

"torture," but also in light of accounts that rapes of women and young prisoners were included in photographs taken at Abu Ghraib. So far there has been no public prosecution of anyone specifically on charges related to sexual assault.

82. *Washington Post*, "Sworn Statements"; "These documents are the official English translations of previously sworn statements by detainees at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq. Some of the names have been withheld from these statements by washingtonpost.com because they are alleged victims of sexual assault."

83. Massad, "Re-Orienting Desire," 373.
84. See Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*; Butler, *Gender Trouble*.
85. Franke, "Putting Sex to Work," 1161.
86. Mbembe, "Necropolitics," 34.
87. See Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, 159.
88. Žižek, "What Rumsfeld Doesn't Know."

3. Intimate control, infinite detention

1. Hunter, "Sexual Orientation," 1528, 1529.
2. *Ibid.*, 1534.
3. *Ibid.*, 1529, 1542.
4. Simon, "The Return of Panopticism." Simon writes, "The icon for superpanopticism is neither the eye nor the camera but the database or even better *the form*: the marketing survey, the census form, application forms, medical forms, etc." (16).
5. Foucault, "Society Must Be Defended," 249, 252-53.
6. Massumi, untitled paper presented at "Beyond Biopolitics."
7. Deleuze, *Negotiations*, 174-75.

We're definitely moving towards control societies that are no longer exactly disciplinary. Foucault's often taken as the theorist of disciplinary societies and of their principal technology, confinement (not just in hospitals and prisons, but in schools, factories, and barracks). But he was actually one of the first to say that we're moving away from disciplinary societies, we're already left them behind. We're moving toward control societies that no longer operate by confining people but through continuous control and instant communication. . . . One can envision education becoming less and less a closed site differentiated from the workplace as another closed site, but both disappearing and giving way to frightful continual training, to continual monitoring.

On Foucault and surveillance, also see Simon, "The Return of Panopticism"; and Wood, "Editorial."

8. Clough, "Future Matters," 4, 14.
9. *Ibid.*, 14.
10. Hunter, "Sexual Orientation," 1528.
11. Agamben, *The State of Exception*, 3-4.
12. For a well-developed discussion of the Western media's problematic reporting on Pashtun male sexuality, see Sider, "Western Lenses." See *The Boston Globe's* "Spotlight Investigation," a website that includes "global coverage . . . divided into nine categories" and an archive of coverage beginning January 2002. One meeting of the

war on terror and the Michael Jackson child molestation scandal occurred in spring 2005 with the Internet circulation of a doctored photo of two presumably Iraqi boys holding a sign that reads in a computer font, "Still safer here than at Michael Jackson's!" and a white American soldier, all three smiling and giving the thumbs up. See the image at ThreeSources.com, "From Iraq." Thanks to Andrew Mazzaschi for drawing my attention to this and other related images.

13. Somerville, "Queer Loving," 335. Also see Somerville, *Queering the Color Line*.
14. Miranda Joseph, *Against the Romance of Community*, 149.
15. Spivak, "Scattered Speculations," 156. Also see Foucault, *The Order of Things*, 21.
16. See Jagose, *Queer Theory*, 59-65; and Seidman, "Identity and Politics." Seidman details a long history of the shift from liberationist to recognition politics (as the shift to an ethnic identity model).
17. Somerville, "Queer Loving," 335, 336.
18. Franke, "The Domesticated Liberty," 1399.
19. See Chauncey, "What Gay Studies Taught the Court"; as well as SodomyLaws.org's listing and links to commentary on *Lawrence-Garnier v. Texas*, "*Lawrence v. Garnier v. State of Texas*."
20. See Califé, *Public Sex*; and Warner, *The Trouble with Normal*.
21. Somerville, "Queer Loving," 346.
22. Somerville, "Sexual Aliens."
23. Somerville, "Queer Loving," 337.
24. Somerville, "Sexual Aliens," 83.
25. Volpp, "The Citizen and the Terrorist."
26. The breaking story on radiation monitoring was David E. Kaplan, "Exclusive." For other coverage, including responses by Muslim organizations, see Margasak, "FBI Monitors Radiation Levels"; Wald, "Widespread Radioactivity Monitoring"; United Press International, "U.S. Muslims Protest"; and Council on American-Islam Relations, "Muslims Meet with FBI."

27. See Sonia Katyal's useful reading of the case in relation to the globalization of gay civil and human rights frames, "Sexuality and Sovereignty." Katyal argues that the logic of containment foundational to the sexual sovereignty implicit in the *Lawrence* decision does not easily traverse varied cultural, national, and regional contexts.

28. Somerville, "Queer Loving," 346.
29. Richard Kim, "Sodomy for Some."
30. SodomyLaws.org offers links to press coverage as well as amicus briefs filed on behalf of the plaintiffs. Lawrence and Garner, at "*Lawrence v. Garnier v. State of Texas*."
31. Halley, "Reasoning about Sodomy."
32. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, sodomy is "an unnatural form of sexual intercourse, esp. that of one male with another." As defined by *The People's Law Dictionary*:
Sodomy is anal copulation by a man inserting his penis in the anus either of another man or a woman. If accomplished by force, without consent or with someone incapable of consent, sodomy is a felony in all states in the same way that rape is. Homosex-

nal (male to male) sodomy' between consenting adults has also been found to be a felony but increasingly is either decriminalized or seldom prosecuted. Sodomy with a consenting adult female is virtually never prosecuted, even in those states in which it remains in the books as a criminal offense. However, there have been a few cases, including one in Indiana, in which a now-estranged wife insisted that a husband be charged with sodomy for sexual acts while they were living together. Traditionally, sodomy was called "a crime against nature." Sodomy does not include oral copulation or sexual acts with animals (bestiality)."

George Painter's legal history of sodomy in the United States, "The Sensibilities of Our Forefathers," details the shift toward prosecution of oral-genital sex at the turn of the twentieth century. Painter's discussion, however, does not mention analingus, leaving it questionable as to whether or not analingus had a history similar to oral-genital activities.

33. Halley, "Reasoning about Sodomy."
34. Katyal, "Exporting Identity," 106-7.
35. Chauncey, "What Gay Studies Taught the Court," 509.
36. D. Gordon, "Moralism," 4-5.
37. Franke, "The Domesticated Liberty," 1401, 1400; Ruskola, "Gay Rights versus Queer Theory," 241.
38. Franke, "The Domesticated Liberty," 1403, 1416, 1404, 1417.
39. N. Shah, "Policing Privacy," 276; *Lawrence v. Texas* 123 S. Ct. 2472, 2478 (2003), quoted in Franke, "The Domesticated Liberty," 1408.
40. Franke, "The Domesticated Liberty," 1407.
41. Duggan, "The New Homonormativity," 181. This also colluded with the continuing disavowal of gay liberationist goals; along with taking sex public, they wanted to dismantle marriage, end capitalism, and end imperialist militarism. Some references to gay liberationist texts make these goals explicit, such as Third World Gay Revolution (New York City)'s "What We Want."
42. Duggan, "The New Homonormativity," 181. The "sex wars" were also emblematic of the drive to privatize nonprocreative sex (and divided feminist camps) by controlling of the sites of production and consumption of pornography. See Gayle Rubin's postscript to "Thinking Sex," 41-44.
43. Bhattacharjee, "The Public/Private Mirage," 312, 320.
44. Gilliom, "Resisting Surveillance," 78.
45. The New York City Association of Homeless and Street-Involved Youth Organizations, "State of the City's Homeless Youth"; Earls, "Stressors in the Lives of GLBTQ Youth"; Ryan and Futterman, *Lesbian and Gay Youth*, 25.
46. Brady, *Exhired Lands*, 87.
47. Butler, "Is Kinship Always Already Heterosexual?," 18.
48. See Rubin, "Thinking Sex," 13. *Lawrence-Garner* can be read as signaling homonormative movement inward from the "outer limits" into the "charmed circle" of "Good, Normal, Natural, Blessed Sexuality."
49. Robson, "The Missing Word," 399. See also National Center for Lesbian Rights "National Center for Lesbian Rights Hails Supreme Court Decision."

50. Nast, "Queer Patriarchies," 878.
51. Anonymous, "Renting Wombs"; Human Rights Campaign Foundation, "Florida's Gay Adoption Ban." Three states currently have legislation that either explicitly or in effect denies homosexuals or same-sex couples the right to adopt. Florida has a law that explicitly prohibits adoption by gay and lesbian individuals and same-sex couples. Mississippi prohibits same-sex couples from adoption and second-parent adoption. Utah forbids adoption by any unmarried cohabiting couple, and as a result discriminates against all same-sex couples. Human Rights Campaign Foundation, "Second-Parent/Stepparent Adoption Laws." Eight states and the District of Columbia allow second-parent adoption or second-parent adoption by same-sex couples, while fifteen states allow second-parent adoption or second-parent adoption by same-sex couples in some jurisdictions. Four states (Colorado, Nebraska, Ohio, and Wisconsin) have a court ruling that does not allow second-parent adoption or second-parent adoption by same-sex couples.
52. Bhattacharjee, "The Public/Private Mirage," 317.
53. Franke, "The Domesticated Liberty," 1418-19.
54. Koshy, "Morphing Race into Ethnicity."
55. See Berlant and Warner, "Sex in Public."
56. For an overview of the burgeoning field of surveillance studies, see Lyon, "Editorial."
57. Defert, "Popular Life and Insurance Technology," 214.
58. Hunter, "Sexual Orientation," 1535.
59. On geodemographic systems of profiling and the narrative devices they cannot eschew, see Curry, "The Profiler's Question."
60. The title of this section is taken from *Black Is... Black Ain't: A Personal Journey through Black Identity*.
61. C. J. Cohen, *The Boundaries of Blackness*.
62. Price, "Black Supporters."
63. Boykin, "Life after Lawrence-Garner."
64. Kim Pearson, cited in *ibid*.
65. N. Shah, "Policing Privacy," 277. See also N. Shah, "Perversity."
66. N. Shah, "Between 'Oriental Depravity' and 'Natural Degenerates,'" 714, 720, 705, 719-20.
67. Grier, "Having Their Cake." On figure 10, see disappearedinamerica.org: "Visible Collective/Naeem Mohatemen work on projects that look at hyphenated identities and national security panic. The majority of detainees in recent paranoia times are from the invisible underclass—shadow citizens who drive taxis, deliver food, clean tables, and sell fruit, coffee, and newspapers. The only time we 'see' them is when we glance at the license in the taxi partition, or the vendor ID card. When detained, they cease to exist in the consciousness. The impulse to create an insider-outsider dynamic with 'loyalty' overtones has a long pedigree: WWII incarceration of German-Americans; 1919 detention of immigrants in Anarchist bomb scare; WWII internment of Japanese-Americans; execution of the Rosenbergs; HUAC 'red scare'; infiltration of Deacons For Defense and Black Panthers; and the rise of the Minutemen."
68. See Arensen, "The Supreme Court."
69. See Rimer and Arensen, "Top Colleges Take More Blacks."

70. *Lawrence v. Texas* 2003 U.S. LEXIS 5013, 524, 521 (2003).
71. *Ibid.*, 522, 524. See European Court of Human Rights, *Dudgeon v. The United Kingdom*.
72. Palumbo-Lui, "Multiculturalism Now," 122, 118-22, 121, 126, 122.
73. Hersh, "Torture at Abu Ghraib," May 10, 2004. "Torture at Abu Ghraib" was posted to *The New Yorker's* website over a week earlier than it was released in print. See www.newyorker.com.
74. Hersh's article was circulated extensively and could be located on antiwar and/or anti-Islamophobic websites in July 2005, more than a year later: Hersh, "The U.S.A.'s Abu Ghraib Torture Scandal," <http://www.uslaboragainstwar.org/>; "Torture at Abu Ghraib," <http://www.notinnomname.net/>; "Torture at Abu Ghraib," <http://www.globopolitics.org/>.
- For examples of other uses of Haykel's verbage, see Qidwai, "Abu-Ghrahb." This example is particularly interesting as the Independent Centre for Strategic Studies and Analysis (ICSSA) describes its goals thus: "At the ICSSA we believe there is a need to change the ways in which vested interest is forcing the policy makers and general public to perceive Muslims as 'the other,' who need to be civilized, liberated and democratized in the image of the world mastering demo-gods in Washington. . . . The ICSSA promotes interaction with general public in the West and works at mutual listening for the simple reason to provide them with the real picture of the Muslim world other than what they have been subjected to through the 'mainstream' media distortion of the reality"; Independent Centre for Strategic Studies and Analysis, "About Us." See also Kennedy (a contributing writer to the *Boston Phoenix*), "Media Log."
75. MilitaryArticles.com, "Abu Ghraib."
76. Savage is quoted in Dave Gilson's "America's Laziest Fascist."
77. Hersh, "Implications of Photographs."
78. Haykel, "Implications of Photographs."
79. According to Joseph Massad, for example, the "Gay International and its activities are largely responsible for the intensity of this repressive campaign" directly referencing the Cairo 52 case ("Re-Orienting Desire," 383). Also see Massad on "always already homosexualized populations": "In contradiction to the liberatory claims made by the Gay International in relation to what it posits as an always already homosexualized population, I argue that it is the discourse of the Gay International that both produces homosexuals, as well as gays and lesbians, where they do not exist, and represses same-sex desires and practices that refuse to be assimilated into its sexual epistemology" (363).
80. Kabra et al. *Diaspora and Hybridity*, 129.
81. Many community-based organizations that have tirelessly labored against the exploitations of the prison industrial complex, immigration and welfare regulations, and police brutality against people of color angrily pointed out after 9/11 that the Act and the subsequent military order hardly signaled an "erosion" of previously safe and sound civil liberties. Instead, the provisions of both, whose antecedents can be traced to the repressive Counter-Intelligence Program practices beginning in the 1950s, are digested as a vicious intensification of the conditions of possibility of the status quo: in other words, more of the same. Two community-based organizations that articulated a continuity between their pre- and post-9/11 agendas are DRUM
- (Desis Rising Up and Moving), a nonprofit immigrant advocacy group, and the Andre Lorde Project, Inc., a nonprofit LGBT community organizing project for queers (and queer immigrants) of color; see Desis Rising Up and Moving, "About DRUM"; Andre Lorde Project, Inc., "About the Project."
82. Agamben, *The State of Exception*, 3.
83. Bauman, *Wasted Lives*, 13.
84. *Ibid.*, 32.
85. Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, 142.
86. Slavoj Žižek characterizes the fate of the detainees as being "between two deaths"; "Between Two Deaths."
87. Butler, *Precarious Life*, 78.
88. American Civil Liberties Union, *Worlds Apart*, 1, 1-2, 3, 2.
89. For discussions of testimonial and human rights, see Schaffer and Smith, "Personal Effects"; and Rodriguez, *Queer Latinidad*. Further examples of heteronormative framings by liberals and progressives include American Immigration Lawyers Association, "The 107th Congress," in which a discussion of the USA PATRIOT Act explains that it does "preserve immigration benefits for the families of victims of the terrorist attacks and others impacted by the attack"; however, it "includes several troubling provisions. It includes language that will allow for the detention and deportation of people engaging in innocent associational activity and Constitutionally protected speech, and it permits the indefinite detention of immigrants and non-citizens who are not terrorists"; Human Rights Watch, "The United States' 'Disappeared,' 'de-scribes in the opening to its executive summary how a man's two sons, ages 7 and 9, were 'picked up' as a complementary technique to waterboarding torture; Human Rights Watch, "United States: Locked Away," highlights detainees' lack of communication with their families; Ghani and Ganes, *How Do You See the Disappeared?*, opens with the text from a *New York Times* report about the jailing and impending deportation of a man and how it has been experienced by his wife and daughter; and Amnesty International, "United States of America: Amnesty International's Concerns," again emphasizes the lack of access to family, wives particularly, of detainees. In contrast, articles published in *SAAR: South Asian Magazine for Action and Reflection* are able to produce critiques of detentions and deportations without falling back on notions of heteronormative family. See South Asians against Police Brutality and Racism, "Not in Our Name"; and Vimalassery, "Passports and Pink Slips."
90. American Civil Liberties Union, *Worlds Apart*, 5.
91. On immigration to Canada, see Kobayashi and Ray, "Placing American Emigration to Canada in Context."
92. American Civil Liberties Union, *Worlds Apart*, 2.
93. Bhattacharjee, "The Public/Private Mirage," 317.
94. Visible Collective, *Disappeared in America*.
95. Bhattacharjee, "The Public/Private Mirage," 316.
96. Jeanette Gabriel, conversation with author, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J., March 2005. Gabriel is a civil rights organizer. See details about Uzna Naheed in Dow, "The New Secret War."
97. There are numerous examples of heteronormativity being reinscribed in activist

work, ranging from the Visible Collective, *Disappeared in America*, to the American Civil Liberties Union, *Worlds Apart*, to the films *Brothers and Sisters*, *Rising Up: The Alams*, and *Let We Forget, to Under Attack: Arab Muslim and South Asian Communities Since September 11th*, a documentary audio CD.

98. See Jacinto, "Muslim Blacklisting?"; S. Roy, "Banks Allegedly Blacklisting Muslims" and Russ, "Leave Home without It."

99. Graham, "Postmortem City," 185.

100. Howell and Shryock, "Cracking Down on Diaspora," 443, 445.

101. *Ibid.*, 451; Mamdani, *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim*.

102. For background on special registration, see U.S. Department of State, Bureau of International Information Programs, USINPO, "National Security Entry-Exit Registration System"; and U.S. Department of Homeland Security, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, "Changes to National Security Entry/Exit Registration System." Call-in dates also have been grouped by country, presumably in order of perceived threat posed by nationals. See Brandeis University, International Students and Scholars Office, "National Security Entry-Exit Registration System." For a discussion of the effects of special registration and similar post-9/11 policies, see the American Immigration Law Foundation, "Targets of Suspicion." For a critique of the special registration policy, see Jachimowicz and McKay, "Special Registration? Program." See also the summary of the New York Advisory Committee's May 21, 2003, community forum in New York City: New York Advisory Committee, "Panel Summaries." For coverage of the mass arrest of mainly Iranian noncitizens, see Talvi, "Round Up," 3.

103. American Civil Liberties Union, *Worlds Apart*, 10.

104. Iyer, "A Community on the Front Lines," 43, 47, citing *Dawn*, "33pc of Deported from U.S. Are Pakistanis," and Powell, "An Exodus." Also see Rimer, "Pakistanis Unperturbed by U.S. Raid On Residence." The title of the article is misleading, in particular in light of quotes from Asif Kazi, a city accountant from Chester, Pennsylvania. As reported by Rimer, "I'm still in trauma," he said. "I cannot sleep properly. I cannot eat. You are worried of the fear of the unknown. What's going to happen tomorrow?" "They broke the door," he said. "They kept her [Palwasha Kazi, Kazi's spouse] sitting at gunpoint, in the dining room on a chair. That's the standard procedure. I am not complaining." Asif Kazi's statements demonstrate the limited range of responses to being suspected of terrorism following the events of September 11. He can describe the experience, but he cannot fault anyone for suspecting him or his spouse of terrorism. The article ends with the following quote from Asif Kazi: "If, God forbid, I've done something wrong, hang me in the middle of the road. If not, leave me alone."

105. American Civil Liberties Union, *Worlds Apart*, 11.

106. Manalansan, "Race, Violence," 148, 147-48.

107. Maira, "Youth Culture," 220-21.

108. See Kelly, "Warning!"; and American Civil Liberties Union, "Surveillance."

109. Butler, *Precarious Life*, 77.

110. For a discussion of the distribution of trust through these technologies, see N. D. Campbell, "Technologies of Suspicion."

111. Maxwell, "Surveillance," 9; Mosco, *The Digital Sublime*, 22-24; Lianos, "Social Control after Foucault."

112. Weizman, "Maps of Israeli Settlements" in "The Politics of Verticality."

113. I am extrapolating upon Weizman's theorization of verticality from his work on the spatial control of the Occupied Territories of Palestine. See introduction to "The Politics of Verticality."

114. For a sample of formative, as well as representative, pieces on sexuality and space in the discipline of geography, see Myslik, "Renegotiating the Social/Sexual Identities of Places"; Binnie, "Trading Places"; Knopp, "Sexuality and Urban Space"; Rothenberg, "And She Told Two Friends"; Valentine, "(Re)Negotiating the Heterosexual Street."

115. Weizman, introduction to "The Politics of Verticality."

116. De Rosa, "Privacy in an Age of Terror," 30-31, 33.

117. Seidler, "Opinion"; C. Parenti, *The Soft Cage*, 4.

118. De Rosa, "Privacy in an Age of Terror," 34.

119. Andreas, "Redrawing the Line," 97-98.

120. De Rosa, "Privacy in an Age of Terror," 34.

121. Andreas, "Redrawing the Line," 97.

122. Nathan Root, "Accenture Faces Daunting Task."

123. Hier, "Probing the Surveillance Assemblage."

124. Examples of discussions of non-Arab recruitment include the Suburban Emergency Management Project, "SEMP Biot #128"; and Kirkland, "Analysis."

125. Young, "Feminist Reactions," 224, 229.

126. Armitage, "Militarized Bodies," 1-2.

127. Bauman, *Wasted Lives*, 71.

128. Maxwell, "Surveillance."

129. For descriptions of the experiences of detainees at Camp X-Ray, see Human Rights Watch, *Guantanamo*.

130. The counterparts to terrorist bodies, patriot bodies, are also instructed, through numerous self-help bioterrorism books, in hygiene, nutrition, and exercise, all in the name of stress reduction and preparation for a bioterrorist attack. In particular, see chapter 2, "Safe at Home: A Family Survival Guide," in *When Every Moment Counts* by Bill Frist, billed as a book from the Senate's only doctor (thus conferring the status and authority of scientific governmentality).

131. Butler, *Precarious Life*, 78; Muñoz, "A Forum on Theatre and Tragedy," 123.

132. Butler, *Precarious Life*, 57.

133. Clough, "Future Matters," 14-15.

134. Foucault, "Society Must Be Defended," 243, 245, 242.

135. Thacker, *The Global Genome*, 25.

136. Maxwell, "Surveillance," 9.

137. Thacker, *The Global Genome*, 142, 141.

138. Deleuze, *Negotiations*, 175.

139. Povinelli, "Notes on Gridlock," 227.

140. Miranda Joseph, *Against the Romance of Community*, 164-65.

141. Povinelli, "Notes on Gridlock," 228.

142. *Ibid.*, 234, citing Vogler, "Sex and Talk," Warner, "Publics and Counter Publics," and Berlant, "Intimacy." See also Berlant, *The Queen of America Goes to Washington City*.
143. Haraway, *The Companion Species Manifesto*.
144. For initial coverage of McGreevey's now infamous declaration "I'm a gay American," see CNN, "New Jersey Governor Quits." A more critical approach to the McGreevey scandal was written by Michael Musto, "Allen vs. Predator." On Mary Cheney, see R. Cohen, "The Mary Cheney Flap," in which he discusses the usage of Mary Cheney's homosexuality by both the Kerry and the Bush-Cheney campaigns during the 2004 presidential campaign. A different approach to Mary Cheney can be found at www.dearmary.com, a site devoted to pushing her to halt the antigay agenda of the Bush-Cheney administration; DonAmend.com and [The Equality Campaign, Inc.](http://TheEqualityCampaign, Inc)
4. "the turban is not a hat"
1. One of the most enduring images from the media jamboree of September 11, aside from the determined charging and ramming of planes and the perverse magnificence of the cascading towers, was that of a turbaned Sikh man being briskly hauled off an Amtrak train at gunpoint by multitudes of police. Sher Singh was the first suspect arrested after 9/11, and the first casualty of a doctrine of civil liberties already compromised by racist and xenophobic logics. As Sher Singh describes it, on September 13, while on the train in Providence, Rhode Island, he was raided by policemen with "huge guns screaming profanity at me" (as depicted in *Targeting the Turban: Sikh Americans after September 11*, a documentary directed by Valerie Kaur Brar). His guilt was established by the mere coincidence of his travel itinerary and, of course, because he looked like a terrorist. His turban, complemented by a profuse moustache and lengthy beard, played a pivotal role in validating his guilt. The media disseminated this image of Sher Singh compulsively and without regard to his Sikh identity, criminalizing the turbaned Sikh male body tout court and reactivating an older genealogical trail of the terrorist Sikh. For a tracking of hate crimes against people presumed to be Muslim after the events of September 11, including a state-by-state list of hate crimes that occurred during the week after, see Jannah.org, "Muslim Victims of Terrorist Attacks."
- Sikhs also experience religious discrimination based on the wearing of *kiryans*, regardless of their gender. See Shan, "Suspension for Ceremonial Knives"; and the Sikh Coalition, "Coalition Continues to Defend Sikh's Rights to Practice Their Faith."
2. At the time, however, his death was not news: no photos of this turbaned Sikh man circulated on the television or in national print media: the *New York Times* reported his death on page A17 without comment. He remained largely faceless, and only due to the efforts of community-based organizations were the details of his death dispersed. His turban, of course, rendered him largely unimportant as a victim of post-9/11 racial backlash. Sodhi's brother, Lakwinder, publicly stated, "My brother was killed because of his turban and beard." When asked by reporters "What are you feeling about Americans?", Lakwinder Sodhi angrily responded, "Why are you asking me that? We are Americans also." Sodhi's killing prompted a phone call from

- Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee to G. W. Bush to "ensure the safety of Sikhs living in the U.S."; CNN.com, "Hate Crimes." Investigative reporting details the movement of white supremacist groups into the Valley, the area where Sodhi was shot, a year prior to his death. Hate crimes in this region continue to escalate. Less than a year later, on August 4, 2002, Sukhpal Singh, another brother of Balbir Singh Sodhi, and a turbaned taxi driver in San Francisco, was also shot and killed while on the job; Hanashiro, "Hate Crimes." Few know of the double deaths of these brothers. By the time of the second incident, hate crimes against turbaned Sikh men, the misrecognized/mistaken terrorist, had been neutralized and absorbed into the media sensationalism surrounding 9/11. For the responses of advocacy groups, see Sikh Media Watch and Resource Task Force, "Multi-jurisdiction Meeting"; and C. Leonard et al., "Sikhs Voice Outrage."
3. Scott Thomsen, "Arizona Man." Roque also stated, "I'm a patriot. . . . I'm a damn American all the way," according to Goodstein and Lewin, "Victims of Mistaken Identity." In 2003, Roque was found guilty of murdering Sodhi and received the death penalty. He was also found guilty on charges of drive-by shooting, attempted first-degree murder, and endangerment and received an additional thirty-six years. In response to the judge asking if he had any comment, Roque stated, "Just that I'm sorry that all this happened"; Associated Press, "Man Sentenced to Death."
4. The GSSA of Bridgewater, New Jersey, produced a series of public materials after the events of September 11. On September 14, 2001, they issued a press release that condemned the attacks and Osama bin Laden. In response to media coverage of bin Laden and the Taliban, they argued, "What is unfortunate is that the images of the likely perpetrators have made suspects and victims of Sikh communities. . . . In the days following the attack, anti-Arab, anti-Muslim, and anti-Sikh sentiments have steadily grown." They call for "the media, public advocates and politicians . . . to be careful and accurate about the distinctions between various religious, national, and ethnic affiliations that are implicated in rhetoric about who is responsible for the bombings." The press release was followed by fliers, including one titled "Our Fellow Americans and President Bush need our support to win the war against terrorism," an informational flier stating "SIKHS ARE FROM INDIA and have NO relation at all to OSAMA BIN LADEN or the TALIBAN," and a final flier that states "Sikhs are not Muslims." Despite the general opposition to hate crimes, GSSA materials clearly are invested in distancing Sikhs from Muslims and presenting them as deeply patriotic. The materials do not push for an analysis that acknowledges that one cannot assume a person's political allegiances based on characteristics such as religion, national, and ethnic identities. See Garden State Sikh Association, "Press Release"; "Our Fellow Americans and President Bush"; "Post-September 11th Flier"; "Flier: Sikhs Are Not Muslims."
5. The Sikh Media Watch and Resource Task Force (SMWR) responded with a press release, "Sikh Americans Denounce the Terrorist Attack, Ask Americans to Unite." Sikhs held vigils to mourn 9/11 in conjunction with the pogroms of 1984. United Sikhs in Service of America held a candlelight vigil in memory of the 1984 pogroms and September 11 on Saturday, December 8, 2001, in Madison Square Park; Sikh Coalition, "Please Participate." On uniting with Americans under the rubric of "vic-