress has passed legislation protecting children rather than adult citizens. In 1998 the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) produced a report, *Privacy Online: A Report to Congress*, which revealed that online sites collected information from children without seeking permission or disclosing their practices, and shared that information with third parties.⁹⁵ Information security at the time was lax, and images and personal information easily circulated on bulletin boards and chat rooms.⁹⁶ The report made the case for legislation protecting children and consumers (not citizens) from the growing online market, though it is important to note that it did not mention protecting individuals and minorities from police or national security projects. The survey included in the report found very low levels of parental consent and control sought by online sites, "in sharp contrast to parents' preferences."⁹⁷ Also, the FTC asked Congress for legislation to prevent what

it saw as “unfairness inherent in collecting certain personal information from children online and transferring it to third parties without obtaining prior parental consent.”⁹⁸ The FTC reported it did not have the authority to require sites to obtain such consent, and that though it had tried a three-year self-regulation initiative, it found such self-regulation was ineffective and unenforceable. The FTC asked Congress to enact legislation to compel all commercial websites engaged in information collecting from children to obtain parental consent.

Both congressional Republicans and Democrats introduced bills, some protecting individuals from corporations and some from the government and law enforcement, but few laws came out of these attempts.⁹⁹ Such desires for legislation brought to the forefront anxieties and insecurities around liberal ideas of privacy produced by capital’s need for more commodities in the form of personal information gathered from individuals and families. In addition, the state was itself interested in gathering data and personal information from Internet communication corporations, reconstituting notions of privacy and security for purposes of antiterror surveillance while collaborating with private enterprises through what Michael Birnhack and Niva Elkin-Koren call an “invisible handshake.”¹⁰⁰ However, anxious to encourage online businesses as well as to support parental authority, one of the agencies of the state, the FTC, seemed to be moving uneasily between, on the one hand, demands of businesses and families and, on the other, competing sovereignties of state, capital, and individuals. Because the FTC consists of five commissioners who are appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate, with three allowed from one party and two from the other, their regulatory work can change with administrations and be conflicted as well. In addition, agencies take on different roles, some actively promoting surveillance and some enjoined, as the FTC, to regulate it, so that these contradictory roles come to play into both the militarizing data and enabling mostly lax protections.

In the first five years of FTC data privacy regulation, from 1993 to 1998, it favored self-regulation, believing that the free market would ensure companies did not share personal data.¹⁰¹ Finding that this did not happen, the FTC started to establish principles for self-regulation and turned to Congress for legislation.¹⁰² In 1998, Congress passed the Child Online Privacy Protection Act (COPPA), requiring parental “opt in” consent before websites can collect information from children under thirteen years old.¹⁰³ Under this law, which became enforceable in 2000, online companies are required to get verifiable parental consent before gathering and selling personal information from children under thirteen. They also must post privacy policies

online and protect the information gathered from children. They are prohibited from requiring children to give information as a requirement for participation on the Internet, such as for playing games online. In 2001, the FTC—the agency charged with preventing unfair or deceptive business practices—subsequently set guidelines to ensure legal compliance, including a “safe harbor” provision if companies followed software industry–approved guidelines.¹⁰⁴ Congress also created a COPPA commission, which issued suggestions that some legal scholars have considered more effective than the current legislation, but these suggestions were also designed so as not to restrict corporations and businesses. These suggestions included more public awareness, funding of better filtering software, and a greater focus on enabling voluntary self-regulation by Internet service and content providers.¹⁰⁵

Prior to COPPA, the Communications Decency Act (CDA) of 1996, created after moral panics around online pornography, attempted to restrict children’s access to sexually explicit materials on the web. This attempt was invalidated by the Supreme Court, however, which ruled that it violated the First Amendment.¹⁰⁶ The Court suggested several alternatives to the CDA, one of them being to provide some tolerance for parental choice, thereby giving parents “choice” even when few might know exactly what information was being collected, who was doing the collecting, or who was buying that information. The language of “choice” often leaves out the fact that consumers have limited knowledge about the products they purchase and that companies may not disclose key information about products to consumers. Despite its shortcomings, the CDA gave some parents a sense of control over their children’s use of the Internet or social media.

COPPA included a “safe harbor” provision that allowed companies to self-regulate if their plans to follow the guidelines of the act could be approved by the FTC.¹⁰⁷ With the creation of “safe harbor,” a variety of industries—from entertainment to technology to toys—could protect themselves if they kept to their regulatory guidelines, such as not buying or selling personal information from children. For instance, the FTC allowed one such agency—the Entertainment Software Rating Board (ESRB)—as a “safe harbor” program under the terms of COPPA.¹⁰⁸ The Entertainment Software Association also created its own “safe harbor” program in 2001, which was approved by the FTC to monitor game sites directed at children. Several other “safe harbor” applications have been approved after the act of 2000 and its amendments in 2012.

When COPPA was passed, legal scholars were concerned that it would be unable to protect children, given that its parental consent requirement was unlikely to be followed by parents every time a child logged onto a site. Fur-

ther, once parental consent was given, the site operator could then do whatever they wished with the information gathered.¹⁰⁹ Joseph Zavaletta argues the law was designed to protect “web site operators from liability,” especially through the “safe harbor” designation, and that individuals would face a very high burden of proof to be able to claim negligence if the website operator showed they had complied with the COPPA rule.¹¹⁰ The FTC issued another report in 2000 on the topic of online privacy, noting that companies were collecting an enormous amount of information and that regulation was not sufficient even though it was the least-intrusive solution. Despite this finding, the FTC also stated that given that the companies were most technologically able to implement change, it made sense to have them develop tools to regulate themselves.¹¹¹

The results of new laws about children’s privacy have not been encouraging. Legal scholar Danielle Garber argues that although the FTC has been successful in getting companies to comply, parental vigilance is still required.¹¹² Others have refuted Garber’s claim by concluding that in the age of social networking, the FTC’s efforts have been ineffective, COPPA does not seek consent in any meaningful way, and creating thirteen years as a cutoff date leaves out the protection of other adolescents.¹¹³ That continuation of data gathering means that regulations are weak or inadequate—“safe harbor” provisions actually weaken the law by creating possibilities for self-regulation. I argue that this weakness ultimately benefits the security state.

Although the FTC has prosecuted companies for not complying with COPPA,¹¹⁴ it is still the case that media and Internet companies, and not only those marketing to minors, do not have a good record of ensuring consumer privacy. For example, one company, TRUSTe, became a “safe harbor” organization and thereafter launched its Children’s Privacy Seal Program, but was found to be twice as likely to share personal information as companies without such a seal.¹¹⁵ In 2000, the FTC settled the first lawsuit under COPPA with Toysmart.com,¹¹⁶ and in 2004, the FTC settled a claim with the music company UMG Recordings over its collection of personal information from children below the age of thirteen. One of UMG’s websites had specifically targeted young children, and did not obtain parental consent.

In 2001, the FTC gathered fines totaling \$175,000 from six online companies, a miniscule amount given the size of the industry.¹¹⁷ In 2009, the Electronic Privacy Information Center (EPIC), a nonprofit, brought a complaint to the FTC against a parental control software company, EchoMetrix, which was selling data collected from parents to third parties. EPIC stated in its complaint that the company used “unfair and deceptive trade practices by

representing that the software protects children online while simultaneously collecting and disclosing information about children's online activities."¹¹⁸ EchoMetrix settled the case by paying a \$100,000 fine and agreeing to discontinue third-party information sharing. Many companies evaded the law by not designating themselves as targeting children under thirteen as consumers, and many complained that the costs of obtaining parental consent were too high. In 2011, the FTC evaluated its rule and found that it had not kept up with technology, especially mobile technology, geolocation, facial recognition, images, voices, and social networking. However, FTC leaders testified before Congress that it had been effective in enforcement, undertaking seventeen enforcement actions and getting more than \$6.2 million in civil penalties.¹¹⁹ That sum is small compared to the size of the industry. Given that the existing regulations were not as effective as they should be, in 2013 Congress added new regulations to COPPA to address the emergence of mobile and new social media technologies that were not covered previously. Definitions of personal information that cannot be collected without parental consent from children below thirteen include geolocation information, addresses, photos, cell phone identifiers, and audio and video files, as well as "persistent identifiers" (i.e., information gathered by cookies).¹²⁰ In addition, Congress provided more ways to obtain parental consent, streamlined the parental notification requirements, and made online service providers liable if they collected personal information from third parties.¹²¹ It also asked the FTC to provide periodic reports on the "safe harbor" programs.

Many scholars argue that COPPA is ineffective for several reasons and that even recent regulatory changes do not make much difference to information gathering and selling. For instance, digital media researchers danah boyd, Urs Gasser, and John Palfrey testified to the US Senate that COPPA was ineffective because youth can lie about their age, companies can trick consumers into giving permission, uninvolved parents can remain so despite the need for consent, and, in some cases, children might need to contact sites if they need help or to communicate.¹²² For instance, parental abuse can be a concern, especially for youth who are queer, transgender, or are seen to be a "problem." Boyd, Gasser, and Palfrey reported that some parents resented being told how to parent, and others supported their children in lying about their age. They recommended that the government amend COPPA to actually limit data-sharing or selling or how minors can be targeted. They suggested that the law should facilitate information deletion by request and let everyone know "when their data is being shared and with whom."¹²³ Other scholars argue that in the age of Facebook, there should be clearer infor-

mation about the extent of information gathering done by companies and clearer language on websites that educates and informs consumers, including teenagers.¹²⁴ What seems clear is that in the United States, businesses often get away with violating the privacy of families and children, enabled by the necessities of education and learning as well as all sorts of activities facilitated by digital tools, such as state surveillance. The security mom and digital security mom's racialized fears and moral panics as well as the war on terror become the instruments used by marketers to produce insecurity.

The Obama administration showed concern for the data privacy anxieties of individuals, even as it ratcheted up programs such as Safe Communities to collect data for border control and antiterrorism uses.¹²⁵ In doing so, it implicitly supported the privacy rights of some individuals over those seen as threats to the nation, who were therefore excluded from exceptional citizenship. It also refused to protect the rights of all individuals against those corporations wanting to gather information to sell as commodities. In contrast, European courts and governments have mobilized on this front and individuals in the United States benefit from the data privacy collaborations between the EU and the United States. In 2014, the White House recognized that there remained many concerns by individuals regarding data privacy, and it laid out these issues in a report entitled *Big Data: Seizing Opportunities, Preserving Values*. Visible in the document is the importance given to enabling business and the economy. The document states that the "United States has long been a leader in protecting individual privacy while supporting an environment of innovation and economic prosperity."¹²⁶ It nods to Fourth Amendment rights, governmental transparency and efficiency, security of data, giving consumers control over their data, and biases in profiling, though it seems unclear if such concerns can translate into action, given the needs of the security state to surveil and collect information. A previous document on privacy policies, *Consumer Data Privacy in a Networked World: A Framework for Protecting Privacy and Promoting Innovation in the Global Digital World* (2012), proposed a Consumer Privacy Bill of Rights that would cover the privacy needs of all those not covered by existing laws, though it did not examine how the existing laws fall short of ensuring privacy.¹²⁷

State and Law: Redefining Privacy and the Family

In promising security while collecting personal data from the Internet, businesses and the state intensify the ideology of the security/privacy exchange: the idea that one can only get security by giving up privacy.¹²⁸ In doing

so, the political economy of insecurity is left out in this equation. On the one hand, the state and corporations are interested in collecting information that is deemed personal and on the other hand, they sell privacy and control. Here they do not replace liberal ideals of individual sovereignty with neo-liberal ideas of consumer as commodity, but rather deny the sovereignty of individuals while ensuring the sovereignty of corporations and businesses. The narrative of privacy produces a trade-off between individual privacy and state security that is used to justify state surveillance. It is apparent that public and private as concepts are being recuperated in shifting ways producing sovereign subjects pitted against each other. Corporations often defend their inability to grant consumers any sovereignty and blame the state for demanding information about individuals, while the state protects individual sovereignty with one hand—albeit that of some citizens—and takes it away with the other.

In this rearticulation of privacy and sovereignty, children have become private in new ways, as have parents, and mothers more specifically. Most of the “experts” working on children’s Internet security suggest that a good parent (often a good mother) is one who can raise her children in privacy, one who can prevent her children from sharing private information on the Internet even while using it for educational and recreational purposes. Yet these experts also state that such privacy is never possible. Moreover, given a historical fear of children’s sexuality and secrecy, children’s digital native abilities turn them into strange Others, particularly children who are African American, Muslim, or Latino. Parental control, as technology and ideology, turns the “real” offline child—one that is assumed to be white and middle class—into one that exists “online” in spaces and virtual locations hidden from parents, thus materializing the digital profile. At the same time that information and data from parents and children become a material commodity that can be collected and sold by media and data-gathering corporations, the “real” child is also the one who must be hidden away from public scrutiny. The uses and capabilities of digital technologies as they are created by media corporations produce distinctions between online and offline, and muddy those distinctions as well. The suggestion, then, is either that the “offline” is real or, through insecurity, that the “online” is the secret real child who can hide from parents. As Beth Coleman and Clay Shirky argue, there is no virtual or real anymore, but simply configurations that mesh these together.¹²⁹

Some scholars argue that legislation such as COPPA has completely left the question of children’s privacy and autonomy in the hands of parents by assuming that children and parents have the same interests. Such laws, these

scholars argue, have protected the *family's* privacy rather than that of the child.¹³⁰ Moreover, such legislation assumes parents have choices, as consumers. Yet such choices are not meaningful in the absence of widespread knowledge of corporate and state surveillance. Furthermore, parents' own gathering of web search histories, use of GPS software, and general use of parental control software have not emerged as an issue of children's privacy. This is because the "child" remains, once again, in this new technology as with earlier technologies, a consumer and a source of information as well as a product of surveillance, security, and privacy. Even those "children" who do not themselves participate in the Internet and social media have such an existence, produced by statisticians, demographers, NGOs, and development agencies of various kinds.

Inequality within the home and the production of patriarchal and heteronormative family norms continue with other sorts of legislations that assume that the home and family constitute a private domain. Often the private domain of the heteronormative and patriarchal family is even expanded, though such a private sphere is not accorded to families who are not white, Christian, or middle class. For instance, the "Stand Your Ground" laws in many states, which allow killing others in self-defense, evolved from the "castle doctrine" allowing persons, that is, white males, to defend themselves at home. Property and personhood based on race or class, of course, define who has ever had a "castle" to be protected. As of 2016, these laws were present in twenty-three other states, replacing the notion of self-defense only of one's home to self-defense anywhere that a person presumes they are under fear of death, creating "innumerable castles," as one legal scholar puts it.¹³¹

Meanings of privacy are historically specific. In the United States challenges over gender, race, and sexuality have created a broad area of privacy struggles in terms of individual autonomy and sovereignty, the lack of which can lead to both vulnerability and harm.¹³² Definitions of privacy have changed from the now century-old Samuel D. Warren and Louis D. Brandeis's definition of privacy as the "right to be let alone,"¹³³ created in an era of privileged white patriarchal authority over a private sphere of the family. *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965) introduced the penumbra idea, and *Katz v. United States* (1967) introduced the standard of "reasonable expectation of privacy."

The issue of data privacy has emerged from contestations between liberal ideals of the patriarchal private sphere, the privacy accorded and denied to citizens as sexual and racial subjects, corporations' right to market and gather consumer information as a matter of their free speech, and fears regarding data privacy and state surveillance. Edward Snowden's revelations concerning

the surveillance of Americans and numerous others have also shifted definitions of individual privacy to include debates about an individual, corporate, or state control over personal digital data. Some of these revelations suggest how little support there is of liberal privacy rights for Muslims and immigrants deemed to be possible terrorists. Some scholars argue that struggles over control of personal data, as captured by corporations tracking individuals, have emerged as legal and technological problems,¹³⁴ in which the sovereignty of some individuals has been replaced by the sovereignty of data as a commodity that has exchanged value for private corporations.

What have emerged out of these struggles are limited and evolving notions of privacy, as well as its impossibility, available only to a select few. “Information privacy” has become particularly important. Legal scholar Danielle Garber defines information privacy as “control by an individual over data generated during Internet transactions that is either personally identifiable to that individual or which may be merged with other data to become personally identifiable to her.”¹³⁵ Garber points out that privacy does not imply “total nondisclosure” but rather “selective disclosure.”¹³⁶ But who does the “selection” is not clear in Garber’s analysis, nor is it clear which individuals can have control over their personal data, since many companies track information without user knowledge, and the security state tries to gather as much information as it can about everyone. Privacy as control over personal information has become an important issue, particularly as Internet companies deal with laws outside the United States and with countries with very different historical contexts of privacy. The specter of terrorism has effectively constrained any control of private information by individuals. Some scholars argue that privacy has now been lost. Mark Andrejevic argues that we now have a “digital enclosure,” which he describes as the “creation of an interactive realm wherein every action and transaction generates information about itself.”¹³⁷ It is now well known that the digital enclosure is designed to produce data as commodity since digital media companies struggle over divergent legal interpretations of privacy in the United States and EU, for instance. Despite these concerns, the digital enclosure in a carceral state as a racial concept remains to be critiqued.

The American right to privacy, embedded in the history of race, sexuality, and power, has always been partial—possible for some groups but not for others. Privacy in terms of individual sovereignty remains an important liberal project for some, but it also provides a basis of exclusion for many who are deemed Other or too dangerous to be accorded this right. Both neoliberal and liberal discussions of privacy produce a white, middle-class, normative

individual and family and erase the many others without this right. Even the call by children's advocates to balance children's privacy against their right to "protection, nurture, and care" or to consider children's rights as a "relational individual right" that balances the rights of individual and family,¹³⁸ may not take into consideration the fact that this balancing act remains a privilege foreclosed for racialized and sexual minorities.

"Antiterror" legislations such as the Patriot Act have enabled greater government surveillance of religious and racial minorities with fewer restrictions from the courts. In the context of the war on terror, many Americans accept the idea that national security requires giving up any right to privacy in general,¹³⁹ and data privacy in particular. More recently, with the Snowden revelations, some of this indifference has changed, and over time the Obama administration paid more attention to privacy protections because of up- roars over corporate data breaches, leading some to argue for a "second wave" of privacy protections.¹⁴⁰ Although the government does pay attention to outcries against privacy breaches from companies or by certain state agencies, such attention seems to not abate welfare reductions or securitization, which have both become characteristic of the security state. Anil Kalhan argues that the expansion of immigration enforcement in the war on terror, along with new digital tools, constitutes an "emerging surveillance regime" or a "surveillance state" in which "automated immigration policing contributes to a broader transformation in kind that renders immigration status visible, accessible, and salient in more legal and social domains than ever before, and subject to routine monitoring and screening by a wide range of public and private actors."¹⁴¹ Kalhan argues that new programs that are digitally connected and automated have enabled law enforcement at state, local, and federal levels to all become involved in policing immigrants—more so than was possible in previous projects. Yet, this practice has also led to function creep and errors. The result of such automated systems, then, is fear of loss of control over personal information for many, even for privileged groups. It is clear that privacy produces fearful exceptional citizens differentially concerned for loss of sovereignty, and a struggle over corporate sovereignty. Even before 9/11 or twenty-first-century immigration debates, the logic of the racialized security state meant that children (and adults) came under surveillance in ever more areas of social life, though in different ways and by different programs and projects. In many US cities, teenagers are subject to curfews that ban them from being on the street after 11:00 PM or midnight.¹⁴² Schools have metal detectors, police, and "zero-tolerance" drug policies, as well as mandatory drug tests and searches—all of which are enforced in

draconian ways on children of color. Thus, children in inner-city schools suffer much more invasive surveillance than do white children in more affluent schools districts.¹⁴³ Military recruiters and police officers in schools with more children of color have greater power over and access to these students, thereby acclimatizing them to an early connection with the military and criminal justice system and producing a system of “sorting” children along “lines of race, class, and gender.”¹⁴⁴ Such sorting is especially a characteristic of neoliberal policies that provide surveillance systems to schools when they may not have proper furniture, books, or teachers.¹⁴⁵

But the ideology of the assumed trade-off between privacy and security produced by parental control technologies suggests also a double bind: to be an exceptional citizen is to be transparent and have “nothing to hide,” unlike a “terrorist” or “undocumented worker”; at the same time, to be an exceptional citizen is to claim the right to give up privacy.¹⁴⁶ For many children of color or low-income, immigrant, and Muslim families, having nothing to hide does not mean safety—the impossible desire intensifies racial difference thereby marking such subjects as outside exceptional, neoliberal citizenship. This pressure to be secret, then, sorts good mothers from bad and good parents from bad ones on the basis of older sedimented ideologies of race, gender, sexuality, and religion. It sorts on the basis of race, for instance, when African American women are deemed unable to provide security, when African American children are seen as “gang members,” when “welfare moms” are denied state support, or when Latinos are assumed to be undocumented and “illegal.” These figures then become pathologized as aberrant and dysfunctional parents and children, the mothers as unable to provide security, and the children as unworthy of it. Such dysfunctional parents and children can then be blamed for producing insecurity because they embody it.

Governmentalizing Terror and Surveillance: A Case Study

In the aftermath of the Boston Marathon bombings, Reddit user Chris Ryves created a thread to crowdsource information about the perpetrators of the bombing and enable the community of Redditors to provide ongoing and real-time breaking news about the event. As an image of the bomber surfaced, another Reddit user claimed to have found a match in a photograph of a missing teenager, Sunil Tripathi. Sunil was a South Asian college student who had been missing and whose parents were circulating his images on social media to locate him.

As the *New York Times* later reported, abusive and angry threats and messages began to appear on the Facebook page that had been set up to find Sunil.¹⁴⁷ His family called the FBI, which told them that Sunil was not a suspect, but they removed the Facebook page fearing that if Sunil found the abusive messages, he might harm himself. Some on Reddit saw this removal as further evidence that Sunil was the bomber, and this suspicion was heavily circulated on the network. It was also circulated by many so-called reputable journalists such as Luke Russert, on sites such as *BuzzFeed*, and across Twitter. A *Slate* article reported that even a *New York Times* reporter helped circulate the rumor, as did *Politico*. Sunil's parents' and sister's cell phones were inundated with abusive messages, many of which were Islamophobic, compounding their grief and worry at Sunil's disappearance.

In another case of racial profiling after the Boston bombing, two young Moroccan students, one who was seventeen, were wrongly identified by the *New York Post* as suspects with their images placed on the cover of the newspaper.¹⁴⁸ These two students went to watch the marathon but had left before the bombing. It is not clear how the *Post* found their photograph and why it placed it on its cover with the caption "Bag Men," though it is obvious that racial profiling played a role. Redditors also circulated the Moroccan students' image as possible suspects.¹⁴⁹

Ultimately, the second bomber was identified by the police as Dzhokhar Tsarnaev, a Kyrgyzstani American teenager and brother of Tamerlan Tsarnaev, who was the main bomber and who died in a shootout with police. There was much soul searching on Reddit and other social media networks; Reddit's general manager, Erik Martin, apologized to Sunil's parents. The Redditor who had started the thread quit the site in April 2013, protesting that it was not a threat of lawsuits that made him close the thread and stating that users should consider Reddit a place for rumors rather than news.¹⁵⁰

At the same time, Reddit received a massive publicity boost, with huge increases in traffic to the social network. According to the Pew Research Center, 6 percent of online adults (presumably from the United States) are Reddit users, with young white males as "especially likely" to use the network.¹⁵¹ It is known for being "content agnostic" and for embracing both anarchic and libertarian tendencies, a pairing that makes libertarian ideas seem progressive. Erik Martin saw the Sunil Tripathi incident as a natural outcome of social media. As he told the *New York Times*, "The loss of personal privacy is an inherent issue to the Internet as a whole. . . . If you go out in public, you should expect that your photo is going to be taken somewhere by either the

traffic cameras on the street or by some creepy-ass guy who takes your photo when you're not looking. Twitter has a creep factor, Facebook has a creep factor, but nobody ever really talks about that. They only talk about those things when they show up on Reddit. In reality, it's everywhere."¹⁵² His colleague Alex Angel added, "I just don't understand why the blame was put on us and not on the outlets that did shoddy reporting. Reddit is just a bunch of normal people who are basically chattering. Major news sources put out the bad information without any verification, but we got all the blame. No one but Reddit was really held responsible."¹⁵³

In sum, neither Reddit nor the more traditional news media outlets took responsibility for the circulation of content that was harmful to a family, and in particular, to a family that was nonwhite, immigrant, and South Asian, a family subjected to hate calls and unwanted media publicity in the midst of their grief and worry.¹⁵⁴ Redditors used blurry images to become armchair detectives, circulating information that cast suspicion on young South Asian and Middle Eastern young men as terrorists. While many Redditors hide their identities online, there is little popular interest in keeping others' privacy. As much as Reddit's powerful owners claim that privacy should not be expected in the Internet age, the network itself allows pseudonyms and anonymous postings. Its ability to make information viral is also dangerous, especially since widespread social ideologies tend to circulate rapidly, and Reddit is known for having some nasty sub-Reddits. Thus, it was not surprising that in a *New York Times* interview, Sunil's sister, Sangeeta, thoughtfully told the reporter, "One thing we've been struck by is how porous the space is between social media, the media, and law enforcement."¹⁵⁵ Such porosity means that the users of Reddit and other such media networks have a greater power to circulate their ideas than before with more limited media, ensuring that powerful groups become even more powerful.¹⁵⁶

In a perceptive essay on how gender gets encoded into websites, Erin Maher writes that "while Reddit's voting algorithm itself may not discriminate, other aspects of the site's infrastructure and the way users interact with it and each other allow many opportunities for prejudice to impact a user's experience."¹⁵⁷ Reddit's notion of popularity and anonymity, she points out, has two problems. First, it allows the posts and will of a few "admins" to masquerade as the will of many users, since most users do not even sign onto Reddit and there are far fewer admins than users of the site. Second, because the site precludes any possibility of identification, the user then becomes by "default, a white, straight, cisgender man," relegating to the margins all those

who don't identify as such.¹⁵⁸ Along with this default identity come racist and sexist jokes, which are very popular on the site. Maher writes that the Sunil Tripathi Reddit posts show that the site is unable to separate truth from fiction. This point became evident in subsequent news when, after the posting of Sunil's images, two Redditors were moved to travel to Boston to be part of the manhunt.¹⁵⁹ Maher's analysis that Reddit and Redditors lack any sense of accountability is echoed in Martin's defensiveness in the *New York Times* article, when he claimed that Reddit was itself a victim for accepting blame for what other sites also publicized.

Sunil Tripathi, Trayvon Martin, and other youth of color are often constructed as dangerous because their race, gender, or ethnicity has already placed them outside normative masculine citizenship.¹⁶⁰ The dubious link between South Asian or Moroccan suspects and the Boston bombing was made on a social media network in which a group of mostly white men, judging by the majority of Redditors, collectively took on the task of the police, surveilling the web for a match, helping the police not just with "tips" but by becoming detective-vigilantes themselves. In addition, there was little accountability for the harassment of the Tripathi family, though the families of the two young Moroccan men made suspects by the *New York Post* filed defamation lawsuits. Reddit's platform empowered already powerful communities to police the web, circulating racialized notions of South Asian and Muslim males as terrorists,¹⁶¹ and revealing a collaboration between private corporations, media, and the police, as Sangeeta Tripathi observed. Sangeeta's remark about "porosity" signals the concern about loss of privacy, liberal or neoliberal, leading those who are nonwhite and non-Christian to fear such circulating power as well as the aggrandizement of powerful collaborations. This has enabled the use of predictive analytics for the purposes of data mining to seek out so-called terrorists.¹⁶² In this context, it is important to know not only the corporations and commodities being created but also the parameters of the "data" being collected and the "profiles" being sought through such technologies.

All parents and families experience insecurity, though for very different reasons and with very different concerns and scales. The insecurities of white, middle-class parents come not from the police, the state, or racialized subordination but from their belief that new technologies make their children into victims of external predators, or into digital natives who threaten their parental authority. Family sovereignty is at stake, as well as white, middle-class parents' authority to keep their family private. For nonwhite and poor

parents, privacy has never been a right that they could fight for. Ultimately, privacy remains a project of racialized power as well as a source of insecurity. The implication of individual agency in “giving up” privacy for security then is that privacy enables the uneven sovereignty of citizenship and the sovereignty of corporations enabled by the racial and patriarchal security state in the collaborations and tensions of empire under advanced neoliberalism.

CODA. The “Shooter”

I end this book with a final example of an exceptional US citizen: the “shooter,” a subject with the sovereign’s exceptional power to use violence. The shooter has long been a figure in US history and its gun culture, but has come to new public attention and media spectacle in recent years as the angry, white, Christian man who sees himself as dispossessed from his rightful place of power in the nation and exerting the sovereignty given to him by virtue of his gender and race. He hopes to save the imperial, security state through gun violence.¹ This figure has come to be associated with the mass shootings that are now commonplace in the United States, where numerous people are killed with high-caliber guns. Not called a killer, murderer, or criminal, this perpetrator is called a “shooter,” and he is an exceptional US citizen who belongs to the past and a future of the racial, imperial security state. Though he may be antigovernment, often against any internationalism,

seeing government as an illicit power over the freedom of white power, he works to save the security state, in which he finds the power of white supremacy. He recuperates the history of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Manifest Destiny as well as affective power of twentieth- and twenty-first-century “first-person shooter” video games. The shooter combines an old genealogy of national independence, slavery, and settler colonialism, with a newer genealogy of neoliberal capital, media, and security.²

The American shooter and his culture are unparalleled across liberal democratic nations and thus exceptional—not because they are superior, but because few other countries (other than those in the midst of wars) allow their inhabitants to amass weapons as occurs in the United States. As the *Washington Post* describes, US gun culture is different in scale from any other. It has the highest rates of gun ownership, with an average of about nine guns for every ten Americans.³ The ability to amass arsenals is combined with a lack of regulation over the numbers of guns that almost any person can purchase; consumers are able to purchase almost any kind of weapons, and many of these are high capacity because they are civilian versions of military-style weapons.⁴ This link between weapons available for public consumption—or destruction—and military arsenals kept in homes is an example of the ways in which security and the state’s exceptional right to kill is given to some citizens and to those who see these weapons as a private and public right, as militia but also as a right of private citizens. They gather weapons, but some of these collectors also carry out shootings in public spaces to display their sovereignty. This sovereignty of particular citizens is protected by regulations and law so that one protected group, white males, has the right to possess weapons and to kill Others.

Amassing arsenals of weapons within homes not just produces the private militia, who are believed protected by the Second Amendment, but also militarizes the home through the production of a patriarchy. As Jennifer Carlson has argued, gun culture in the United States has produced a “sovereign subject” who is to be distinguished from the citizen as a subject of rights, but who performs sovereign power that is shaped and enabled by the state.⁵ I consider this subject possessing the sovereign right to become the patriarch, to control those in the home through an implicit or explicit threat of violence, and to have the sovereign right to claim the power to protect or kill within the home, but also outside of it. The privilege of whiteness endows these rights to one group of males, and they proclaim this privilege—often with spectacular acts of violence—against those who see the empire as waning or their rights as contested.

Yet, the racial claims of such sovereign subjects are also linked to their ability to possess guns because the possession of guns by noncitizens or by nonwhites leads to their dispossession of sovereignty—often their deaths—and the claims of sovereignty by the state and white sovereign subjects over them. Gun possession by black males, for instance, becomes a threat to the security state, and black men can be killed or their guns can be taken away by police, while gun possession by white males is protected and remains a right under the Constitution; racial difference operates through law, policing, and the entitlement to citizenship rights. Such a sovereignty is not new, but has newer insecurities and targets in the new century. Similarly, gun possession by other nonwhite groups can lead them to easily become targets of the state.

The numbers of gun deaths in the United States are striking. The CDC calculated 350 deaths of US citizens from terrorism between 2001 and 2013 compared to 406,496 killed in the United States by gun violence during that period.⁶ The FBI counted 172 instances of mass killings between 2008 and 2011.⁷ These numbers do not include injuries caused by these weapons. White male violence has been responsible for many massacres, though there are a few outliers. In addition, police killings are almost always the work of white males who use their weaponry to kill people of color. White males responsible for these massacres include Timothy McVeigh's bombing of the Oklahoma City Murray Building in 1995, which killed 168 people and left several hundred injured; Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold's killings at Columbine High School in 1999, with 12 killed and 21 injured; James Eagan Holt's massacre in Aurora, Colorado, in 2012 that killed 12 people and injured 70; Christian evangelist Robert Dear's killing of three people at a Planned Parenthood clinic in Colorado in 2015; Adam Lanza's massacre at Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newtown, Connecticut, in which 20 children and 6 others were killed; Steven Kazmierczak's killings at Northern Illinois University in 2008 in which 5 people were murdered and 21 injured. Killings at a church in Charleston and a Sikh temple in Milwaukee (which I discuss below) are important examples as well of killings by white men, some of whom clearly belong to or were followers of neo-Nazi groups. Many other incidents take place, often not even making it to the national news, but are mentioned in local reporting. These mass shootings do not include most other murders committed by guns, many of which are perpetrated on family or community members.

In contemporary media, the term "shooter" appears in specific contexts, particularly in relation to "mass shootings." It may, though not always, refer to the many men who kill their intimate partners on a regular basis in the long, violent history of heterosexuality and patriarchal, heteronormative

masculinity. Journalists do not usually use the term to refer to those African American men in impoverished neighborhoods who are instead stereotyped as perpetrators of violence and made victims of the carceral state; the lax regulations of gun ownerships impacts these African American communities, as well as Latinx and Native communities the most, revealing how little the state cares about the deaths of nonwhite Americans. For the most part, journalists and media producers use the term “shooter” for white, American men, reserving the term “terrorist” for those who carry out the same type of violence but who happen to be Muslims.⁸ Sometimes journalists use the term “gunman,” but most of the time “shooter” is preferred.⁹ Both terms, “shooter” and “gunman,” are important to examine in understanding how these violent men come to be described in this way rather than a host of other ways. Further, they reveal what work is done by such terms that euphemistically disavow the violence of the exceptional citizen’s sovereignty.

These terms are productive in several ways. They hide the excessive violence that is perpetrated through guns and their lethal and injurious consequences by muddying the divide between sport or play, and killing. They mark religious/racial/national difference, suggesting that the “shooter” is a domestic, white male Christian, while “terrorist” is a Muslim male influenced by non-Christian religious or political movements that have origins outside the United States. Other people of color with guns have also been seen as a threat to the state. These terms construct these killings as part of a historical narrative of the making of the exceptional nation, thereby endowing some of these perpetrators with a sovereignty that is shared with the US security state. To be sure, there are some exceptions to this usage of the terms “shooter” or “gunman”; however, most of media coverage follows the convention I describe.¹⁰

This conventional usage does not go unchallenged, and there are widespread calls for greater regulation and licensing of guns. While movements such as Black Lives Matter have been active in addressing the violence of police and policing that has long targeted African Americans, organizations such as the Southern Poverty Law Center have worked hard to oppose and disable white supremacist organizations. In the context of the war on terror, protests have also emerged over the inordinate attachment of the term “terrorist” to Muslim bodies, charging this usage with racial bias and Islamophobia. Because the term “terrorist” is notoriously vague and ambiguous, scholars have questioned the use of the term in the current context.¹¹ Activists working to prevent domestic and family violence have also asked that intimate partners (most often males) who kill or stalk their (mostly fe-

male) partners should also be called terrorists, coining the term “intimate terrorism” to describe the threat and violence emanating from such killings.¹² Some activists have begun to ask that all incidents of white racial violence be called terrorism.¹³ Scholarly research has corroborated this demand. Aaron Winter points out, for instance, that despite stereotypes of Muslims as terrorists, the perpetrators of terrorism in recent decades have largely been members of white militia groups. Winter argues that the focus on Muslims as terrorists then covers up this history of white supremacy.¹⁴ Even President Obama mentioned that gun killings far and away surpass any deaths from what is conventionally known as terrorism.¹⁵

That such violence continues and is enabled by a variety of laws as well as activism by many gun-rights groups and supported by numerous right-wing politicians means that the shooter is an exceptional citizen as well as a subject of white racism, nation, empire, and a lethal heteromascularity, one whose sovereign right to kill is enabled by the US security state. Many politicians downplay the violence of the white supremacist groups, seeing terrorist threats as coming only from foreign, “Jihadist” groups.¹⁶ Racism against African Americans belongs to a long history of the United States, but racism against Muslims is not distinct from that history, since black Muslims have long been the target of US government and white violence, and the surveillance and stereotyping of Muslims began before 9/11. Building on this longer history, the fears of twenty-first-century American empire’s waning as well as the loss of white supremacy and white patriarchy have produced new racisms and racial identities, which legal scholars Muneer Ahmad and Leti Volpp suggest bring together racism against African Americans, Orientalism, Islamophobia, and the exclusion of immigrants and Asians from citizenship.¹⁷ As I argue in this book, it also produces the violence of the exercise of sovereignty by white, Christian males who wish to save the imperial security state.

The Shooter and the Terrorist

The killing in Oak Creek, Wisconsin, in 2012 of five people and a policeman in a Sikh temple by Wade Michael Smith and the killing in 2015 of nine people in the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina, by Dylann Roof were, sadly, not the most lethal in US history.¹⁸ The massacres at Columbine, Virginia Tech, and Sandy Hook all had more fatalities and injuries. But Oak Creek and Charleston were different in that nonwhite religious worshipers were targeted in private places of worship. The white supremacist “shooters”’ attacks on churches and gurdwaras

(Sikh temples) targeted places that are understood to be “private” under the liberal right of free association, as well as the freedom of religion sanctioned by the First Amendment and the “equal protection” clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.¹⁹ What these supremacists targeted was the right of these groups to be citizens, to be endowed with the right of freedom of worship that was accorded to white Christians. Consequently, the importance and resonance of these incidents were somewhat different from the public locations of other mass shootings such as the public school in Newtown or the movie theater at Aurora. Such violence reveals the right to sovereignty and citizenship of powerful groups who can take away such rights of those seen as nonwhite religious minorities. Despite this attack on the rights of these minority groups, politicians downplay the violence of the white supremacist groups, seeing terrorist threats as coming only from foreign, “Jihadist” groups.²⁰ Neo-Nazi groups that have transnational connections to similar groups in Europe, for instance, are seldom seen in the lens of transnational terrorism that is the label given to any Muslim who carries out similar acts. What this disavowal suggests is that the security state will not protect the rights of minorities and that liberal rights remain as disjunctive and discriminating as they have long been in United States and other imperial histories. White men are always seen as belonging to the nation, and their connections to international organizations is often ignored.

In both of these killings in Milwaukee and Charleston, the shooter emerged as an exceptional citizen, one whose violence was derived from the sovereignty endowed to white males. For the victims of these killings, and for many others who have to live with this violence and its threat in public spaces—especially with laws enabling “open carry”—these horrific and seemingly random murders produce insecurity and fear. This fear comes from the knowledge that the US government is unwilling and also unable to completely surveil the numerous white males who belong to neo-Nazi groups; it thus seems unable to address the violence of white sovereignty or work to protect others from such violence, especially if compared to the massive mobilization of surveillance, preemptive detentions, and killings of those Muslims seen as terrorists. Instead, it has allowed sovereignty to be in the hands of private individuals, such as neo-Nazis, and has also enabled the proliferation of corporate private prison systems, racist police, and private militia.

In the Charleston shootings, the distinction between terrorist and shooter became a point of public debate. The FBI had to decide whether to term the killings as “domestic terrorism” or a hate crime, eventually deciding on the latter. That these terms, “terrorism” and “hate crime,” are often pitted

against each other means that racism and white sovereignty—often associated with hate crimes—is made to be distinct from terrorism. Director of the FBI James Comey explained why he did not believe Charleston was an act of terrorism, saying, “Terrorism is an act done or threatened to in order to try to influence a public body or the citizenry, so it’s more of a political act and then, again, based on what I know so far, I don’t see it as a political act.”²¹ This argument refused to acknowledge the inherently political nature of this racial violence, designed to prevent nonwhite groups from access to their right to worship and to private assembly.

Definitions of terrorism are not clear or stable across national and international law, and even US federal law splits the term into “domestic” and “international” versions.²² As the ACLU summarizes, according to the USA Patriot Act, signed into law by George W. Bush in 2001: “A person engages in domestic terrorism if they do an act ‘dangerous to human life’ that is a violation of the criminal laws of a state or the United States, if the act appears to be intended to: (i) intimidate or coerce a civilian population; (ii) influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or (iii) to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping. Additionally, the acts have to occur primarily within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States and if they do not, may be regarded as international terrorism.”²³ Despite the fact that this definition of “domestic terrorism” can be used to describe white supremacist massacres in Charleston and Oak Creek, police and prosecutors were reluctant, as was Comey, to use the term, calling these “hate crimes” instead. It was not surprising that some commentators challenged Comey’s decision, arguing that Roof’s act was indeed domestic terrorism as it was designed to threaten a community and culture.

Consequently, maintaining the distinction between the shooter and the terrorist is not always easy for the US government, given public protests and outpourings of anger at lax gun laws as well as right-wing, conservative politics that support white racial sovereignty. Such protests were visible also after the Orlando massacre of Latinx queers in June 2016. Public protest that the killer, Omar Mateen, targeted LGBT persons and Latinx ones in particular, clashed with police and FBI claims that he was anti-American and working in sympathy with extremist groups in the Middle East.²⁴ Although Mateen had little contact with Al Qaeda or ISIS, he was seen as a terrorist because he was a Muslim, and because he did claim that he was aligned with radical groups in the Middle East. However, the media also designated the massacre as terrorist violence and as a foreign threat, in the absence of any evidence that Mateen was at all connected to groups in the Middle East or South Asia that

are associated with radical Islam. Mateen's father called his son's massacre a terrorist act, eager to dissociate himself from his son's politics.²⁵ The police called it "domestic terrorism" though, as Juan Cole pointed out, Mateen's motivations did not fit the definition of domestic terrorism because he did not seem to have the political motives that the term requires.²⁶ Media opinion, such as that by Stephen Donnan in *The Huffington Post*—using a more intersectional analysis combining race, sexuality, and gender—claimed Mateen was motivated by "homophobic terrorism," noting the extent of the violence perpetrated against LGBT communities more generally.²⁷ Even this more intersectional approach associated homophobia with terrorism and thus with something that was not to be seen as American. Donnan hopes that the charge of terrorism might properly address the fearfulness and violence caused by homophobia, since Mateen was also targeting trans bodies.

Such outsourcing and pinkwashing of homophobia then also left out the complexity of race and sexuality: that most of the victims were young people of color and many were trans people of color.²⁸ By placing Mateen into the category of "terrorist," his homophobia could become a "foreign" and supposedly Muslim bias, relying on stereotypes of Muslim cultures as homophobic. Claims of American national protection and progress could then be made through "pinkwashing," the idea that the United States is a country that protects LGBT persons and that Muslim and other non-European and American countries are intolerant.²⁹ That Mateen had been born and brought up in the United States, had seldom expressed any religious sentiment, and was considered by those who knew him a disturbed and unstable young man could then be forgotten if the term "terrorist" were applied to him. Further, his questioning earlier by the FBI in connection with terrorism and subsequent release simply became evidence of the inadequacy of the FBI to find terrorists and the need to redefine the term "terrorist," beyond those networked to ISIS, to include "lone wolf" Muslims who acted in allegiance with ISIS. While it was only the "shooter" who had been understood to be acting as the "lone wolf" and the terrorist was always the figure of collective Muslims, now the Muslim terrorist was also regarded as acting alone. Keeping the link between Muslims and terrorism, the *New York Times* called Mateen "a lone terrorist" rather than addressing the problem of the category itself.³⁰ Even Mateen's father called him a terrorist while having no clue why Mateen had done such a horrendous act; becoming the "good Muslim" here meant that Mateen's father had to condemn his son.

Yet, Mateen was also like many other workers, especially those in the security industries, whose militarism and violence were harnessed for profit. His violence might not have been unusual at all. He had worked as a security guard at a private security firm, G4S, even though he was unstable and talked about hating many groups of people including blacks, women, Jews, and lesbians, as well as threatening to kill people.³¹ G4S is a British-based global corporation that offers security services, including personnel and security systems, all over the world and works in Israel to run jails, checkpoints, and interrogation centers.³² That he was able to work there for six years makes clear how much a toxic masculinity made up of anti-Semitism, racism, homophobia, and misogyny may have been normalized at his workplace. Yet, such a militarized masculinity could not be called American and could then only be terrorism because Mateen was a Muslim.

Gun Ownership and American Identity

The common practice of differentiating the “shooter” from the “terrorist” and naming some (white, nonimmigrant) violent criminals as shooters constructs the violent, male, white heterosexual individual as an exceptional citizen. There are several ways in which the term “shooter” produces the exceptional citizen. First, it places this figure in the historical genealogy of the making of the American nation, specifically the long history of settler colonialism, Manifest Destiny, and westward expansion. Second, it produces him as a sovereign citizen by claiming the role of the military through the power of owning military-grade weapons as well as through interpretations of the Second Amendment of the US Constitution that suggest he is part of a militia in protection of the nation. In this configuration, the costs of gun violence (not limited to monetary costs) become normalized, acceptable, ordinary, and unremarkable. Third, it makes him an individual with a particular history of loss, family, and alienation or mental illness, in contrast to the terrorist whose motivations are never individualized and are attributed solely to a collective religious or cultural identity. Fourth, the shooter is linked to the subject of new media through the pedagogy of the video game—an extension of the subjects I discussed in the previous chapter. The shooter embodies the technologized masculinity of the gamer, particularly the masculinity represented in what are called first-person shooter games that have links to military training and to technologized futures of youth who affectively learn to be soldiers and citizens through playing these games.³³ Finally, because

this subject is an American citizen and belongs to a racial majority, no prevention, predictive analytics, or profiling are used by the state to prevent their violence—no mobilization of Homeland Security need occur. To be sure, there have been efforts by the FBI and groups such as the Southern Poverty Law Center to identify white supremacist groups, with some important successes in incarcerating leaders in the movement. Yet, most of these violent men are not surveilled, because of the unclear boundary between extreme and ordinary racism in a country suffused with racial violence. The violence of white groups is seldom seen as a problem of a culture or group and its paranoid desire for weaponry. Instead, it is normalized in a variety of different ways, as individual psychological illnesses, as normal and expected expressions of rage at the loss of white entitlement, or as forms of endemic and naturalized intimate partner and sexual violence. In recent decades, white militia movements have become more lethal, becoming not only antigovernment but also anti-immigrant and explicitly racist.³⁴

As a product of a history of American white settler masculinity, the shooter's sovereignty as an American citizen is supported by numerous right-wing, pro-gun, and neo-Nazi organizations; the United States has long been a culture in which exceptional citizens feel free to use violence to exert power over others. Carl Schmitt's notion of the state as having the sovereign right of violence through suspension of law enables us to account for the long history of racial violence in the United States through a white racial sovereignty in which independence and statehood were produced through militias and settlers.³⁵ In the making of the nation, sovereignty was dispersed to slave owners, settlers, and white persons who had the right to use violence over nonwhites to create the nation. Sovereignty was thus part of the right to be an exceptional citizen and to carry and amass weapons in this long history. From the militias of the wars of American independence to the anti-immigrant militias of the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries, guns have been part of US settler colonialism. Advocates of nineteenth-century westward expansion as well as Civil War politicians exacerbated and celebrated gun cultures.³⁶ In the process, they produced mythologies of white masculinity related to guns.³⁷ Police became armed in the middle of the nineteenth century, and labor protests were met with lethal police violence.³⁸ Shooting with guns became a sport, especially in regions in the northeast, where guns were being manufactured; shooting has remained a sport, with many shooting ranges where almost anyone can participate and video games that include battles, war, and a plethora of weapons.³⁹ Although it cannot be said that all those playing such video games or going to shooting galleries are ideologically unified or

belong to neo-Nazi organizations, the ubiquity and conjoining of pleasure and violence produce subjects who naturalize violence as sport.

Along with the ability of white men and women to collect and use guns, gun possession by black Americans has long been an area of struggle. Leaders of the National Rifle Association (NRA), the main progun organization that has a great deal of influence on Congress, claim that gun control laws are racist because such laws prevented blacks from fighting back, yet the NRA was created to prevent African Americans from having guns,⁴⁰ and now it has no response to the carnage caused by guns in communities of color. If the “slave codes” in colonial America forbade slaves from owning guns, voting, or gathering after the Civil War, Black Codes in the South were vagrancy laws used to constrain African Americans’ labor mobility through criminalization and forbade them from owning guns.⁴¹ Over a hundred years later, fear of the Black Panthers and their display of guns at the state capitol in Sacramento, California, led then-governor Ronald Reagan to advocate for gun control in the state, even though he was a member of the NRA and advocated against gun control.⁴² African American gun ownership has long been seen as a threat, as Adam Winkler argues, from the beginning of the United States to the present day.⁴³ In the context of what Michelle Alexander calls the “new Jim Crow,” the excuse of searching for gun possession is often the reason police give for stopping black Americans on the street, for their imprisonment, or for killing them, while white Americans claim their constitutional right to carry and often assert this right openly without similar repercussions.⁴⁴

This long history helps explain the numerous states and laws that normalize the behavior of those whites who amass guns, including powerful assault weapons that are similar to or copies of those used by military. These arsenals become part of ordinary American life and the home, taken as simply part of “American culture.” In such a context, gun ownership becomes part of exceptional American citizenship, enabling male control over the home and the public space. Numerous federal and state laws allow people to carry guns.⁴⁵ Often these laws allow carrying openly in public spaces.⁴⁶ Normalizing possession of such lethal weaponry, Congress banned the Centers for Disease Control from researching gun violence,⁴⁷ and enacted laws protecting gun manufacturers from liability due to the harmful and lethal use of their products. One recent example of this impunity is the Protection of Lawful Commerce in Arms Act, signed into law by George W. Bush in 2005,⁴⁸ in the midst of his war on terror and invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan. The federal assault weapons ban of 1994 expired in 2004, and Congress has since refused

to pass a new ban. As I have argued in previous chapters, weak regulations enable private sovereignties to flourish.

Although mass shootings have led to more focus on background checks, there are numerous loopholes, and much information falls through the cracks between bureaucracies. For instance, Dylann Roof, the Charleston mass murderer, was able to buy a gun, even though he had a felony drug conviction, because the clerk was unable to reach a police officer who could verify Roof's record within the mandatory three-day waiting period. According to the Gekas amendment to the federal background checks required by the Brady Bill, if a gun dealer does not hear back from the police within three days, he can sell a gun to the customer.⁴⁹ Because this particular dealer did not hear back, he sold the gun to Roof—with disastrous consequences. Even if the customer goes on to murder people, as Roof did, the gun dealer faces no penalties.⁵⁰

The remarkable sanctioning and normalization of gun ownerships and deaths enable pervasive violence and insecurity. The US government does little to prevent this violence, focusing instead on external foreign agents as alleged terrorists. Such a notion of “foreign” threat is masculinist and patriarchal because it gives immunity to violence and power in the home, the domestic space. Feminist activists have pointed out that violence is more likely to come from within the home/nation rather than from outside, pointing to the numbers of women killed in their homes by their intimate partners.⁵¹ Yet, the NRA and gun manufacturers oppose any attempt to regulate guns, even in the face of the horrific killings in 2012 of children at Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newtown, Connecticut. Although gun deaths have led many to advocate for stronger background checks on gun purchasers, the power of the gun lobby as well as collaborations between gun manufacturers, gun rights groups, and many Republican politicians and statehouses reveal that white American men's desire to amass firearms remains formidable and unchallenged. Although the majority of Americans have come to support background checks (though with loopholes, such as the one enabling Dylann Roof to purchase weapons), and the number of US households with guns has been decreasing since the 1970s, the numbers of deaths and injuries remain astonishingly high. By some surveys, gun ownership has fallen from 50 percent of households having guns in 1970 to 35 percent in the 2010s. Yet the number of guns collected has gone up,⁵² suggesting that fewer people buy guns but those who do, buy several. Mass shootings have also increased.⁵³ Although statistics about gun deaths are alarming, even more alarming—and often forgotten by those advocating gun regulation—are the statistics on

those injured by violence. In 2013, guns killed approximately 30,000 people in the United States, and about 20,000 of those were killed by suicide (mostly youth). Others killed include those in minority communities, women murdered by intimate partners, and those killed by gun accidents.⁵⁴ What is not mentioned are the 100,000 people injured by guns each year who are kept alive by modern medicine—many of whom would not have survived without such medical intervention, and who need enormous resources to heal and to live with disabilities. Scott Martelle, writing in *The Los Angeles Times*, calculated that the monetary costs of gun violence in 2012 was \$229 billion a year, a sum that includes medical, legal, prison, and lost wage costs.⁵⁵ What cannot be monetized and is even more tragic are the loss of loved ones, family, and friends, and the injuries to communities and neighborhoods. The fear caused by private armories is not to be underestimated. Moreover, the effect of this economy globally is considerable. American guns wreak havoc around the world, arming other security states, which spend vast sums on military;⁵⁶ the costs of that violence are incalculable—or perhaps, a calculation few might want to make even in neoliberal times when monetary value is assigned to almost every part of life. Neoliberalism’s contradictions in this case mean that calculation and risk assessments are abrogated in the face of the sovereignty of white, Christian, American masculinity.

Discrepant Consequences

Many right-wing politicians suggest that the only response to massacres is prayer,⁵⁷ but what is meant here is prayer by white Christians, since mass shootings have targeted those seen as religious Others. Although many of the perpetrators are given long prison sentences or even the death penalty, some are killed and some kill themselves during these massacres. Despite the individual punishments, the exceptionalism of the figure of the shooter is visible in the shooter’s contrast with the terrorist. In the aftermath of massacres deemed “terrorism,” large populations and groups are surveilled, imprisoned, and deported, and billions of dollars of weaponry and militarization are used by the state. In contrast, in the wake of shootings by white men, there are no public warnings about white supremacy, no billboards or subway signs asking people to “say something” if you see white supremacy.

It is striking that given the massive homeland security infrastructure that is in place to prevent terrorism, most gun regulations seem impossible to enact by Congress. Nonwhite populations and religious groups are preemptively detained, but not white Christian males. Such detention is considered

an infringement on the rights of citizens, not a mode of preventing violence (though I am not advocating such detentions of anyone). There is little done about white men collecting more and more guns; the racial violence by the state and its police means that nonwhites are much more likely to be killed, detained, or harassed if they do the same. Because of the pervasiveness of racism across the country, many of those white men fade into being “ordinary” citizens, and their numbers and powers mean that surveillance and profiling does not happen to the extent that it can for nonwhite groups. In general, policing and the carceral system reveal these differences, the violence of which has led to the Black Lives Matter movement and numerous protests by activists. As a powerful majority that controls the state and its powers of violence, white males are not subject to stereotyping as a group in the same way as are nonwhites; they are also recognized as individuals rather than groups. Their connections with transnational neo-Nazi organizations can also escape scrutiny, as happened with Dylann Roof as well as Wade Michael Page, the killer in the Milwaukee Sikh temple massacre. As such, they are not considered worthy of surveillance by government security agencies, though there is some monitoring by the FBI.⁵⁸ There is no “material support” statute allowing any connection with “terrorist” groups to be seen as a criminal offense (as I revealed in chapter 3) similar to that which criminalizes Muslims. Connections with and support of transnational white supremacist organizations are not grounds for searches or surveillance. For instance, the Southern Poverty Law Center, which has done outstanding work in tracking white militias and racial violence perpetrated by them, saw the Wisconsin killer, Wade Michael Page, as simply one of thousands. They had tracked him, and he had come to their attention because of his affiliations with neo-Nazi rock bands. Mark Potok, SPLC spokesman, said to the *New York Times*, “We were not looking at this guy as anything special until today. *He was one of thousands*. We were just keeping an eye on him.”⁵⁹

What happened in the Sikh temple in Oak Creek, Wisconsin, where Wade Michael Page gunned down six people with a high-capacity assault weapon, was then the work of an ordinary man, “one of thousands.” Yet Page was affiliated with a large, networked, transnational neo-Nazi movement. Dylann Roof, the neo-Nazi perpetrator of the Charleston massacre, was similarly not under any kind of surveillance. A week before the murders, he was even stopped by police, who found a part of an assault weapon in his car along with several gun magazines capable of killing many people in seconds, but he was let go because “a crime wasn’t committed.”⁶⁰ It was only after the murders that his Facebook page was surveilled, showing his allegiance to neo-

Nazi organizations and his racist ideas. Roof's treatment by police reveals how differently the law operates for white men; there is little doubt that the FBI would have operated very differently had he been Muslim or black. For Roof, there was no preemptive detention, no suspicions caused by the presence of an assault weapon and its magazine, probably because such weapons are all too common among white males and they are seen as a constitutional right.

The Problem of Hate Crimes Designations

Designating the massacres committed by white men as hate crimes is not a clear-cut solution to white racial sovereignty and its violence. Jelani Cobb, writing in the *New Yorker*, took issue with calling the Charleston massacre a hate crime, connecting it to a long history of murders committed by the Ku Klux Klan, and stating that the murders instead fit the legal definition of domestic terrorism.⁶¹ In the case of the Milwaukee massacre, on the other hand, many Sikh groups successfully lobbied for calling it a hate crime to signal that Sikhs were often targets of racial discrimination and hate within a longer racial history. They did so because it was a struggle to get prosecutions under hate crime statutes for killers of Sikhs. Designation of an act of violence as a hate crime can be difficult if an individual is not seen as belonging to a particular class or group that is subject to prejudice. For example, it wasn't until 2009 that federal hate crime law covered violence based on sexual orientation and gender identity. While there are federal statutes against hate crimes, many states do not have such statutes. In the case of the Charleston massacre, Dylann Roof was charged with a federal hate crime because South Carolina does not have a hate crime statute. Having a state statute would have made it easier to charge Roof and to add more penalties. That the state does not have such a statute is also a result of racism. Activists in the state, such as the head of the state's NAACP chapter, Lonnie Randolph Jr., said that white supremacy is behind the lack of hate crime statutes in the state, arguing that "this is the state that taught America how to hate."⁶²

But the hate crime statute also individualizes the crime, holding a person rather than a group responsible. Each of these white, male shooters is then understood as having a personality disorder, mental illness, or dysfunctional personal history. Such individualizing, as Katy Pal Sian argues, "exceptionalizes racism" as the behavior of "one particular racist rather than the problem of an embedded societal racism."⁶³ Within the hate crime framework, the Charleston massacre becomes the work of a disturbed individual, rather than one

with racist sympathies that were encouraged by a host of individuals and institutions within and outside the United States, including the military.⁶⁴ Wade Michael Page was both a neo-Nazi and an army veteran, and this mixture of institutional and group identities requires us to consider both the American state and a long history of imperial violence as key factors in his violence. Page's background illustrates US military violence in terms of racial violence, colonialism, and empire. Dylann Roof had links to neo-Nazi organizations, and his website was filled with evidence of racism, white supremacy language, and photographs as well as a racist manifesto. His website was discovered, after the massacre, not by FBI or by police, but by a blogger.⁶⁵ What seems clear is that the American state does not represent white terrorism as a coherent and concerted project, or as a "rogue" transnational network, as it does other militant groups such as Al Qaeda. Yet, as Neel Ahuja argues, these groups are transnational, linked, and networked.⁶⁶

Many commentators have argued that the shootings at Oak Creek were misdirected—that Page believed Sikhs were Muslims.⁶⁷ Such claims sometimes emerge from Muslim groups sensitive to continued Islamophobia, discrimination, and persecution in the United States and also from other South Asians who narrate, even in diaspora, the long history of the Indian subcontinent and the violence of Partition that divided Sikhs from Muslims.⁶⁸ There is also continued discrimination in India against Muslims, fueled by the Partition of 1947 and, more recently, by powerful, right-wing Hindu nationalism. Such histories are also transnational in their ongoing production of cultural and religious identities; these transnational identities prevent some in these immigrant communities from working together across national and religious divides. Recent Hindu nationalism in India has had an impact on diasporas, creating divisions between communities based on religion and separating Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims (especially first-generation ones) even if they all come from the same region or nation. When Sikhs insist they were not the intended targets, they invoke a mode of survival, a mode of Islamophobia, and a willful forgetting of the fact that whereas in the 1980s Sikhs were seen as terrorist and militants in India, now Indian Muslims bear the brunt of such surveillance—a transnational Islamophobia that has emerged over the last decade.⁶⁹

The claim that Sikhs were killed in a case of "mistaken identity" does not account for the fact that the targets of white terror are not one particular, religious community but a diverse group of brown and black people—a vaguely defined group of targets who "look Muslim,"⁷⁰ and who are all accused of taking the nation away from whites. White Americans have long targeted

violence against African Americans, Asian Americans, Latinos, Jews, and Native Americans.⁷¹ More recently, they have targeted LGBT people, especially LGBT people of color. Although African Americans have long been the target of white lethal violence—from slavery and Jim Crow to the wars on crime and drugs—South Asians (including Sikhs), Arabs, and Muslims have similarly endured over a century of such violence, but have emerged more visibly as targets of white lethal violence since 9/11.⁷² Sikhs and Muslims have been killed as a result.⁷³ Muslim individuals and groups have been surveilled, targeted, and incarcerated; Latinx families are being separated by deportations, and the impoverishment of Native Americans continues, as does violence against African American communities. Attacks on Muslims are connected also to a long colonial history of Orientalism and geopolitics of the so-called Middle East.⁷⁴ The history is also a racial one, given how black Muslims have been treated in the United States.⁷⁵

Gamers, Violence, and Masculinity

With the advent of digital technologies, the shooter's ludic history moves from shooting galleries to virtual environments of war and battle. Now the exceptional citizen is trained to be a soldier through online games. The advent of the "first-person shooter" video game is also part of the genealogy of the shooter, masking violence as a game. The US Army in 2002 released its own virtual platform, *America's Army*.⁷⁶ Designed as a first-person shooter game and recruiting tool, it allows anyone to play military games as well as learn about weapons, tactics, practice shooting, or military careers.⁷⁷ Although this game reveals the close connections between such games and the military, numerous other games have been created and the genre is tremendously popular and profitable. Many game companies market the games by citing a close connection with the military and the transfer of technology from military to consumer products.⁷⁸ In 2012, for instance, the *Atlantic* reported that *Call of Duty: Black Ops II* and *Medal of Honor: Warfighter* had some of the highest first-day sales of any games. They are set in places such as Somalia, Pakistan, Yemen, Bosnia, Philippines; they combine rationalizations of war with realistic details of location and military tactics that seem to have come from classified military information.⁷⁹ War is in distant places, against brown and black people, and thus these games share some key American ideologies of empire. With the popularity of such games across many communities, the ability to enact the violence of the exceptional citizen becomes available, albeit virtually and transnationally, to more than just white American males.

Global players share the ability to be perpetrators of this violence, even as consumers and audiences, popularizing through pleasure and play the work of empire and its white sovereignty. Jennifer Terry has argued that the proliferation of combat videos on YouTube that seem to be taken from both the US military (and mostly by white males in the military) and other groups incorporate “visual codes” that are shared with first-person shooter games so that combat becomes domesticated into everyday life.⁸⁰

In general, those who identify as “gamers” tend to be masculine, anti-women, and antifeminist.⁸¹ Most of those who spend long hours playing such games do not call themselves gamers or have violent tendencies—and clearly games do not represent reality.⁸² However, there is a link between heteromascularity, expressions of misogyny, and such games.⁸³ First-person shooter games, as researchers have found, are not about lonely individuals but rather about participating in gaming communities and about making connections and relationships with other gamers.⁸⁴ Yet such communities are male-centered and homosocial, and often become misogynistic, expressing hate and violence toward women.⁸⁵ This tendency became evident with the rise of what was called “GamerGate” in 2014, when media critic Anita Sarkeesian and game developers Brianna Wu and Zoë Quinn were targeted by gamers for creating games for women and for critiquing sexism in the gaming industry. They became recipients of hate-filled messages and threats of sexual violence and death, compelling them to go into hiding.⁸⁶ Much of this assault was conducted over Twitter using the hashtag #GamerGate. One of these gamers, whose name was not made public by police or press, promised to carry out “the deadliest school shooting in American history” if Sarkeesian was allowed to give a lecture at Utah State University.⁸⁷ Although the gaming industry promised to do more about diversity, it has proven difficult for companies to change their profit-making habits, suggesting that sexism in the culture is hardwired into these games and the business models of the industry. Nor does it seem to be possible to stop this kind of online threat and violence. Amanda Hess has noted that laws are often inadequate for the purpose, and the FBI has other priorities, seeing child porn and celebrity stalking as more important.⁸⁸ Gamer communities have become online spaces for expressions of sexual violence that can silence, harass, and frighten many players. Male power is expressed as violent and threatening, but also as contained by the game, and thus online rather than “real.” Despite these claims, such power does not remain contained in virtual worlds and communities. First-person shooter games normalize this violence, producing online fraternities that become part of everyday life. The misogynistic violence ex-

pressed by these gamers is not just part of these new forms of entertainment, since such entertainment has longer histories. “First-person shooter” games have “real” counterparts in the “shooting galleries” that allow people to use any kind of weaponry in target practice for sport.

Neither male violence nor white supremacy is new, as they emerge from long histories of settler colonialism and slavery in the United States. Histories of racism, neoliberal insecurities, and dispersed state sovereignties create violent insecurities for white, Christian men, many of whom perceive themselves as victimized by a long list of groups as well as national and global threats. Interpretations of the Second Amendment that enable gun ownership are both a sign of a state that is unable to control these groups, a sign of tacit state support of white, Christian, and American heteromascularity and the dispersal of sovereignty to this group. Despite the virulence and prevalence of neo-Nazis, no elected representative in Congress has suggested denying these groups the ability to buy guns if they belong to these groups in the same way that gun control advocates are trying to prevent those listed on what are called “no-fly” or “terrorist lists” from being able to make such purchases. Indeed, if there were any discussion about denying gun ownership to those listed in the FBI’s list as belonging to neo-Nazi groups, it would certainly raise the question of their constitutional rights. Given that neo-Nazi organizations are transnationally connected organizations advocating violence, murder, and race war, one might argue for greater concern over their ability to connect, communicate, and arm their followers.⁸⁹ Such concerns for constitutional rights, however, do not trouble congressional leaders who, after the Orlando massacre in June 2016, are now seeking to take guns away from those on “terror lists,” though these individuals may not have committed any crimes. As sovereignty is dispersed under neoliberalism, and as histories of race and empire continue to subtend citizenship, both militarism (in the form of the shooter or the spy) and humanitarianism (in the form of the NGO worker or the humanitarian) keep alive US exceptionalism through the work of the exceptional citizen.

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NOTES

Introduction

1. My thanks to Srimati Basu for bringing the Tennessee sign to my attention.
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3. Patrick Wolfe, *Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race* (London: Verso, 2016).
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5. My work focuses on both the "unease" that seems to pervade social life in many sites and the desire for security as both a desire for the "private" (through a sense of public/private divide) that recuperates home, nation, territory, and for difference in the making of citizenship and community. The proliferation of theories of insecurity, precariousness, unease, and disposability, though having disparate genealogies, suggest a broader thematic that has emerged in many scholarly works. See, for instance, Judith Butler, *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence* (London: Verso, 2006); Didier Bigo, "Globalized (in)Security: The Field and the Ban-Opticon," accessed July 18, 2016, <http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~ces/conferences/muslims/Bigo.pdf>; Didier Bigo, "Security and Immigration: Towards a Governmentality of Unease," *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 27 (2002): 63–92; Didier Bigo and Anastassia Tsoukala, eds., *Terror, Insecurity and Liberty: Illiberal Practices of Liberal Regimes after 9/11* (New York: Routledge, 2008).
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and altered their communities: Faye Harrison, "The Gendered Politics and Violence of Structural Adjustment," in *Situated Lives: Gender and Culture in Everyday Life*, ed. Louise Lamphere, Helena Ragoné, and Patricia Zavella, 451–68 (New York: Routledge, 1997). Also see, for instance, Butler, *Precarious Life*; Bigo, "Globalized (in)Security"; Bigo, "Security and Immigration"; Bigo and Tsoukala, *Terror, Insecurity and Liberty*.

8. Nikolas Rose, *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self*, 2nd ed. (London: Free Association Books, 1999).

9. David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 2.

10. Nikolas Rose, "Governing 'Advanced' Liberal Democracies," in *Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, Neo-Liberalism, and Rationalities of Government*, ed. Andrew Barry, Thomas Osborne, and Nikolas Rose, 37–64 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

11. Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*; Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000); Ravi K. Roy, Arthur T. Denzau, and Thomas D. Willett, *Neoliberalism: National and Regional Experiments with Global Ideas* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

12. Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, eds., *Millennial Capitalism and the Culture of Neoliberalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001). Another example: Indian neoliberalism demands efficiency, transparency, and development within a history of discourses of corruption of state bureaucracies that have foundations in the colonial state.

13. Cheryl I. Harris, "Whiteness as Property," *Harvard Law Review* 106, no. 8 (1993): 1707–91. Harris's understanding of property and privilege and passing remains a cogent analysis of the relation between race and class, as does David Roediger's on how groups not seen as white in the early twentieth century become whites. New white groups (Eastern Europeans and those from the former Soviet states) have joined the existing immigrant groups who became white over the twentieth century. Jewish groups remain both white yet targets of anti-Semitism.

14. Paul Amar, *The Security Archipelago: Human-Security States, Sexuality Politics, and the End of Neoliberalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013). Amar argues that militarized authority has replaced neoliberalism.

15. Rose, "Governing 'Advanced' Liberal Democracies," 37–64.

16. Nick Maclellan, "From Fiji to Fallujah: The War in Iraq and the Privatisation of Pacific Security," *Pacific Journalism Review* 12, no. 2 (September 2006): 47–65, accessed October 2, 2016, <http://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=265314284958675;res=IELNZNZC>; Peter W. Singer, "The Private Military Industry and Iraq: What We Have Learned and Where to Next?," policy paper (Geneva: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2004), accessed October 2, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/20034280?uid=3739576&uid=2&uid=4&uid=3739256&sid=21103985333101>; Kjell Bjork and Richard Jones, "Overcoming Dilemmas Created by the 21st Century Mercenaries: Conceptualising the Use of Private Security Companies in Iraq," *Third World Quarterly* 26, nos. 4–5 (2005): 777–96, doi:10.1080/01436590500128014; Kateri Carmola, *Private Security Contractors and New Wars: Risk, Law, and Ethics* (New York: Routledge, 2010).

17. Joshua Barkan, *Corporate Sovereignty: Law and Government under Capitalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013).
18. Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 164–70; Alfred W. McCoy, *Policing America's Empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009).
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20. William Julius Wilson, *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor* (New York: Vintage, 1997).
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23. Vivian Jabri, *War and the Transformation of Global Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
24. Lisa Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015).
25. Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff. *Theory from the South: Or, How Euro-America Is Evolving toward Africa* (Boulder, CO: Routledge, 2011).
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29. Amy Kaplan, "'Left Alone with America': The Absence of Empire in the Study of American Culture," in *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, ed. Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, 3–21 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993).
30. Kaplan, "'Left Alone with America.'"
31. Jasbir K. Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press Books, 2007).
32. Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages*.
33. Inderpal Grewal, *Transnational America: Feminisms, Diasporas, Neoliberalisms* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 198.
34. See, for instance, Newt Gingrich, *A Nation Like No Other: Why American Exceptionalism Matters* (Washington, DC: New York: Regnery, 2011).
35. Donald E. Pease, *The New American Exceptionalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009).
36. See, for instance, Mimi Thi Nguyen, *The Gift of Freedom: War, Debt, and Other Refugee Passages* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012); Chandan Reddy, *Freedom with Violence: Race, Sexuality, and the US State* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011).
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3. Muslims, Missionaries, and Humanitarians

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42. Alex de Waal, *Famine Crimes: Politics and the Disaster Relief Industry in Africa*, September 1, 2009, ed. (London: Indiana University Press, 2009), 103. On that same page, however, de Waal states that “Western thinking on famine and relief is founded on the distinctions between charitable and commercial, humanitarian and military, religious and secular, governmental and non-governmental” (103). This sentence is strange, given that in this chapter de Waal describes USAID politics in detail, showing the geopolitics of famine relief at work. In chapter 2 of this book, I argued that humanitarianism is soft

power and tied to both military and war, and in this one I am arguing that soft power links religion and humanitarianism in similar ways.

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72. United States Government Accountability Office, *Faith-Based and Community Initiative*, 6.
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84. Said, *Crimes of Terror*, 53. For the statute, see “18 U.S. Code § 2339B—Providing Material Support or Resources to Designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations,” LII/Legal Information Institute, accessed June 5, 2016, <https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/18/2339B>.

85. “18 U.S. Code § 2339B.” See also Charles Doyle, “Terrorist Material Support: An Overview of 18 U.S.C 2339A and 2339B,” CRS Report for Congress (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service), accessed May 30, 2016, <https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/R41333.pdf>.

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4. "Security Moms" and "Security Feminists"

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2. Cindy Sheehan is a white, US woman who vocally protested George W. Bush's Iraq War after her son was killed while fighting as a US soldier. In her memoir, Sheehan, too, presents herself as one of many naive Americans who had not questioned the rationale for the war until her son was killed. Her voice became a rallying cry for a short-lived antiwar movement. Sheehan is part of a long history of women in twentieth-century peace movements who participated in national and international projects, culminating in numerous protests against US foreign policy and its military and nuclear power. Opposition to war, which in part enabled Barack Obama to win the presidency, has grown largely in response to the war's failures, massive expenditures, and corruption, as well as the loss of American soldiers' lives. Yet, the war on terror has continued. Sheehan disappeared quickly from public view after the Bush presidency, though she remains active in the Peace and Freedom Party and in a variety of leftist causes. Calling herself a "Peace Mom," Sheehan runs a radio show and website and has written a memoir, *Peace Mom*, about her time in the media spotlight.

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6. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?," in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, 271–313 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988).

7. More recently, this project has extended to rescuing LGBT people from their "traditional cultures" and incorporating them into new forms of global modernity. The nineteenth century saw the imposition of British colonial antisodomy laws that criminalized all sexual practices that did not conform to heterosexuality. American evangelists, such as those I describe in chapter 3, have been active in many parts of the world spreading

newer versions of homophobia and heteronormativity. In doing so they, along with the enthusiastic nationalisms of many modern nation-states, continue the project of normalizing heteronormativity for postcolonial and postconflict social formations. See Jasbir K. Puar on what she calls “homonationalism”: Jasbir K. Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

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9. See Simone Browne for the long history of surveillance of African American communities: Simone Browne, *Dark Matters: On the Surveillance of Blackness* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015).

10. Carrie Rentschler and Carol A. Stable, “States of Insecurity and the Gendered Politics of Fear,” *NWSA Journal* 17, no. 3 (2005): vii–xxv.

11. Browne, *Dark Matters*; Kathleen M. Blee, *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s*, with a New Preface ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

12. Miranda Joseph, *Debt to Society: Accounting for Life under Capitalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014); Joseph J. Fischel, *Sex and Harm in the Age of Consent* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016); Setha M. Low, *Behind the Gates: Life, Security, and the Pursuit of Happiness in Fortress America* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

13. For two very different accounts, one with a longer historical arc and one on the recent wars, see Junaid Rana, *Terrifying Muslims: Race and Labor in the South Asian Diaspora* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011); and Browne, *Dark Matters*.

14. Carole Pateman and Charles Mills, *The Contract and Domination* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007).

15. Shelley Mallett, “Understanding Home: A Critical Review of the Literature,” *Sociological Review* 52, no. 1 (February 1, 2004): 62–89.

16. Vicki Bell, “The Vigilant(e) Parent and the Paedophile: The News of the World Campaign 2000 and the Contemporary Governmentality of Child Sexual Abuse,” *Feminist Theory* 3, no. 1 (2002): 83–102.

17. Bell, "The Vigilant(e) Parent and the Paedophile," 92.
18. Bell, "The Vigilant(e) Parent and the Paedophile," 100.
19. Another important moment in the United Kingdom was the News Corp scandal when Rupert Murdoch-owned newspapers were found to be hacking the phones of a murdered girl, Milly Dowler, as well as the phones of deceased military personnel. The ensuing scandal scaled down Murdoch's ambitions in the United Kingdom and brought to light collaborations between high-ranking police and reporters spying on celebrities and the British royal family.
20. Fischel, *Sex and Harm in the Age of Consent*.
21. Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages*.
22. Karen Tumulty and Viveca Novak, "Goodbye, Soccer Mom. Hello, Security Mom," *Time*, May 25, 2003, accessed February 4, 2016, <http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,454487,00.html>.
23. Michelle Malkin, "Candidates Ignore Security Moms at Their Peril," *USA Today*, July 20, 2004, accessed February 4, 2016, http://www.usatoday.com/news/opinion/editorials/2004-07-20-malkin_x.htm.
24. Malkin's website is available at <http://www.michellemalkin.com>.
25. Malkin, "Candidates Ignore Security Moms at Their Peril."
26. Malkin, "Candidates Ignore Security Moms at Their Peril."
27. Malkin, "Candidates Ignore Security Moms at Their Peril."
28. Malkin, "Candidates Ignore Security Moms at Their Peril."
29. For an interesting take on this security pedagogy, see the viral video *Kony 2012*, made by Invisible Children, Inc. In the video, Invisible Children director and founder Jason Russell gives his four-year-old son an education in humanitarian violence, telling him about the violence enacted by Joseph Kony and the Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and South Sudan. In a context of US culture, such violent pedagogy seems to be normative across media spheres.
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United States Imperialism (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876–1917* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001).

31. Michelle Malkin, <http://michellemalkin.com> (accessed November 8, 2016).

32. Michelle Malkin, “A National Security Mom Manifesto,” michellemalkin.com, July 20, 2004, accessed February 4, 2016, <http://michellemalkin.com/2004/07/20/a-national-security-mom-manifesto>.

33. John Mueller and Mark G. Stewart, “Balancing the Risks, Benefits, and Costs of Homeland Security,” *Homeland Security Affairs: The Journal of the NPS Center for Homeland Defense and Security* 7, article 16 (August 2011), <https://www.hsaj.org/articles/43>.

34. Malkin, “A National Security Mom Manifesto.”

35. Sandra Gunning, *Race, Rape, and Lynching: The Red Record of American Literature, 1890–1912* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Crystal N. Feimster, *Southern Horrors: Women and the Politics of Rape and Lynching* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).

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37. Kate Crawford and Jason Schultz, “Big Data and Due Process: Toward a Framework to Redress Predictive Privacy Harms,” *Boston College Law Review* 55, no. 93 (2014): 93–128, <http://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=2325784>.

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39. See, for instance, Malkin’s website, <http://michellemalkin.com>. Her books are well known for their right-wing philosophy, and, like Ann Coulter, she often deploys unsubstantiated evidence to attack Democrats and liberals. Many of Malkin’s arguments are based on specious evidence and have been refuted by scholars. For instance, her book on Japanese internment during World War II has Mohammed Atta on the cover, for some reason. See Michelle Malkin, *In Defense of Internment: The Case for Racial Profiling in World War II and the War on Terror* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 2004), and *Invasion: How America Still Welcomes Terrorists, Criminals and Other Foreign Menaces to Our Shores* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 2002).

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47. Cindi Katz, "The State Goes Home: Local Hypervigilance of Children and the Global Retreat from Social Reproduction," *Social Justice* 28, no. 3 (2001): 47–56.

48. Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002).

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Their Roles in the Intelligence Community," *Journal of Strategic Security* 8, no. 5 (fall 2015): 99–109.

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5. Digital Natives

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caused his roommate's suicide have to be understood also in terms of the imbrication of race in this case. There were many in the LGBT community, such as Dan Savage, who felt that Ravi had been scapegoated, and it is possible to see Ravi's race as a factor in such scapegoating, given that gay teen suicide rates have a long and sad history. See Dan Savage, "Who Killed Tyler Clementi?," *The Stranger*, October 2, 2010, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://slog.thestranger.com/slog/archives/2010/10/02/before-we-crucify-those-two-teenagers-who-streamed-tyler-clementis-having-sex-over-the-internet>.

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49. Prensky, "Digital Natives, Digital Immigrants," 5.
50. Prensky, "Digital Natives, Digital Immigrants," 6.
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52. Bernadette Murray, "AppCertain's New Curfew Mode Is a Dream Come True for Parents," *Digital Security Mom*, September 11, 2013, <http://digitalsecuritymom.com/archives/339>.
53. For more on content as digital labor used by corporations and capital, see Trebor Scholz, ed., *Digital Labor: The Internet as Playground and Factory* (New York: Routledge, 2013).
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56. See Philip Jenkins, *Beyond Tolerance: Child Pornography Online* (New York: NYU Press, 2001).
57. Judith Levine, *Harmful to Minors: The Perils of Protecting Children from Sex* (Boston: Da Capo, 2003).
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60. In May 2016, I conducted a Google search for "keeping black children safe on the Internet," which returned hundreds of thousands of results, almost none of which focused on African American children. Another search for "keeping African American children safe on the Internet" returned one key article from 1999, from the National Leadership Network of Conservative African Americans; while replicating much of this literature, it added that African American children need to have access to black history, and the Cyber Youth Network was a great resource for this information. Tara Wall, "Keeping Kids Safe on the Internet," National Leadership Network of Conservative African Americans, December 1999, accessed May 24, 2016, <https://www.nationalcenter.org/NVWallInternet1299.html>. It is also notable that fears concerning the safety of African American youth have been expressed through the language of a "talk" and the "letter" (written by African American parents to their children) that warn children to keep themselves safe from racial violence. Such a discourse emerges from concerns about widespread Internet surveillance by the state and refuses the language of the dysfunctional black family. See, for instance, Ta-Nehisi Coates, *Between the World and Me* (New York: Spiegel and Grau, 2015).

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62. Monahan, *Surveillance in the Time of Insecurity*.

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Coda

1. While most gun deaths do not come from these "mass shootings" as they are called, the spectacle of power and violence in such shootings are central to the kind of project of security and insecurity that I trace in this book.
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