

CHAPTER 12

Policing Bodies

Christine Quinan

*Assistant Professor, Gender Studies
Utrecht University, The Netherlands*

State surveillance of bodies has a long history, being a commonly used oppressive tool deployed by imperial powers to control, monitor, and discipline colonial subjects. As numerous scholars have made clear, colonialism was motivated, in part, by an attempt to place under surveillance colonized populations (McClintock 1995; McCoy 2009; Stoler 2002; Rothberg 2009). While French political philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–1849) wrote as early as 1847 of French surveillance of colonized Algerians as aiming to “penetrate their techniques, their beliefs, and . . . the secret to governing them” (quoted in Rothberg 2009, 358), postcolonial studies scholar Anne McClintock (1995) traces the first use of photography as a tool of surveillance back to imperialism and an emerging global economy in the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century the introduction of travel documents such as passports also signaled new and tighter restrictions on state populations and their mobility. For example, prior to World War I (1914–1918), crossing borders was relatively simple for most individuals, and it was only with the onset of the war that governments in Europe and elsewhere began introducing passport requirements for reasons of security and control. Critical race theorists and feminist scholars of color have also made clear how race has long been a site of control, with blackness being a key location where surveillance has been both practiced and resisted (Browne 2015; Collins 2009; Davis 2003).

With both the rise of advanced technology and growing terrorist attacks and threats, policing and surveillance, particularly of certain populations, has dramatically increased since the early 2000s, again in the name of national security. This is not an innocent system of protection, though. When looking at Western security practices, it becomes clear that bodies that do not quite fit into a white, secular, gender-normative, physically able hegemonic system become marked and seen as threatening “others.” While tools of surveillance have grown increasingly surreptitious, the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks against the United States marked a clear turning point. With the subsequent launching of the “war on terror” by President George W. Bush came a renewed justification to institute more and increasingly invasive surveillance techniques worldwide, many of which have amounted to racial, religious, and gender profiling. This global war on terror can be understood as an international military campaign instituted with the US and United Kingdom invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 and with the invasion and occupation of Iraq in 2003. In addition, it can be read as a metaphor of war used primarily by Western governments and media outlets in the wake of the terrorist attacks to refer to pervasive, vague, and often questionable tactics employed by Western nations (most specifically the United States), including drone strikes

and targeted assassinations. Beyond its use as a political and legal tool, it has also served ideological purposes by being employed to justify neo-imperial tactics, including the invasion and occupation of non-Western states and regimes accused of terrorism or of harboring terrorists.

Thus, a hallmark of the contemporary post-9/11 era has been the increased tracking, surveillance, monitoring, and securitization of all populations, with a specific focus on “suspicious” individuals who do not match accepted norms. It is impossible to escape news of the various security measures designed and implemented to fight the war on terror, including enhanced airport security screening, phone and Internet wiretapping, and ubiquitous closed-circuit television (CCTV) recording and transmission. Such measures are often justified with the claim that they make populations more “safe,” yet a growing body of critical work has uncovered how such securitization is a highly political and ideological endeavor that is reliant on constructed binaries. For example, dichotomies such as inside/outside and citizen/terrorist become critical to the maintenance of homeland security, as such discourses are built on the notion that there is a threat to be contained or excluded. Furthermore, from this construction emerges an *us*/them binary, where the *us* is constructed as normal and the *them* is seen as abnormal or deviant. But critical disciplines such as gender studies and queer studies raise such questions as who are the “they”? And who are the “we”?

In considering how security practices are built on such binary constructions, this chapter takes a closer look at how gender is bound up in security practices, with a specific focus on nonbinary forms of gender and gender nonconformity. It also examines how hostility toward gender transgression may change or intensify during moments of nationalism, racism, and geopolitical violence, such as in the aftermath of 9/11, and how surveillance technologies, mechanisms, and attitudes police nonnormativity. This chapter also reflects on the following broader questions: How are those who may not clearly fit binaristic gender categories policed? How do nation-states respond to national subjects who deviate? How has 9/11 affected the surveillance and policing of marked bodies? In responding to these questions, this chapter takes transgender and gender-nonconforming bodies/subjects as a case study to explore the ways in which border crossings matter and how they privilege unmarked bodies.

NATION-STATES AND BORDER CROSSINGS

The notion of the modern nation-state (also referred to as a nation, a country, or a state) dates back to the eighteenth century and the fall of European monarchies. The nation-state is a form of political and governing organization and tends to be defined as a sovereign state with defined borders wherein much of the population is thought to be united by a common history, culture, and/or language. While this conception has served specific purposes (even as it was challenged) throughout the past two centuries, the growth of capitalism and the rise of multinational corporations have meant that the nation-state can no longer function in the same way it previously did. Globalization, which refers to the process whereby large corporations have grown in power and size to dominate national economies, plays an important role here. Two aspects of globalization—cross-border trade and cultural exchange—have resulted in the movement and dispersion of people worldwide. While globalization may suggest simplified international communication and mobility, increases of transnational flows and circuits of both people and products have, in fact, often exacerbated inequalities, particularly for marginalized groups, such as women and ethnic minorities.

Here exists a paradox, because at the same time that late twentieth-century free-trade agreements such as the North American Free Trade Agreement and associations such as the European Free Trade Association have allowed for the movement of goods across borders without hindrance, there has been a simultaneous militarization of national boundaries and an increased criminalization of individuals crossing borders, including those attempting to find employment or to flee war-torn regions. In other words, borders hold—and continue to enact—histories of colonialism, imperialism, and capitalism. In this sense, border crossings not only are matters of survival for some but also are inherently political acts, for borders themselves are constantly inscribed in and through political practices that mark certain populations as more desirable and others as unwanted. At the border, mechanisms that allow for the separation of the “threatening” from the “profitable” pervade. State security practices are particularly invested in the management of nonlinear flows, which results in the reconfiguration of borders, power, and politics.

Just as McClintock identified photography as an early tool of surveillance, advanced technologies also rely on visualizing the human body. This has in turn meant that the body has become a key site of monitoring and policing, as can be seen in such technologies as full-body scanners, which are examined below. A consequence of this focus on the physical body is that those who fall outside the markers of normative race, gender, religion, and ability become targets, whereas those who are seen as “normal” and “productive” citizens (e.g., white, cisgender, secular, physically able) pass easily through visible and invisible security checkpoints. As feminist scholar Inderpal Grewal writes:

From the “criminal” as one level of risk for violence, to “terrorist” as the designation of the person who is a risk to the nation, we can see the progressively higher levels of risk associated with particular bodies within specific locations. . . . Security thus brings together both the possibility of happiness and freedom, possible through protection from danger, through the practices of the individual. Race and gender become modes of knowledge that produce the figures of danger and risk through technologies of surveillance, visibility and, importantly, self-regulation. (2003, 539)

So not only are racial and gendered minorities targets of surveillance (think again of racial profiling, for example), but as Grewal points out, race and gender themselves become “modes of knowledge” that then play a role in producing those individuals or groups who come to be figured as dangerous and threatening to the safety and security of the nation. And it is through the social and political practices of surveillance and (self-)discipline that this layered securitization occurs in which individuals are transformed into matters of security. In this sense, visual and epistemic violence are constitutive of surveillance and securitization. Different bodies/subjects are affected differently in this process. For example, in terms of gender identity and presentation, those individuals who do not fit normative ideas of how a man or a woman should act, look, and identify are often singled out as potential threats or disruptions. At the same time, this amounts to a form of disciplinary power in that it exercises and reinforces internalized guidelines and norms to the point that coercive means are often unnecessary.

While security and surveillance strategies rely on an idea of the body as stable and unchanging, this chapter instead draws on feminist and queer scholarship that has shown how bodies and certain allegedly passive objects possess agency and are in a constant process of becoming. While violence may shape and have traumatic effects on nonnormative embodied individuals, bodies may also perform acts of resistance and subversion. In other

words, bodies are malleable, not fixed and unchanging (Wilcox 2015). It is also important to think of the body in the terms put forth by Joseph Pugliese and Susan Stryker in their explanation of the concept of somatechnics: “The body is not so much a naturally occurring object that becomes available for representation or cultural interpretation as it is the tangible outcome of historically and culturally specific techniques and modes of embodiment processes” (2009, 2). In this way, embodiment is neither merely physical nor purely discursive.

GENDER, SECURITY, WAR, AND MILITARISM

Building off the above ideas concerning the importance of borders and bodies, it is also necessary to consider how war and security discourses affect border crossings. Israeli theorist and architect Eyal Weizman (2007) explains that security is built on the presumption that there exists an internal danger posed by subversive individuals within. He states that the notion of security “conceives new spatial practices and arrangements. It erects barriers and channels and rechannels the flow of people and resources through space. According to the logic of security, only a constantly configured and reconfigured environment is a safe environment” (107). As Weizman underscores, security depends on constant change and reconfiguration. It is not neutral or natural but is, instead, constructed and reconstructed (often by the nation-state) and is then negotiated and performed by national citizens and subjects. As is explored in more detail below, gender has become a prime site of securitization (and hence surveillance) precisely because security is evaluated based on normative gendered presentations and practices. Security studies scholars Laura J. Shepherd and Laura Sjoberg elaborate on this complex relationship between gender, security, and violence:

The borders of gender are policed as a part of an active policing of the borders between states, the borders between states and non-states, and the borders between the (safe) self-state and the (dangerous, terrorist) other. Narratives of the international fetishise and Orientalise the exotic “Other” (be it a colonial other, a trans-other or a terrorist other) to associate Otherness with violence and inspire violence towards the Other. (2012, 19–20)

Although national security has always been a matter of concern and focus and was a significant mark of colonial empires, the September 11 attacks and the subsequent war on terror exacerbated these divides, having drastic and sometimes deadly effects on those who were soon after (or perhaps already) considered “undesirable.”

Simultaneously, there has been a dramatic increase in surveillance technologies, with these tools becoming all the more commonplace after the events of 9/11, which offered a convenient justification for expanding surveillance practices already in use or under development (Clarkson 2014). For example, since 2001 revenue from security technologies, which had already been substantial, has skyrocketed globally. As is detailed below, many of these technologies (particularly those found at border checkpoints) rely on the notion that sex/gender is dichotomous (male/female, man/woman) and that it does not change. Even as the experiences of transgender and gender-nonconforming people may constructively challenge how the body and materiality are understood (Wilcox 2015), transgender bodies/subjects remain disproportionately affected, being targeted and policed by virtue of their gender.

For decades, international feminists, feminist scholars of color, and queer and trans scholars have been at the forefront in singling out the violence inherent in practices that

essentialize the body, and these critiques of global security apparatuses have made significant contributions to analyses of power, violence, and militarism. Since the 2000s, global interest—both academic and activist—has grown in examining how war and security practices are gendered. Although this work is still in its relative infancy, a solid foundation has been laid by scholars in various fields, including security studies, transgender studies, anthropology, sociology, cultural studies, and international relations. For example, in the above-cited article, Shepherd and Sjoberg make a significant contribution to studies of war and militarism in their focus on gender-nonconforming bodies, arguing that “both the invisibility of genderqueer bodies in historical accounts of warfare and the visibility of genderqueer bodies in contemporary security strategy are forms of discursive violence” that must be interrogated (2012, 6).

PARADIGM SHIFTS IN THE SECURITIZATION OF BORDERS

Before turning to an in-depth examination of surveillance of gender-nonconforming individuals in the wake of 9/11, it is important to take a closer look at the political and economic landscape, particularly how neoliberal governing strategies play a critical role in dictating who is worthy of protection and “security” and who must be surveilled and policed. Although difficult to define, neoliberalism, which is both an abstract system and a governing ideology, often refers to the policies of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries promoted by powerful nations and institutions (e.g., the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank) that have dismantled safety nets set up for vulnerable people and redistributed wealth and resources away from the poor and to the elite (Bassichis, Lee, and Spade 2011). Other characteristics include significant shifts in relationships between workers and owners, trade liberalization, growth of the so-called prison industrial complex, and increasing control over immigration. It makes itself known through institutions that manage populations and control who can be considered a “citizen.” Hence neoliberalism has trained individuals to think of their identities and struggles as separate and competing—an “oppression Olympics,” as some have described it (Hancock 2011; Yuval-Davis 2012). This has meant a shift to a politics of “inclusion” (i.e., recognition by dominant state institutions) in place of a politics based on structural transformation and a questioning of inequalities.

Neoliberalism must be taken into consideration in analyses of security and the policing of marked bodies. Securitization—like neoliberalism—is built on the idea of the inclusion of some at the cost of excluding those who are considered undesirable or as not contributing to the market economy. And this can have violent and deadly effects, because populations targeted based on race, religion, or other factors can be surveilled and stopped at random, resulting in detainment, incarceration, harassment, deportation, and even death (Billies 2015). Neoliberal governing strategies, along with capitalism, are central to the policing and surveillance of racialized and gender-nonconforming bodies, with the post-9/11 climate creating a perfect storm for disciplining race, religion, and gender and sexual variance. Even if homosexuality is increasingly accepted and protected (often in terms of human rights) and some gay populations have been accorded full citizenship rights, scholars specializing in the field known as queer of color critique have uncovered that this comes at the expense of other populations, in particular racialized others or religious groups considered backward and intolerant. Queer theorist Jasbir K. Puar (2007, 2013) coined the term *homonationalism* to refer to this process: whereas some gays and queers are embraced by the nation, others are actively policed and pursued by state

bodies. As Jin Haritaworn, Adi Kuntsman, and Silvia Posocco detail in their introduction to *Queer Necropolitics* (2014), there has been “a recent turn in how queer subjects are figured, from those who are left to die, to those that reproduce life. Yet, not all sexually or gender non-conforming bodies are ‘fostered for living’; just as only some queer deaths are constituted as grievable . . . , while others are targeted for killing or left to die” (2).

In the post-9/11 political and social climate, many trans and queer theorists and activists have demonstrated how neoliberal rights-based approaches and policies enabling inclusion into the mainstream will always come at a cost. A politics of inclusion requires simultaneous exclusion. That is to say, if certain subjects are “invited in” and included (for example, through the granting of rights or state recognition), others must be left out and excluded. Some bodies become recognizable subjects, whereas others are deemed threats to national security. In particular, those who do not contribute to the capitalist labor economy or who do not “fit” into the state’s designated categories of normative gender, sexuality, and race become the most common targets of surveillance. The post-9/11 web of securitization—particularly that of western Europe and the United States—has captured various groups, including Muslim Middle Easterners, South and Southeast Asians, and transgender individuals. For many gender-nonconforming people, Muslim populations, undocumented immigrants, and those living in poverty, the global war on terror only exacerbated the discrimination, oppression, and violence they had already been experiencing.

TRAVELING WHILE TRANS: CROSSING BIOMETRIC BORDERS

Many of the above-cited scholars are highly critical of prevailing security discourses, because even though security takes as its aim the notion of making human populations more secure and safe, modern security practices and strategies ironically make many groups less secure and more exposed to violence. In this vein, Toby Beauchamp (2014) has made significant contributions to detailing the specific impacts that post-9/11 surveillance and security practices have had on transgender individuals, specifically in the United States. For example, identification (ID) documents, which are necessary for many forms of travel (particularly air travel) and are always required when crossing national borders, pose a problem for many transgender and gender-nonconforming individuals. Obtaining an ID or a passport that accurately reflects one’s gender identity when this is not the sex assigned at birth is particularly difficult for poor trans people, trans youth, and trans immigrants (Beauchamp 2014), which often translates into intensified scrutiny and targeting by security agents, including police officers and border guards.

Bodily norms—informed by race, gender, and sexuality—are encoded in tools of surveillance, including body scanners and identity documents. This explanation is echoed by political scientists Paisley Currah and Tara Mulqueen (2011), who refer to some of the consequences of this intersecting marginalization in a post-9/11 context, showing how state-sanctioned racial profiling and transphobia—in the name of security—overlap, mutually intensifying and becoming inextricable. They write that “the proliferation of sites where individuals can be stopped, searched, and required to verify their identity—as part of the ‘war on terror’ or as a consequence of federal and state initiatives to identify, locate, and deport ‘illegal aliens’—only amplifies the importance of examining the production and policing of legal identity” (565–566).

Here it is worth mentioning that in September 2003, two years after the infamous events of 9/11, the US Department of Homeland Security issued a memo to security agents that

specifically cited a growing concern related to gender “transgression”: “Terrorists will employ novel methods to artfully conceal suicide devices. Male bombers may dress as females in order to discourage scrutiny” (quoted in Beauchamp 2009, 356; see also Magnet and Rodgers 2012). These “cross-dressing” fears targeted both Muslim populations (as this was figured to be a strategy that would be used by Muslim male “terrorists” by hiding beneath burkas or *niqabs* [face coverings]) and gender-nonconforming/transgender individuals, who have long been considered suspicious and deceptive.

BODY SCANNERS

For good reason, critical scholarship has honed in on the airport—the most securitized space in the post-9/11 era—as a key site of gender surveillance. Travel and airports are, in general, rife with pitfalls for transgender and gender-nonconforming individuals. For one, flying requires a match between one’s gender presentation and the sex on official identification documents, which can be a challenge to obtain for many transgender individuals. A perceived mismatch often activates higher degrees of scrutiny and sometimes bodily invasion (e.g., “enhanced pat downs”). Additionally, the increased use of body scanners that use backscatter-image or millimeter-wave technologies creates another obstacle for nonnormative bodies.

In basic terms, body scanners turn bodies into signs in an attempt to make them readable to or codable for the state in order to locate and eliminate security risks. They are read first by machines, then read by experts off-site and out of view of the traveler, and finally sent back to the security agent, who must address any concerns flagged, whether through questioning or pat downs. In the body scanner, identity and subjectivity are stripped away, persons are objectified, and bodies are transformed into digital images that are ultimately turned into computer code (Wilcox 2015). In this process, deviant bodies—including gender-nonconforming bodies—may be flagged as suspicious when they do not match the airport agent’s initial reading as unequivocally male or female.

Prompted by privacy concerns, millimeter-wave body scanners (which use a generic outline of a passenger to detect possible threats under clothes) have begun to replace backscatter machines (which display “naked” body images of the specific passenger to the agent). Nevertheless, they remain gendered. As is elaborated on below, the agent must tell the machine if the traveler is “male” or “female.” And there is indeed someone not far away viewing the specific body images, which are then sent back to the security agent.

The concept of surveillance rests on the idea that there exists a security threat or risk that must be identified and controlled. Whereas in the pre-9/11 security era the focus was on banned objects, attention has since turned to “problematic” or “deviant” bodies—that is, those who do not fit normative ideas of how a man, a woman, or a human should look.

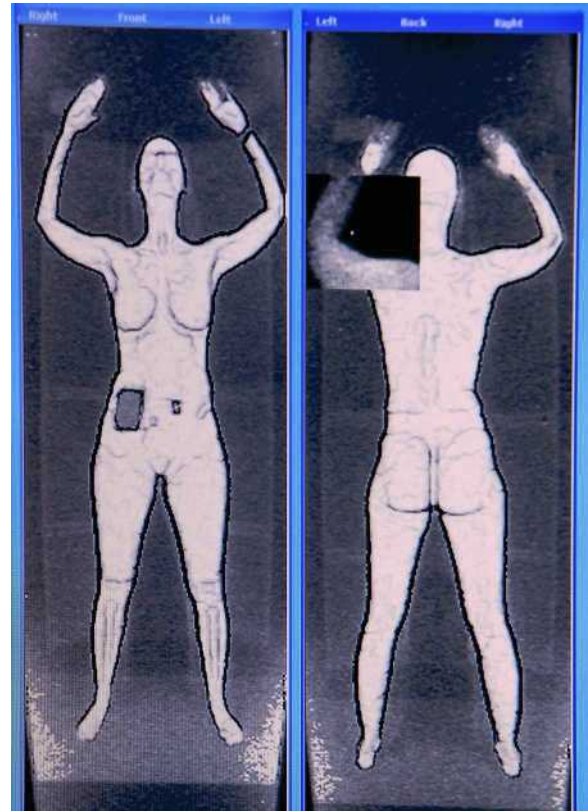
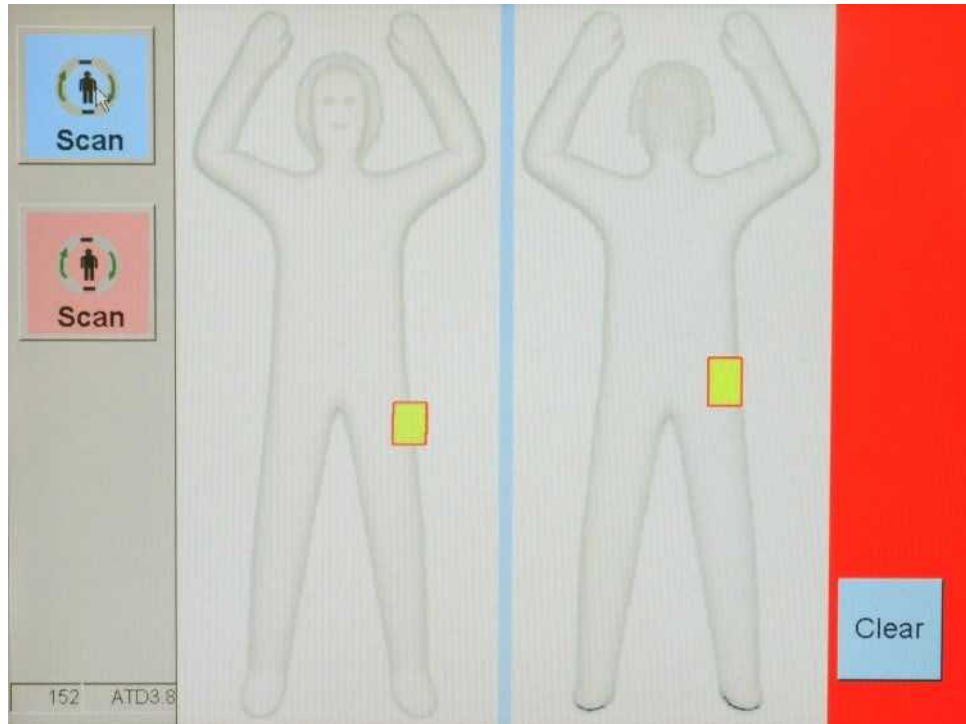


Image produced by a backscatter body scanner.
CHIP SOMODEVILLA / GETTY IMAGES.



Generic image used in millimeter-wave body scanners. Prompted by privacy concerns, millimeter-wave body scanners (which use a generic outline of a passenger to detect possible threats under clothes) have begun to replace backscatter machines (which display “naked” body images of the specific passenger to the agent). ETHAN MILLER / GETTY IMAGES.

Although millimeter-wave units purport to enhance passenger privacy, body scanners take as their point of departure the notion that bodies are fixed and unchanging. For example, with the body scanner, bodies are taken as information—not as living beings—that can be analyzed in order to identify and eliminate security threats. Airport security agents are forced to make a decision about each and every passenger’s gender by pushing either a pink button or a blue button as people approach the machine. When their decision is “wrong,” a security response is activated.

This conception of security is built around the idea of human bodies as biometrics: bodies become information—that is, biometric, coded data. *Biometrics* refers to technologies that measure and analyze bodily characteristics, which then become biological “data”: fingerprints, iris scans, whole-body imaging, facial recognition, DNA, voice patterns, and so on. Indeed, one of the most salient effects of 9/11 has been the intense push for the collection of biometric data not only as “proof” of identity but also in order to track and surveil populations. In a 2012 report journalist Alissa Bohling (2012) writes, “Because gender has become one of the first markers in the technology-centric race for body-based data—known as ‘biometrics’ in surveillance-speak—transgender and gender non-conforming people have been some of the first and most directly affected.”

Domestic and international security technologies and practices are designed to account for only two sexes/genders; there is no room for other options. And they presuppose that

bodies cannot lie. But thinking about the transformative potential of examining security discourses, it is also worth considering that “the experience of trans- and genderqueer bodies shows more than how certain bodies are produced as unruly or deviant; these ‘deviant’ bodies show the instability of bodies as signs of the ‘truth’ of either sex or gender and refocus our attention on how regimes of truth produce certain lives as intelligible and others as unreal” (Wilcox 2015, 116). Transgender and gender-nonconforming populations are not the only ones affected by such security practices. Differently abled or large or overweight bodies are considered suspect as well. This system based on two sexes/genders also works to enforce normative ideas and binaries regarding how bodies may look and act (van Zoonen 2013). While many of these technologies are tested and developed on vulnerable populations (including prisoners and racial minorities) at “home,” they also have long-lasting neocolonial implications, including forcing Muslim women to remove their veils and demanding that Sikh men remove their turbans before passing through such body scanners.

In the United States, given the growing concerns from transgender and human rights organizations, the US Transportation Security Administration (TSA) has made explicit mention of transgender individuals on its website, including a special statement to transgender passengers: “TSA recognizes the concerns that some members of the transgender community may have with certain security screening procedures at the nation’s security checkpoints. TSA is committed to ensuring all travelers are treated with respect and courtesy.” The same web page also provides travel tips explaining the various screening processes and technologies individuals may encounter at security checkpoints, including information on travel documents, advanced imaging technology, pat downs, and prosthetics. Nevertheless, gender-nonconforming bodies/subjects continue to be treated as suspicious security risks because of the surveillance practices in place that rely on a strict two-sex/-gender binary. And the National Center for Transgender Equality has cited growing concerns from transgender travelers who have been subject to intrusive security measures that violate their person and deny their dignity.

PASSPORTS AND IDENTIFICATION DOCUMENTS

As indicated above, as part of both the war on terror and increasing immigration enforcement, identity verification has only increased, which in turn has meant heightened violence toward certain already-marginalized groups. In the security assemblage of the airport—a structure of control that makes subjects into docile bodies—not only do body scanners exist to monitor and control gender but so do travel documents (IDs and passports).

Regarding passports, one cannot legally reach the secure and sterile area of the international terminal of an airport without this necessary document. The only piece of biometric data contained on a passport is the passport holder’s gender or, rather, sex marker. Here it is worth taking a look at changes made in this respect during the second decade of the twenty-first century. An X (or indeterminate) category has been allowed as a marker of sex on passports in Australia and New Zealand since 2011 and 2012, respectively. Additionally, around the world, there has been a relative abundance of state-based legislative and policy-level changes made with respect to gender identity and autonomy. Standard protocol in most countries that allow for a change of gender has been that, at minimum, a medical diagnosis of gender dysphoria be made, possibly followed by a number of other procedures that could include hormone therapy, sterilization, or sex-reassignment surgery. However, several countries (including Argentina, Bangladesh, Denmark, India, Nepal, and Pakistan) offer alternative gender options in legal and travel documents, including identity cards and passports.

These changes range from adding a third-gender option to removing certain obstacles for declaring gender identity to the state.

As growing numbers of nations are offering alternative gender options, multinational corporations are also beginning to enact trans-friendly policies. For example, in February 2014 Facebook began offering fifty-eight options for self-identifying one's gender and as of March 2016 offers seventy-one options as well as a field that allows Facebook users to fill in their own gender identities.

When it comes to policing and surveillance, though, it is worth interrogating what this could mean, particularly as Facebook has the capacity to track its users online (Quinan forthcoming). It would also be worth keeping in mind Facebook's words to investors published days before its announcement of new gender options: "We invest extensively in advertising technology capable of serving billions of ad impressions every day while maximizing the relevance of each impression to selected users based upon the information that users have chosen to share" (US Securities and Exchange Commission 2014). The US government, for example, has already spent nearly \$200,000 to study how trans women use Facebook, which most certainly relies on self-identification information gained from and perhaps sold by the company (Harrington 2014).

While some of these changes may speak to the idea that more than two genders exist or that gender is not a fixed or static condition, trans studies scholar Eric A. Stanley warns of jumping to too-quick conclusions about these expanding options. Referring to both the Yogyakarta Principles on the Application of International Human Rights Law in relation to Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity and the use of the X category on passports, Stanley suggests that "an ethic of gender self-determination helps us to resist reading these biopolitical shifts as victories. Here the state and its interlocutors . . . work to translate and in turn confine the excesses of gendered life into managed categories at the very moment of radical possibility" (2014, 90). Furthermore, other changes have been made simultaneously, some without much knowledge or notice of mainstream populations. For example, in July 2011 Transport Canada, the Canadian governmental department responsible for developing policies and regulations related to transportation and travel, made changes to its screening regulations that directly affect transgender travelers. Section 5.2 of the Identity Screening Regulations stated that an air carrier was forbidden to transport a passenger whose ID gender does not correspond with his or her apparent gender. (To some degree, this went unnoticed until blogger Christin Scarlett Milloy [2012] and other online activists posted this news.) While there have yet to be reports of transgender individuals being barred from boarding an aircraft in Canada based on the regulations, these new regulations point to ways in which gender remains a site of surveillance and securitization that has the capacity to limit the mobility and movement of those who do not fit the state's definition of a normative body.

Summary

While the focus of this chapter has been on the ways in which 9/11 has affected transgender and gender-nonconforming subjects, the concerns raised here affect others as well. As Currah and Mulqueen write: "The biometric use of gender should not be seen as just a policy decision that, however unjustly, limits the freedom of a very small minority of individuals [i.e., transgender people]. It also shows how particular notions of gender come to be

stabilized through their incorporation into larger systems of organization and control” (2011, 574). Indeed, all bodies are implicated in this management and surveillance, even if some feel its effects more strongly.

In a March 17, 1976, lecture, French philosopher Michel Foucault detailed the ways in which disciplinary power and biopower converge to construct and reproduce norms, arguing that “there is one more element that will circulate between the disciplinary and the regulatory, which will also be applied to body and population alike. . . . [That] element is the norm. The norm is something that can be applied to both a body one wishes to discipline and a population one wishes to regularize” (2003, 252–253). Foucault’s prescient words continue to ring true in the post-9/11 culture of securitization in which the body serves as a site of discipline and surveillance that in turn constructs norms. The norm, as Foucault explains, is administered on and through individual bodies, but it is also the manner in which a population is regulated and regulates itself. This chapter has demonstrated how such norms are applied in various contexts, most specifically at border crossings and in the security assemblage of air travel. These domains and environments rely on algorithmic surveillance and biometrics in which both gender and sex are taken as static and constant through both identification documents and body scanners. This purported fixedness of gender is integral to the construction of biometric security systems. This approach, however, has very real, often harmful effects on individuals who do not—or cannot—conform to such norms and affects bodies that do not clearly fit into hegemonic systems of gender, race, religion, and physical ability.

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