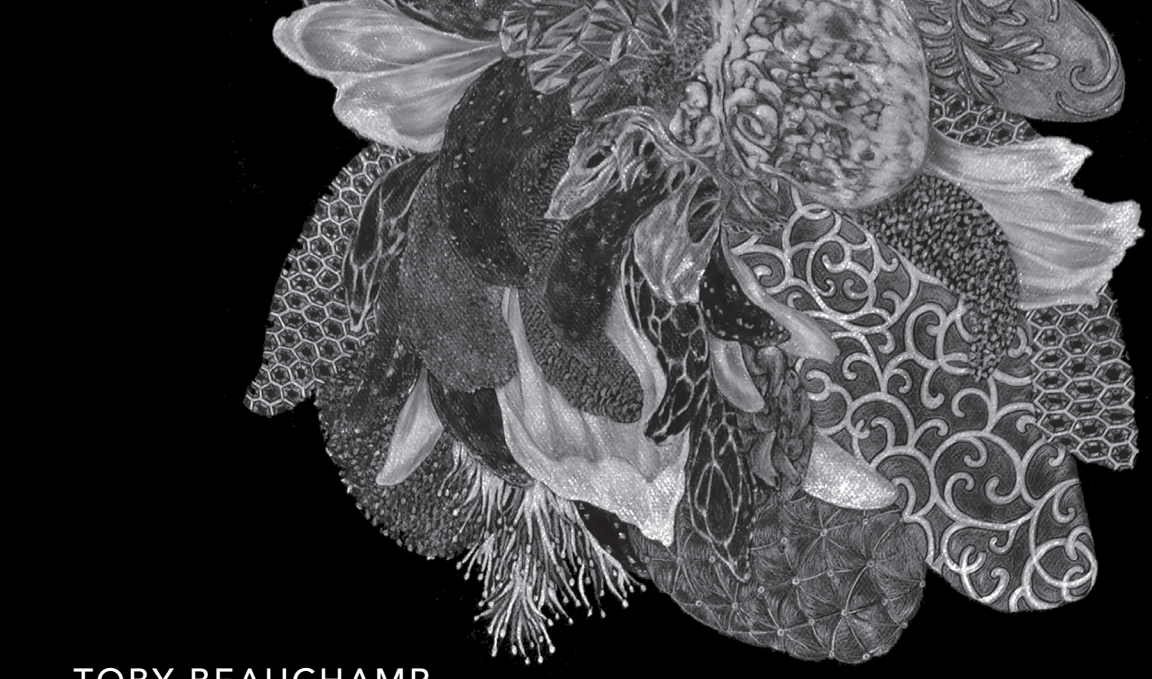
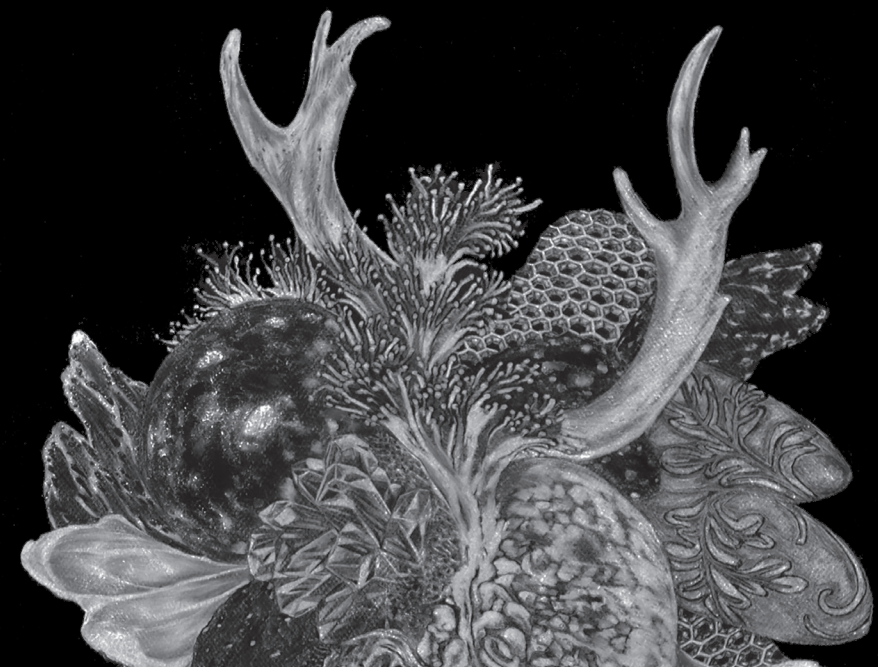


TOBY BEAUCHAMP

Going Stealth

TRANSGENDER POLITICS AND U.S. SURVEILLANCE PRACTICES



Going Stealth

TRANSGENDER POLITICS AND
U.S. SURVEILLANCE PRACTICES

TOBY BEAUCHAMP

Duke University Press | *Durham and London* | 2019

Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper ∞
Designed by Julienne Alexander
Typeset in Garamond Premier Pro by Copperline Books

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Beauchamp, Toby, [date] author.
Title: Going stealth : transgender politics and U.S. surveillance practices / Toby Beauchamp.
Description: Durham : Duke University Press, 2018. | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2018023454 (print) | LCCN 2018028966 (ebook)
ISBN 9781478002659 (ebook)
ISBN 9781478001225 (hardcover : alk. paper)
ISBN 9781478001577 (pbk. : alk. paper)
Subjects: LCSH: Electronic surveillance—Political aspects—United States. | Electronic surveillance—Social aspects—United States. | Electronic surveillance—Sex differences—United States. | Gender nonconformity—Political aspects—United States. | Gender identity—Political aspects—United States. | Transphobia—United States.
Classification: LCC HV7936.T4 (ebook) | LCC HV7936.T4 B43 2018 (print) | DDC 363.2/3—dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2018023454

Cover art: Angela Piehl, *Headdress*, 2011. Colored pencil on black paper, 30 inches x 22 inches. Courtesy of the artist.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments vii

INTRODUCTION | Suspicious Visibility 1

CHAPTER ONE | Deceptive Documents 24

CHAPTER TWO | Flying under the Radar 50

CHAPTER THREE | Bathrooms, Borders, and Biometrics 79

CHAPTER FOUR | Sensitive Information in the Manning Case 107

CONCLUSION | On Endurance 131

Notes 141
Bibliography 173
Index 185

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I HAVE MANY TO THANK for the care and feeding of this book, and my person, over the long period of its development. In its earliest incarnation as a dissertation, this project found guidance in an ideal constellation of faculty mentors. Then as now, Caren Kaplan's enthusiasm, insightful critiques, and commitment to ethical, collaborative research profoundly inform my work as scholar and teacher. I strive always to emulate and pay forward the balance of generosity and rigor that she models. Gayatri Gopinath provided steadfast mentorship during grad school and beyond, and she offered crucial support during the challenging period when I was grasping for the early kernels of this project. Colin Milburn was an utterly dependable source of cheer and encouragement and a generous reader whose observations unfailingly pushed me to think in new ways.

Among the many other supportive faculty members I first met at UC Davis, I thank Kathleen Frederickson, Beth Freeman, Cathy Kudlick, Juana María Rodríguez, Eric Smoodin, and Julie Wyman. It was my incredible good fortune to be part of the Graduate Group in Cultural Studies at UC Davis, which taught me the lasting value of truly collaborative work. Among my fellow Cult Studs, I am especially grateful to Santiago Castellanos, Marisol Cortez, Sandy Gómez, Cathy Hannabach, Valerie Kim-Thuy Larsen, Sarah McCullough, Christina Owens, Terry Park, and Magalí Rabasa; and to Davis grads from other departments, including Clara V. Z. Boyle, Ryder Diaz, Ryan Fong, Carmen Fortes, Matt Franks, Catherine Fung, and Vanessa Rapatz. At the UC Davis LGBT Resource Center, I particularly thank Sheri Atkinson and remember Angelina Malfitano with a tang-y appreciation. My work with Queers for Public Education—and related collective endeavors oriented toward the public good—indelibly shaped my political sensibilities.

The UC President's Postdoctoral Fellowship Program provided crucial material and intellectual support as I began the long task of turning a dissertation into a book. I will always feel lucky to have spent those postdoctoral years at UC San Diego with exceptionally generous colleagues including Lisa Cartwright, Kirstie Dorr, Fatima El-Tayeb, Kelly Gates, Nitin Govil, Todd Henry, Sara Clarke Kaplan, Roshy Kheshti, David Serlin, Nayan Shah, and Kalindi Vora. I am grateful to Ari Heinrich for reading drafts and for sharing so much through written words. Many of the first revisions were accomplished during writing dates at Twiggs coffeehouse with Lauren Berliner, whose good humor and encouragement kept me going. Patrick Anderson provided many meaningful points of connection in both scholarship and friendship, and he remains a continual source of warmth.

I thank my colleagues in the English department and Gender and Women's Studies program at Oklahoma State University, particularly the junior faculty writing group: Kate Hallemeier, Jeff Menne, Seth Perlow, and Graig Uhlin. Many other people I met through OSU provided important support and friendship, including Irene Backus, Lu Bailey, Caetlin Benson-Allot, Jennifer Borland, Ron Brooks, Jonathan Gaboury, Cristina González, Carrie Kim, Jen Macken, Shaila Mehra, Carol Moder, Charissa Prchal, Louise Siddons, Scott St. Pierre, and Stacy Takacs. One of Oklahoma's greatest gifts to me is a friendship with Angie Piehl, whose thoughtfulness, wit, and queer camaraderie continue to delight.

It has been a joy to work alongside my brilliant, funny, indefatigable colleagues in the Department of Gender and Women's Studies at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, including Teresa Barnes, Jodi Byrd, C. L. Cole, Samantha Frost, Pat Gill, Maryam Kashani, and Vicki Mahaffey. Thanks to the Hip Hop and Punk Feminisms crew—Ruth Nicole Brown, Karen Flynn, Fiona Ngô, and Mimi Thi Nguyen—for so immediately welcoming me into the fold. Chantal Nadeau and Stephanie Foote provided much-needed mentoring during their respective tenures as department chair. I am continually grateful for Siobhan Somerville's steadfast support and warm presence, and her writing has long been a model for my own. Though it will sound hyperbolic, it is simply factual that Mimi Thi Nguyen's generosity is unmatched; for reading drafts, for calming nerves, for neighborly care, and for showing me that it is indeed possible to be rad and ethical every day, I thank her in perpetuity. The dedicated administrative staff at GWS, Jacque Kahn and Virginia Swisher, deserve my grati-

tude always. I hold sincere appreciation for my students, especially those in my transgender studies and disability studies courses at UIUC, for creating spaces of generosity and curiosity in which to think together. Many other colleagues across campus have enriched my life and work at UIUC, including Ben Bascom, Onni Gust, David Hays, Kathryn LaBarre, Mireya Loza, Martin Manalansan, Jennifer Monson, Ghassan Moussawi, K. R. Roberto, Sandra Ruiz, Carol Tilley, and participants in the First Book Writing Group. Jenny Davis and Laura Davies Brenier arrived at Illinois just when I did, and I am lucky to know their capacity for kindness and to benefit from their excellent senses of humor. Silas Cassinelli's good company and compassion as a writing buddy eased the revision process on many occasions. I am grateful to Deke Weaver for his gentle friendship and for inviting me into the weird and beautiful worlds he creates, and to Jennifer Allen for her own energy and for her care of mine. Naomi Paik is a righteous force of nature with an enormous heart; she brings good food and good humor into our home each week, and her straightforward pep talks make all things possible.

Colleagues elsewhere have shared with me their valuable time, advice, and many small kindnesses along the way. Any list will surely be incomplete, but I wish to especially thank Aren Aizura, Simone Browne, Mel Chen, Deborah Cohler, Deb Cowen, Lezlie Frye, Inderpal Grewal, Christina Hanhardt, Ronak Kapadia, Greta LaFleur, Eithne Luibhéid, Minda Martin, Carol Mason, Robert McRuer, Nick Mitchell, Sima Shakhsari, and Susan Stryker. Jennifer Terry opened new ways of thinking for me at a critical early stage. Erica Rand has been a willing reader and enthusiastic collaborator, as well as friend. Dean Spade gave generously of his time to read and reread drafts and to offer generative questions and insights. Comrades in the Writing Every Day group freely dispensed optimism and unconditional encouragement. For their help in researching public accommodations policy for chapter 3, I thank Paisley Currah, Lisa Mottet, Alex Sheldon and the Movement Advancement Project, and the Champaign Public Library. I am grateful beyond measure to those who invited me to present portions of the book in progress, particularly to thoughtful audiences at UC Santa Barbara, CSU Fullerton, Rutgers University, Sonoma State University, University of Kentucky, University of Pittsburgh, and Illinois State University.

Ken Wissoker's steadfast commitment to this project, and to guiding me through the publishing process with minimal anxiety, made him truly a gift of an editor. Among the many other people at Duke University Press who

made this book possible, I am especially grateful to Oliva Polk for patiently answering the endless questions of a first-time author, and to Mary Hoch, Jade Brooks, and Susan Albury. Anitra Grisales helped me articulate the goals of this work in its earliest stages. I thank wholeheartedly the anonymous reviewers at Duke and at NYU Press for the time they invested to provide exceptionally thorough, generative, and encouraging criticism; this book and my brain are all the better for it.

An incredible network of people gave personal support to me over the long course of this book's development, and here too, no list could encompass all who have done so. Across many different forms of relationship and types of care, I particularly thank Nimmy Abiaka, Keight Bergmann, Laura Fisher, Yumi Lee, Lauren Jade Martin, Bob Meyers, Joan Meyers, Eli Ogburn, Ali Qadeer, Jane Reid, and Jen Walter-Ballantyne. Yasmine Orangi is a bright source of reassurance and solidarity for whom I am truly grateful. I am thankful for the time I was given with Bryn Kelly and Elissa Nelson. Several nonhuman animals contributed snuggles and companionship: Olive, Pim, and Pepper, and the still much-missed Frieda and Skye. For their deep kindness and generosity I thank the extended Degnan family, supportive throughout. I am also grateful to a set of people who are not only those most readily marked as family, but who have deliberately remained so in their caring relationships with me: my mother, Terry Beauchamp, who can at long last add this book to her treasured collection; Paula Mekdeci, Ben Coppel, and Emily Coppel; my remarkable sister Lauren Marlowe, Jordan Marlowe, and my imaginative, effervescent niblings, Emma Jane Marlowe and Logan Marlowe; and my Nana, Betty Scott, whose love and support I will carry with me always.

The friendships I cultivated in graduate school remain some of my most meaningful and trusted, providing intellectual, political, and emotional sustenance across this project's life span and beyond. More than once, Tallie Ben Daniel's encouragement and compassion have been a balm for the complicated feelings that this research provoked in me. Abbie Boggs is a model for the pursuit of critical, responsible engagement with the university and as such has provided genuinely constructive feedback at many stages; I would be remiss to not also thank her for supplying cocktails in both good times and bad. As colleague, collaborator, and friend, Benjamin D'Harlingue has quite literally been on this scholarly endeavor with me from day one; I am inspired by his political and intellectual commitment, and can only hope

this book does the unit proud. Tristan Josephson, stalwart companion in transgender studies, has helped me better understand the field and my place in it. Liz Montegary is a consummate reader of drafts, a source of thoughtfulness and humor in equal measures, and the best storyteller I know. No one has borne witness to this book's rollercoaster of joys and frustrations like Cynthia Degnan, who willingly joined me for the ride. She read every word across the many drafts, endured my most anxious moments, shared wholeheartedly in the unexpected delights of this research, challenged my thinking, and ensured that I had access to good food and quiet spaces, even when the latter meant my absence from her. I am truly grateful for her honesty and boundless support, which each day help me take risks that prove transformative. There's no one I would rather share a tent with.

An earlier version of chapter 1 appeared in a different form in "Artful Concealment and Strategic Visibility: Transgender Bodies and U.S. State Surveillance after 9/11," *Surveillance and Society* 6, no. 4 (2009): 355–66.

INTRODUCTION

SUSPICIOUS VISIBILITY

ON APRIL 17, 2007, the day after the shootings at Virginia Tech, a parent at Cranbrook Kingswood School near Detroit, Michigan, phoned police to report seeing a man on campus wearing a blonde wig, high heels, and lipstick. The private high school was placed in lockdown for more than an hour while campus security and local police searched the grounds and each room of the school, ultimately finding no one matching the description. A spokesperson for the Department of Public Safety told reporters that the parent who first saw the "suspicious" person "thought it was kind of strange, so she called the police" and noted, "In the wake of what happened yesterday in Virginia, it's better to be safe than sorry."[1]

Public discourse about the Cranbrook lockdown, limited mostly to local Michigan news outlets and some transgender blogs, typically conveyed a sense of regret that an individual had been unfairly targeted. But these discussions also tended to rationalize the police response by positioning the Virginia Tech shootings as an understandably and singularly anxious moment for the entire United States. The reports suggest that given this broader context, a figure that visually transgresses otherwise clear gender norms justifies heightened scrutiny from both security personnel and the general public. The hour-long lockdown and meticulous search of the campus took place in the absence of any alleged criminal act. Even trespassing was not an issue, since the school grounds are open to the public and connected to a number of public tourist sites, including museums and nature trails. Rather than suggesting that the lockdown could have been justified as a response to a specific crime such as trespassing, this additional information should clarify the extent to which suspicion attaches to particular people: the lockdown occurred not in response to just any stranger on cam-

pus, but to a very particular person perceived as strange and threatening. When asked if the person had done anything illegal, for example, one detective agreed with reporters that they had not, but added, "If you're a man, you don't hang around a school dressed as a woman."[2] The detective relies on a commonsense understanding that gender nonconformity—here, a man wearing clothing that men ought not to wear—itself indicates the likelihood of dangerous behavior, rationalizing both policing and panic by imagining that a gender-nonconforming individual fundamentally has something to hide.[3] This statement—and the surveillance practices mobilized through its logic—helps construct the gender-nonconforming figure as an inherently deceptive object of state and public scrutiny.

This book argues that surveillance is a central practice through which the category of transgender is produced, regulated, and contested. It works against the idea that surveillance measures simply spring up in times of crisis—such as after the Virginia Tech shootings or in the wake of 9/11—and also against the notion that transgender people exist as a readily recognizable population to be assessed by such measures. Instead, it aims to unravel these assumptions, taking a longer view of surveillance and security to illustrate how they produce the very categories and figures of gendered deviance that they purport to simply identify. In examining a range of practices—both formally undertaken by and spilling beyond U.S. state agencies, both explicitly citing and never mentioning the term *transgender*—I consider here how the category of transgender simultaneously coheres and further fractures through surveillance. Tracing the political and cultural histories of seemingly new surveillance practices opens space for understanding gender noncompliance through race, citizenship, sexuality, and disability; in this way, the book pushes at the edges of the category of transgender and seeks to expand the scope of transgender studies.

Although it made only a faint blip on the national radar and may seem disconnected from what is generally considered post-9/11 surveillance, the Cranbrook lockdown illustrates the central questions driving this book. The case offers an opportunity to consider public and state scrutiny of gender nonconformity in the broader context of historical anxieties about gendered deception; forms of deviance read through race, citizenship, and disability; and seemingly exceptional moments of national security crisis. Cranbrook was not the only school to increase security and policing directly after the Virginia Tech shootings; news outlets reported that schools in at

least twenty-seven states had closed, canceled classes, or otherwise implemented new security measures in response to threats or perceived threats during the week following the shootings. Cranbrook officials consistently referenced the events at Virginia Tech when explaining their decision to lock down their school. Transgender-related blogs and other media discussing the lockdown generally tended to acknowledge this political context as well, while still criticizing the fact that a gender-nonconforming person was singled out as dangerous based only on appearance. A group of concerned Cranbrook community members created a website that specifically called attention to the implications of the lockdown for transgender and queer people connected to the school, and they too pointed out the air of tension already present in the immediate aftermath of Virginia Tech.[4]

Using the shootings to contextualize the lockdown, news reports repeatedly cited officials' explanations that "it's better to be safe than sorry," despite the fact that at least one law enforcement officer admitted, "We're not even sure what gender the person is—it could be a tall, muscular woman."[5] This statement serves as an important reminder that surveillance of gender deviance is not limited to those who are transgender-identified, though it may appear as most visible and overt when enacted against such individuals. Although the officer's admission suggests that a tall, muscular woman is more likely to be deemed innocent than a man dressed as a woman, neither case negates school and law enforcement officials' refrain of "better safe than sorry." The phrase depends on a conception of safety as something that requires losing—or willingly giving up—privacy. Surveillance studies scholar Torin Monahan calls attention to this logic when he notes that questions of surveillance are typically framed as trade-offs, such that more of one thing (security) necessarily means less of another (privacy). Asking how much of one we have to give up to get the other, Monahan argues, is the wrong question. He suggests instead that we pursue questions about how surveillance practices organize our social lives and produce new, or reconsolidate existing, power relations.[6] This reframing must also counter the persistent belief that privacy is already distributed equally such that anyone might choose to relinquish or retain it. As scholarship and activism in areas such as reproductive justice and disability justice maintain, and as the chapters in this book show, privacy is not a default status but an exceptional one, granted largely on the basis of wealth and racial privilege.[7]

A case like the Cranbrook lockdown cannot be understood as an isolated

incident, then, but rather as a constellation of representations, policies, and material practices entangled in broad historical and social contexts. As I note above, almost every media response to the Cranbrook lockdown explained it as a result of anxiety about Virginia Tech. But certainly other factors created a general feeling of high alert, a feeling cultivated on a national scale and intensifying over the previous several years. By April 2007, Congress had not only passed but reauthorized the USA PATRIOT Act, the Department of Homeland Security was well established, and the Guantánamo Bay detention facility had been operating for five years. Furthermore, by the time the Cranbrook parent phoned local police, authorities had already identified the shooter at Virginia Tech as a South Korean immigrant who had been diagnosed with mental illnesses. Although much public discourse framed Seung-Hui Cho as shockingly exceptional, it also relied on an easy recognition of the monstrous and dangerous figure regularly woven into antiterrorism rhetoric, immigration debates, and medical classifications of abnormality.

The Virginia Tech case also rests on a complex set of racialized gender and sexual norms that contribute to both U.S. national identity and conceptions of citizenship, which resonate in the Cranbrook lockdown. As Jigna Desai and Amy Brandzel point out in their discussion of the Virginia Tech shootings, within dominant frameworks, Asian American men are already outside the boundaries of proper masculinity, "evoking the historical threat of the 'yellow peril' ready to harm white femininity with contamination and miscegenation by [their] uncontrolled nonnormative sexuality."[8] They explain that public discourse about Cho tended either to position him as a violent exception to the assimilated model minority (in contrast to the expectation of terrorism commonly attached to South Asian and Arab immigrant groups) or to fold him into a broad perception of all immigrants as potential terrorists. In these ways, Cho readily appears as a dangerous figure, failing or refusing to adhere to the intertwining norms of race, gender, sexuality, ability, and citizenship that mark out health and safety. Although public narratives of the Virginia Tech shootings build on post-9/11 security anxieties, they reverberate far more deeply, drawing on decades of Orientalist discourse and racialized gender relations. One prominent response to the shootings, Desai and Brandzel note, was a call for increased state profiling measures, not simply in routine policing practices, but specifically in the arenas of mental health and immigration, a response that indicates how these various narrative strands converge through surveillance.

The panic at Cranbrook was not produced merely through temporal proximity to an individual violent event. In part, this is because even the shootings at Virginia Tech—and subsequent interpretations of them—cannot be isolated from the longer histories that inform them. Those histories therefore also resonate in the Cranbrook lockdown, setting a context in which certain bodies or behaviors appear as strange and suspicious threats even in the absence of any actual misconduct. Moreover, to explain the lockdown as either about the tension produced by recent events or about a particular individual turns attention away from the larger forces at work. Desai and Brandzel point out that Cho's case did not prompt prolonged public discussion about what influenced his actions in the ways that young white school shooters' cases did, as with the many investigations into violent video games and youth alienation that followed the shootings at Columbine High School. They suggest that Virginia Tech did not draw this kind of investigation because delving into the broader racialized and gendered aspects of Cho's case "could force us to interrogate whiteness and the ways in which U.S. citizenship continues to rely on Orientalist discourses."[9] Centralizing the strange individual thus allows larger structures of power to escape examination.

Working against this tendency, *Going Stealth* aims to turn back the scrutinizing gaze of science, medicine, and law, attending not so much to the gender-nonconforming figure that is positioned as dangerous as to the uneven relations of power that produce that figure and its accompanying threat. It is tempting to read the Cranbrook lockdown as primarily about panic created by the Virginia Tech shootings, as local law enforcement describes it, or as primarily about anti-transgender bias, as many transgender media outlets see it. But this book argues that incidents like the lockdown can never be explained simply as basic transphobia or as overzealous security. Instead, such events should prompt critical analysis of the ways that gender deviance is produced, coded, and monitored not only in these spectacular moments, but also in the everyday. Likewise, the surveillance practices at work in this case emerged not merely in direct response to the Virginia Tech shootings, but through long histories of nationalist sentiments, racialization processes, and medicolegal taxonomies of bodily difference. This book insists that the two seemingly separate explanations for cases like Cranbrook—the particular targeting of gender nonconformity as dangerous and the explicit increases in security during times of perceived crisis—must be understood as funda-

mentally entwined. Although one news outlet reported that the Cranbrook school practices lockdowns twice a year, community members noted that the last real lockdown of the campus occurred in response to the events of September 11, 2001. That the sighting of "a man in a dress" might prompt the same security protocol as for the events that have come to define terrorism in the U.S. speaks to some of the links between gender deviance, racial anxieties, and national security that I am concerned with here.

Toward a Transgender Critique

Although the Cranbrook lockdown received only brief public attention, it exemplifies the convergence of the apparently anomalous gender-nonconforming person and the seemingly exceptional surveillance and security measures rationalized as necessary, or at least understandable, in times of national crisis. In the most basic sense, this book seeks to dismantle such exceptions: to examine the ways that state surveillance practices, not bound to recent moments of crisis but rather long embedded in the everyday, produce a broad range of deviation from regulatory gender norms that exceeds the category of transgender. How are transgender and gender-nonconforming populations caught up in ongoing state surveillance practices that almost never explicitly name transgender as a category of concern? In cases where surveillance and policing are overtly concerned with transgender-identified people, how might such a focus obscure other aspects of securitization or troublingly limit the scope of political responses? How can an assessment of surveillance measures help us rethink the very category of transgender, particularly in relation to racialization and citizen-making processes? How and why do U.S. state agencies produce intertwined crises of security and gender, so that the notion of gendered deception becomes a threat on a national level? If surveillance mechanisms rely on normative understandings of gendered bodies and identities, what productive inconsistencies might gender nonconformity reveal about surveillance practices?

In pursuing these questions, I show how transgender and gender-nonconforming populations are inextricable from the surveillance and security measures that work to produce and regulate them. Focusing especially on those measures that have gained new recognition in relation to the global war on terror, *Going Stealth* contextualizes these practices in longer histories of bodily classification, militarization, and constructions of deviance to il-

lustrate the persistent relationship between the concept of national security and state regulation of transgressive gender. I ask how such regulation might be displaced onto gender-nonconforming subjects, thus appearing nonexistent or inapplicable to those perceived as (or those understanding themselves as) normatively gendered. In this way, the book challenges the very category of transgender and the scope of transgender studies, engaging the fact that bodies, identities, and behaviors may be read as gender deviant in relation to perceived or actual racial identity, religious affiliation, nationality and citizenship status, class status, disability, or sexuality. Relatedly, I analyze the ways that certain transgender-identified persons, able to comply with dominant standards of appearance and behavior (themselves grounded in ideals of whiteness, U.S. citizenship, able-bodiedness, and compulsory heterosexuality), may be legible to surveillance mechanisms not as transgender but as properly gendered and thus nonthreatening.

These inquiries create what I hope is a productive tension that runs throughout the book: I attend to the specific and overt policing of transgender-identified subjects, yet am equally concerned with the ways that such scrutiny works more pervasively, regulating gender in subtler ways and positioning a variety of bodies, behaviors, and identities—not only those explicitly identified as transgender—as gender-nonconforming. In doing so, I build on scholarship and activism that pushes the relatively new field of transgender studies to expand its scope and vision. In his lengthy discussion of the field's formation, David Valentine suggests that in the most basic sense, transgender studies has been constituted through "the idea that there is a large group of people who can be understood through the category transgender."[10] Much work in transgender studies has been concerned with documenting social histories that take transgender as a fairly bounded and preexisting category, aiming to uncover and report knowledge about the people identified within that category. In many cases, this work has implicitly taken white, class-privileged, U.S.-based transgender-identified people as its subjects.[11] Valentine notes that several scholars associated with the field have expressed wariness about taking such a neatly contained category for granted, and he writes that his own concern "is still that the increasing use of 'transgender' as a term to order knowledge produces the possibilities whereby certain subjects become appropriated into a reading of transgender that obscures the complexities of their identification and experience."[12] Nevertheless, he suggests that transgender studies might offer a more expansive

way to think through multiple figurations of gender in relation to sexuality, race, class, nationality, and ability.

Dean Spade engages these possibilities when he asks us to consider how medical and legal surveillance of transgender-identified people actually functions to discipline all gendered subjects toward a normative gender that appears natural and healthy when viewed in opposition to those particular bodies and identities designated as transgender.[13] Spade is interested in the ways that medicine and law demand from transgender people normalizing measures that uphold the status quo rather than resist or change it, but he also gestures at the ways that this process enforces normative gender for all people. In other words, it may seem that only certain bodies, those that cannot or will not conform to normative gender standards, are subject to surveillance and scrutiny. It may appear that only transgender people have to alter their gender presentations, for example, while non-transgender people have gender presentations that are naturally, effortlessly normative. In this way, gender regulation can appear displaced onto only the transgender-identified, such that other bodies and identities can seem naturally gender normative and free from scrutiny. Of course, as Judith Butler explains, all gendered subjects emerge through regulatory power: "persons are regulated by gender, and . . . this sort of regulation operates as a condition of cultural intelligibility for any person."[14] Yet these regulatory norms often play out in more mundane and subtle ways than the explicit medicolegal policies set up for transgender people.

Consider, for example, an American Express national advertising campaign launched in mid-2008. In response to other companies' turns to consumer-chosen designs for credit cards, the campaign sought to showcase the professional look of American Express Business Gold cards. To this end, one commercial features a white man dressed in a suit, who approaches an airline ticket counter for a business trip to San Francisco and presents a credit card adorned with images of kittens. The ticket agent looks at him suspiciously, confirms that this is a business trip, and motions to two security personnel, who immediately flank the customer from behind. The Black male security guard asks the customer to come with them, and the white woman snaps on a latex glove. As they whisk this customer away, another white man steps to the counter, also requests a ticket for a San Francisco business trip, and presents his professional American Express Gold card, which creates no disturbance.

In this case, a person not specifically marked as transgender is nonetheless subject to gender regulation because of the ways his gender is interpreted through consumer objects. The introduction of a latex glove (notably edited out of later versions of the commercial) suggests that this person is also subject to a physical form of state violence for his gender transgressions. That the security guard wearing the glove is a woman adds another gendered layer to this scene: in response to public anxieties about inappropriate and nonconsensual physical contact during security checks, government officials have repeatedly issued assurances that physical searches will be conducted by an officer of the same gender as the individual being searched. Along with the too-feminine credit card design, the gloved search conducted by a woman positions this airline customer as breaking from normative gender in ways that provoke (and, the commercial implies, justify) serious scrutiny. Importantly, the second customer—the man with the properly professional and masculine credit card—is also part of this system, as is the at-home viewer, for whom these regulatory practices may be internalized. Here, the privileges of good citizenship are arrived at through normative gendering, which is read in part through class status and consumer practices. The policing of gender transgression, though often occurring most overtly in relation to transgender-identified people, casts a much wider net. At the same time, those transgender-identified people who can comply with the regulatory norms of race, class, ability, and citizenship through which proper, nonthreatening gender is read may escape these most obvious forms of scrutiny.

A central argument running throughout this book, then, is that surveillance of gender-nonconforming people centers less on their identification as transgender per se than it does on the perceived deception underlying transgressive gender presentation. Just as the telling of a lie and the omission of information are two different forms of deception, I move between an interrelated set of terms to show how this broad link between gender nonconformity and deception manifests: through accusations of fraud, through claims that certain bodies or identities do not match as they ought to, and through demands for disclosure or transparency, among others. State and public actors may justify surveillance practices by focusing on a specific form of deception, according to which form best supports the goal of maintaining normative gender. For instance, claims of fraud—a form of deception linked to personal or financial gain by taking something from another person—appear repeatedly in debates about identification documents,

particularly regarding the use of false ID to gain citizenship or voting rights, which conservative discourse frames as stealing from true citizens. Yet the rationale for intensified airport security screenings more often rests on the language of concealment, which can discursively merge concealed weapons with concealed sex or gender under the rubric of public safety that justifies airport surveillance.

Crucially, the implicit anxieties about terrorism in the American Express commercial suggest that nonnormative gender presentation is cause for alarm and suspicion on the level of national safety. Indications that something is amiss or doesn't match up increasingly signal a much larger danger, producing anxieties fueled by public safety campaigns like the directive, "If you see something, say something," circulating widely in public transit stations and airports. Against the cultural and political backdrop of the war on terror, government policy and public discourse produce an atmosphere casting full disclosure as the primary avenue to security and safety: only the duplicitous terrorist would balk at providing information to state agencies, and citizens with nothing to hide have nothing to fear from intensified government surveillance and military presence.

But the panic at Cranbrook and the anxieties conveyed in the American Express commercial—as well as the gendered and racialized contours of surveillance practices ranging from biometric identification to airport screenings—illustrate that the perception of fraud clings more tightly to some than others. Although this perception undoubtedly creates material problems for many transgender-identified people, the appearance of gendered duplicity can be exacerbated or mitigated according to the ways that categories including race, class, citizenship, sexuality, and disability mutually constitute gender and various readings of it. That is to say, state actors and policies may interpret transgender people as threats to national health and safety, often in ways that connect to broad anxieties about terrorism and immigration, but such an interpretation of gendered deception extends far beyond the transgender-identified, as the early chapters of this book demonstrate.

I have therefore had to make some complicated choices about the language used to describe gendered bodies, identities, and practices that transgress dominant standards. It is partly because surveillance practices apprehend a wide range of gendered subjects as transgressive—whether such subjects are intentionally breaking from gendered norms or not—that simply defaulting to *transgender* as a catchall term cannot suffice. Where I use *transgender* in

this book, I refer to those bodies and subjects that identify or are identified in ways that exceed normatively bounded categories of man and woman. Relatedly, I use *transgender-identified* to mark the ways that people identify themselves or are identified by others, denoting a specific claim to transgender itself as an identity category.[15] In general, I avoid the term *transsexual*, which is rooted in and still typically associated with Western medicolegal classifications; where this term does appear here, it references its particular employment by certain scholars or its specific use as a codified medical or legal category. Most often, I rely on *gender nonconforming* as a broader term encompassing many (though certainly not all) transgender subjects as well as those bodies and subjects that break from idealized gender binaries or are interpreted as breaking from them because of the ways gender norms are read through mutually constitutive categories such as race, class, sexuality, religion, disability, and citizenship. Roughly, then, in this book *transgender* gestures more toward identity and identification, whereas *gender nonconforming* addresses a relation to norms that may involve but need not rest on identity and identification.[16] These broader and less rigid terms are useful precisely because surveillance measures produce and affect not only those specifically identified as transgender but a wide range of gendered practices, identities, and bodies beyond that formal category.

The term *cisgender*, increasingly used to mark non-transgender identity, poses related problems for this book. First introduced in the early 1990s, the term draws on use of the cis- prefix in the biological sciences to designate something that does not change property or orientation; applied to gender, in a basic sense it describes remaining aligned with assigned gender/sex designations and related boundaries rather than changing or crossing them as the trans- prefix indicates. Although *cisgender* has recently gained quite a bit of purchase in transgender scholarship and activist discourse, and although it can do important work in denaturalizing normative gender, I do not employ it here for several reasons. The term's reliance on biological frameworks—both the biological definition fueling the prefix itself and the implicit investment in a biological grounding for gender—limits its usefulness for a project intent on exploring the ruptures and contingencies of those frameworks themselves. Following A. Finn Enke's analysis of the term, I also question the mechanisms by which trans- is distinguished from cis-, and how this additional dichotomy may close down new avenues rather than opening them up.[17] For instance, how might the circulation of cisgender as

an identity category further naturalize and stabilize the categories of man and woman, even as it may be intended to highlight their constructed nature? Might cisgender status simply become equivalent to normative gender, and, if so, which transgender-identified people might it include, if any (i.e., once identified as transgender, must one always remain in that category)?[18] Meanwhile, as Che Gossett succinctly argues, the term *cisgender* "can't really account for how the gender binary was forcibly imposed on black and native people through slavery and settler colonialism. In American society, black people have always been figured as gender transgressive."[19] Inasmuch as the term centralizes a form of gender privilege that emerges through normative race, class, sexuality, and ability, but generally fails to name these relationships, can *cisgender* properly attend to the nuances of gender difference and the complexities of gender transgression? Because these questions are central to my examination of the surveillance mechanisms that assess gendered bodies, identities, and behaviors, *cisgender* cannot serve as useful shorthand in this project. Likewise, I avoid naming particular groups non-transgender, except when doing so indicates the particular assumption of non-transgender status within surveillance practices and discourses.

Rather than attempting to collect knowledge about a particular identity category or bounded group of people, this book engages the *transgender* of transgender studies as a mode of critique. I draw here in part on Susan Stryker's explanation of a transgender critique as one that "takes aim at the modernist epistemology that treats gender merely as a social, linguistic, or subjective representation of an objectively knowable material sex. Epistemological concerns lie at the heart of transgender critique. . . . Transgender phenomena, in short, point the way to a different understanding of how bodies mean, how representation works, and what counts as legitimate knowledge."[20] Building on this, Stryker and Aren Aizura forward an intellectual approach that uses the critical lens of transgender studies to put "as much pressure on the categories of *man*, *woman*, and *homosexuality*, as on *transgender*," cautioning that "those terms are no less constructed than *transgender* itself, and they circulate transnationally in discourse and analysis with no less risk of being conceptually colonizing."[21] In these senses, a transgender critique is concerned less with producing knowledge about a particular class of people identified as transgender and more with understanding the social, political, and material conditions through which those identifications emerge and that knowledge itself is produced.

Nor is a transgender critique limited to a clearly circumscribed category called transgender. Rather, it is most useful when leveraged to unseat those categories of gender and sexuality that might be normalized and taken for granted through their assumed contrast to transgender. When taken up as an analytic rather than as a bounded identity category, *transgender* can also usefully intervene into the naturalization of race, disability, and citizenship. The term *gender-nonconforming* proves especially productive for this work, by moving away from an analysis of identities themselves (which would risk further naturalizing those identities) and toward an analysis of the production of, investments in, and breaks from those identity categories and related regulatory norms. In this book, a transgender critique enables an analysis of gender nonconformity that may or may not be (or be perceived as) transgender-identified, and it provides a critical framework for examining relationships between many different gender-nonconforming practices, bodies, and identities, and the knowledge frameworks and institutions through which they are produced.

In her classic essay "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens," Cathy Cohen observes that queer political work thus far has failed to enact transformational politics in large part because it has relied on a narrow understanding of *queer* that turns on sexual identity rather than on shared political commitments and connected relationships to heteronormativity. While she does not advocate eliminating identity categories, she argues that "it is the multiplicity and interconnectedness of our identities that provide the most promising avenue for the *destabilization and radical politicization* of these same categories."[22] In this book, I do not discount the material effects of surveillance on transgender people, but I am primarily concerned with tracing the ways that different surveillance practices directly or indirectly rely on a gender-nonconforming figure that, as I show, may well not correspond to a transgender-identified subject. In this way, I also follow what certain queer and ethnic studies scholars have called a "subjectless critique," which "disallows any positing of a proper subject *of* or object *for* the field."[23]

Likewise, my approach is indebted to queer of color critique, which Roderick Ferguson describes as a mode of analysis that "extends women of color feminism by investigating how intersecting racial, gender, and sexual practices antagonize and/or conspire with the normative investments of nation-states and capital."[24] A critical lens that situates queer studies as inseparable from processes of racialization and the uneven transnational circulation

of bodies, capital, and knowledge, queer of color critique approaches questions of gender and sexuality not through narrow conceptions of identity but as political and cultural formations mutually constituted with race, nationalism, and global structures of power. Accordingly, while this book examines surveillance enacted by U.S. government agencies and segments of the U.S. public, it does not suggest a bounded United States operating in isolation. On the contrary, the surveillance practices examined here emerge and proliferate in relationship to racism, colonialism, and border anxieties, particularly (but not only) as they structure the war on terror.[25] Relatedly, the question of citizenship animates many of the forms of surveillance that this book considers. A contested term encompassing many interrelated definitions, citizenship can be a formal legal status, a mechanism through which to access rights, a descriptor of morality and productivity (as in "good citizenship"), or a "range of everyday activities through which people claim political and social belonging within the national territory they inhabit" (as in cultural citizenship).[26] This book engages each of these meanings, which both overlap and contradict one another, indicating one reason that surveillance measures are so frequently instituted to regulate citizenship.

Drawing on Ferguson, Gayatri Gopinath explains that queer of color critique "enables us to trace the convergence of what seem to be radically distinct and disparate ideologies as they shore up heteronormativity."[27] Applying this intellectual practice to transgender studies makes it possible for this book to investigate a wide range of regulatory mechanisms producing gender, even—or perhaps especially—if at first gender does not appear central to their workings. Thus the book critically addresses dichotomous frameworks not only concerning male/female and man/woman, or even transgender/non-transgender, but also deviant/normative, terrorist/citizen, security/insecurity, and us/them. A transgender critique, as I pursue it here, offers a way to read various anxieties about gender nonconformity with a particular focus on their relationship to racism, xenophobia, ableism, and securitization.

Navigating Visibility

If, following Michel Foucault, power is not simply repressive but is productive of knowledge and categories of identity that work to manage life and regulate behaviors, then this book understands transgender not as a prede-

termined category into which identities or bodies are slotted, but as a shifting discursive category produced in part through practices of surveillance. In this sense, it is not that surveillance identifies bodies or subjects that are already inherently deviant, but that surveillance is one mechanism through which gender nonconformity is produced as such. This theoretical approach usefully moves away from medical, legal, and cultural frameworks that have often sought to determine the truth of transgender identities and bodies; it asks instead how the very notion of transgender enters into discourse and why its truth becomes important.

Key to both the form and content of this book is Foucault's argument in *Discipline and Punish* that the institutionalization of examinations and inspections—through spaces such as the school, the hospital, or the military—transformed mechanisms of power beginning in the late eighteenth century. These meticulous and obligatory examinations mark a shift away from sovereign power, which made itself most visible, to disciplinary power, which Foucault contends "is exercised through its invisibility; at the same time it imposes on those whom it subjects a principle of compulsory visibility. In discipline, it is the subjects who have to be seen. Their visibility assures the hold of the power that is exercised over them. It is the fact of being constantly seen, of being able always to be seen, that maintains the disciplined individual in his subjection."[28]

Much scholarship regarding transgender people has sought to make them more visible, to investigate the truths of transgender lives and bodies, and to promote recognition and legibility of transgender individuals. Work in fields including psychology, law, sociology, and anthropology has aimed to discover and articulate what transgender bodies, communities, and identities entail. Such scholarly endeavors occur alongside transgender representation in popular culture: mystery novels, medical dramas, and daytime talk shows regularly position transgender people as hiding a dramatic secret that audiences are meant to uncover, often in the most literal sense of the word. We might say, in fact, that one of the most common characteristics of work on transgender topics is the framing of transgender bodies and identities as opportunities to make visible what is otherwise tantalizingly hidden.

Although visibility projects can create spectacles and further marginalize gender nonconformity, in many cases these efforts are intended as beneficial steps toward social change. But as Evelynn Hammonds reminds us, "an appeal to the visual is not uncomplicated or innocent. As theorists we have to

ask how vision is structured, and, following that, we have to explore how difference is established, how it operates, how and in what ways it constitutes subjects who *see* and *speak* in the world."[29] These tasks are crucial to a critical engagement of surveillance practices—practices that should remind us that visibility is not a panacea but rather, as Foucault famously remarked, a trap.[30] This is in part because one's visibility to surveillance mechanisms can allow those mechanisms to work more effectively. At times this can even seem desirable, as when individuals enroll in preferred customer tracking programs or register as precertified travelers under new airline screening policies; these surveillance practices may not even register as surveillance, but rather as convenient privileges for the compliant consumer-citizen. Heightened visibility of some populations, particularly those marked as deviant or undesirable, can also allow others to feel or appear untouched by surveillance (even if this is not actually the case). All of these instances tend to focus on the problem bodies that must be overtly scrutinized and deflect attention away from surveillance practices themselves, much as Foucault notes that visibility shifts away from the workings of disciplinary power and onto those subjects being disciplined. David Lyon explains this in the context of increasingly automated and digital surveillance technologies: "Surveillance practices enable fresh forms of exclusion that not only cut off certain targeted groups from social participation, but do so in subtle ways that are sometimes scarcely visible. Indeed, the automating of surveillance permits a distance to be maintained between those who are privileged and those who are poor, those who are 'safe' and those who are 'suspect.'"[31]

With these concerns in mind, this book seeks not to uncover particular information or truths about transgender subjects, but to understand how these subjects, and the shifting category of transgender, are produced in concert with a range of nonconforming gender practices and made visible through modes of surveillance that may never even name transgender as a category of concern. If, as Foucault argues, power is exerted not in a one-directional, top-down manner but through diffuse networks, then this book is concerned with the ways that practices of surveillance extend far beyond their most obvious forms—the USA PATRIOT Act, the National Security Agency—into the more quotidian aspects of our lives. These surveillance and security practices of the everyday produce and refine normative gender even when they may appear disconnected from it, as the first two chapters make clear.

Likewise, although this book pays special attention to U.S. state surveillance, it does not assume that surveillance practices originate in the state or that the state itself can be considered a stable and unified entity. Rather, in Wendy Brown's terms, we might best understand the state as "a significantly unbounded terrain of powers and techniques, an ensemble of discourses, rules, and practices, cohabiting in limited, tension-ridden, often contradictory relation with one another," and yet despite this somewhat unwieldy and shifting set of practices, also as "a vehicle of massive domination."[32] In this framework, surveillance can be analyzed as a constellation of mechanisms that may support but also exceed state power, while also illustrating the incoherence of and fractures in what we call the state. By addressing state surveillance, this book seeks to understand how surveillance practices move through and beyond formal state apparatuses and to explore how those practices put the state itself in question. Thus as Margot Canaday writes, "the state does not just direct policy at its subjects; various state arenas are themselves sites of contest over sex/gender norms, and therefore structured by those norms."[33] Accordingly, while I examine the ways that U.S. state surveillance works to regulate gender, I also address these practices as fraught struggles over the very gendered categories that such surveillance claims to bring under control.

Because surveillance practices proliferate to pervade all aspects of our lives, extending well beyond those specific measures that state agencies lay claim to, the scope of my primary source material here is necessarily both broad and incomplete. In many cases I look to facets of surveillance clearly connected to specific government agencies, such as congressional hearings and formal legislation, that set in motion and maintain security mechanisms. But I also take seriously Foucault's caution against conceiving of the state and civil society as a dichotomous and "antagonistic pair" in which the former is domineering while the latter is "something good, lively, and warm."[34] If power has no single origin or hierarchy, but consists of "the manifold relationships of force that take shape and come into play in the machinery of production, in families, limited groups, and institutions," then my archive also traces surveillance through capillary networks of power not confined to the arenas commonly associated with the state itself, as the third chapter particularly illustrates.[35] But it is also for this reason—that power "is produced from one moment to the next, at every point, or rather in every relation from one point to another"—that the archive must always be par-

tial.[36] I bring together a combination of formal and informal surveillance mechanisms, tracing their connections through the everyday to better understand how surveillance, the state, and the category of transgender come to seem legible and stable through one another.

I also consider transgender advocacy organizations' responses to U.S. surveillance practices, responses that reflect a tension between these organizations' different political frameworks. Aligned with a mode of scholarship that promotes visibility and recognition, some organizations have urged a rather patriotic compliance with state policy while seeking to reform security measures to more accurately and sensitively address transgender-identified people. This strategy emerges out of a larger investment in existing institutions such as the legal and penal systems, understood here as granting rights and protection, provided they can be taught to properly account for and include transgender-identified people. Although intended to alleviate particular harms, these inclusion campaigns rest on claims of good citizenship that both presume equal access to that status and help legitimate surveillance practices by working within the frameworks they provide. As Jasbir Puar argues, the queer subject is often incorporated into normative white citizenship through the production of a contrasting racialized figure of terror, creating figures that appear both exceptional and binarily oppositional. But crucially, these figures can work together to deflect attention from the ways that queerness is thoroughly entangled in and produced through the biopolitics of war, militarism, and security.[37]

Working against that problem, other transgender advocacy and activist organizations begin not by attempting to fold more genders into surveillance systems but by questioning instead the very terms on which those systems operate. Structured by frameworks of racial and economic justice—and understanding these as central to transgender politics—these groups follow what Dean Spade has described as a "trickle-up" model of social justice, which prioritizes the needs and leadership of those most vulnerable.[38] Through this lens, greater recognition of transgender people from police, prisons, or biometric screening technologies exacerbates rather than mitigates harm: many transgender and gender-nonconforming people are already made visible—and thus vulnerable—to surveillance mechanisms, as this book shows, and campaigns for greater recognition tacitly support the continuation of those systems.

Two organizations' approaches to hate crimes legislation can illustrate

these different advocacy approaches. The National Center for Transgender Equality (NCTE), perhaps the most prominent transgender-specific lobbying and policy organization in the United States, offers a resource manual titled "Responding to Hate Crimes." Last updated in 2009—the year that U.S. federal hate crimes law was expanded to include sexual orientation, gender, and gender identity—the manual provides extensive information about the parameters of hate crimes laws, responding to harms considered hate crimes, and working with law enforcement. In the section regarding law enforcement, NCTE begins with a short paragraph noting restorative justice programs before describing at length how to best interact with law enforcement personnel: for instance, the manual encourages readers to remind police officers that "criminal law protects and applies to transgender people in the same way that it protects and applies to non-transgender people."[39] Also in 2009, the Sylvia Rivera Law Project (SRLP)—a New York–based collective providing free legal services for low-income transgender, intersex, and gender-nonconforming people—released a statement regarding the federal hate crimes law expansion. Explicitly marking the disproportionate targeting of marginalized communities, the statement denounces such legislation as a "counterproductive response to the violence faced by LGBT people," noting that "this system itself is a main perpetrator of violence against our communities" and recommitting SRLP to creating "systems of accountability that do not rely on prisons or policing."[40]

The statement by SRLP explicitly recognizes that greater transgender inclusion and legibility in the criminal legal system intensifies harm for many and reinforces the status of law enforcement as our primary recourse for addressing violence, and it emphasizes a vision for responding to harm that does not depend on this system. The NCTE manual briefly mentions restorative justice programs as "relatively rare" in the United States, and foregrounds instead a detailed set of suggestions for assisting and educating law enforcement that naturalizes reliance on "law and order." By presuming a universal and equally accessible protection granted by the criminal legal system, the manual elides the profoundly uneven ways that criminalization and incarceration play out; it positions that system as a remedy in itself, if one in need of education regarding transgender-identified people. *Going Stealth* explores the contours of these different advocacy frameworks as enacted by a variety of organizations and considers the relationship of such responses to specific surveillance practices. Efforts toward more recognition of trans-

gender identities and bodies within surveillance systems may reduce harm for certain individuals, yet they also facilitate the workings of surveillance, bringing those identities and bodies more efficiently under biopolitical management. To return to Hammonds's concerns with visibility, then: "in overturning the 'politics of silence' the goal cannot be merely to be seen: visibility in and of itself does not erase a history of silence nor does it challenge the structure of power and domination, symbolic and material, that determines what can and cannot be seen."[41]

In light of these interventions, this book seeks not to forward visibility for transgender subjects but to consider how that visibility works as a part of biopower to produce the very category of transgender. Rather than arguing for or against the veracity of the information that national security measures purport to offer up about gender-nonconforming people, I reflect here on the effects of that focus on truth and accuracy. In this sense, the book's form works hand in hand with its content: each chapter begins with a relatively recent and fairly overt instance of surveillance that may seem singular, often appearing as a direct response to the events and aftermath of 9/11, and works outward to excavate its historical and political underpinnings. I trace genealogies of discursive figures, classificatory frameworks, and security technologies with a particular eye to how an understanding of post-9/11 events as exceptional, new, or isolated occurrences can efface these nuanced histories. Across its chapters, the book moves from little discernible visibility of transgender subjects—by considering surveillance practices that almost never refer to the term *transgender*—to what we might consider hypervisibility—by examining practices that, I argue, come to seem entirely about an explicitly transgender subject.

The first chapter takes up U.S. government regulation of identification documents, which has garnered increased public scrutiny since 9/11, particularly regarding the introduction of the Real ID Act and related policies aimed at identifying terrorist suspects. Noting that the medical and legal scrutiny of gender nonconformity—and the medicolegal production of transgender subjects—regularly converge in the administration of identity documents, this chapter explores the broader history of such documents, including their racial and nationalist foundations. Analyzing the longer arc of efforts to identify through documentation, I demonstrate how gender-nonconforming bodies and identities point to internal contradictions in the government's control of identity, even as state-assigned documents aim

to produce legible and fixed gender identities, and even when security policies seem utterly unconcerned with transgender people. This chapter also considers several transgender advocacy organizations' responses to the new forms of document regulation; I show how the strategies proposed by some of these groups bolster U.S. nationalism and fail to attend to the broader policing and classification of bodies deemed deviant or dangerous, particularly in terms of race and citizenship status.

Government efforts to screen, identify, and track people have perhaps been most noticeable and contested in that space at which travel, borders, and bodies regularly converge: the airport. In the context of wide public apprehension about the potential for recently installed X-ray screening systems to impinge on travelers' bodily privacy, chapter 2 examines the particular concern that certain bodily technologies, such as the prosthetics used by some transgender people and people with disabilities (among others), may be misinterpreted as weapons rather than as medically necessary technologies. Drawing on disability studies, I sketch a cultural history of the X-ray itself to understand its emergence in militarized contexts as a technology that simultaneously heals and harms. And I consider how those areas of the body understood as especially private—the genitals in particular—are historically suffused with public anxiety in ways that overtly link gender, race, and national security. In this way, I intervene into the frameworks used by some transgender and disability advocacy groups, which call for stronger privacy measures and more accurate screenings by which to distinguish safe bodies from dangerous ones. Analyzing the airport security screening as a particularly fraught microcosm of these interconnecting debates, I argue for a more complex understanding of privacy, health, and violence.

In chapter 3, I take up that space of bodily privacy that is perhaps the most commonly discussed site of surveillance for gender transgression: the public bathroom. Rather than focusing on accessibility concerns, I address the regulation of bathrooms and the bodies that move through them as a method for producing citizenship and determining national belonging. This chapter considers legislation regulating gendered bathrooms in the context of anti-immigrant policies and discourse. I suggest that public bathroom scrutiny (which increasingly names transgender people and their bodies as threats) is one component of the U.S. government's investment in the physical body as proof of good citizenship and spatial belonging, and I therefore argue that the surveillance practices represented by the bathroom bills are

part of a renewed emphasis on biometric identification following 9/11. At the same time, I demonstrate the ongoing role that the space of the bathroom plays in creating U.S. national identity through structures of race and gender, in turn positioning its regulation as fundamental to the national project and the maintenance of good citizenship.

The final chapter turns to an instance in which the explicitly transgender figure appears utterly central to surveillance. Here I consider the case of Chelsea Manning, accused of undermining national security by sending classified U.S. military and government materials to the whistle-blower website WikiLeaks in 2010. Manning's legal defense rested in part on her apparent struggle with gender identity, suggesting that the emotional burden of hiding a transgender identity influenced her decision to leak sensitive documents. Examining the trial transcripts—which reflect the concealment not only of military actions but also of the conditions of Manning's pretrial incarceration and even the trial itself—I argue that court and media scrutiny of Manning's gender identity deflects attention from U.S. military actions while simultaneously rationalizing intensified surveillance over Manning as an exceptional, deceptive individual. This chapter shows how overt attention to transgender identity can work to obscure and thus enable broader surveillance practices.

Most of the research and writing of *Going Stealth* took place during the George W. Bush and Barack Obama administrations, but I completed the final revisions after Donald Trump's election in November 2016. In the book's brief conclusion, I carry forward the central contentions that current surveillance practices are not unprecedented and that these practices do not simply identify a ready-made set of transgender-identified people. These arguments remain in the Trump era, even as our political context undergoes significant changes. In looking ahead, I examine the Trump administration's rescinding of federal guidelines that govern treatment of transgender students in public schools and the announcement that the 2020 U.S. census will not collect data specific to LGBT identities. The book closes by returning to the seductive appeal of visibility and by considering the political possibilities that may yet arise in the enduring relationship between surveillance and gender nonconformity.

I have at times wryly remarked that this is a transgender studies book that is not terribly interested in transgender people; instead, it considers surveillance practices through a transgender critique to explore that category's

edges and its complicated interactions with racialization, citizenship, disability, and militarism. But I also write with a deep investment in transgender politics and with an interest in the particular material and ideological relationships that transgender people and social movements may develop with government policies and practices. Too often, the state's regulatory gaze can appear either as an impervious and inescapable force or as the key to a liberating form of recognition. By examining the normative assumptions used to analyze and interpret—as well as to produce—gendered bodies and identities, *Going Stealth* illustrates ruptures in surveillance frameworks and complicates aspirations of legibility and visibility. In this way the book aims not to clearly define the category of transgender or to perfectly trace the workings of surveillance practices, but rather to refocus our energies on the fraught negotiations between them. It is in these struggles and fractures that new political possibilities can emerge.

NOTES

Introduction: Suspicious Visibility

1 Emilia Askari, "Brief Cranbrook Lockdown Over after Report of Man Wearing Women's Clothing," *Detroit Free Press*, April 17, 2007.

2 Askari, "Brief Cranbrook Lockdown."

3 "The danger, deception, and dishonesty allegedly embedded in sexual and gender nonconformity" is a key theme in the historical criminalization of queer, transgender, and gender-nonconforming people [Mogul, Ritchie, and Whitlock, *Queer (In)Justice*, 43].

4 Cranbrook Lockdown, April 30, 2007, accessed October 31, 2009, http://www.cranbrooklockdown.com/index.html.

5 Askari, "Brief Cranbrook Lockdown."

6 Monahan, "Questioning Surveillance."

7 See, for example, Bridges, *Poverty of Privacy Rights*; Roberts, *Killing the Black Body*; Clare, "Body Shame"; and Siebers, "Sexual Culture."

8 Desai and Brandzel, "Race, Violence, and Terror," 72.

9 Desai and Brandzel, "Race, Violence, and Terror," 74.

10 Valentine, *Imagining Transgender*, 166.

11 In her introduction to the first volume of *The Transgender Studies Reader*, Susan Stryker notes that while selecting the book's fifty essays, she and her coeditor "were struck by the overwhelming (and generally) unmarked whiteness of practitioners in the academic field of transgender studies" [Stryker, "(De)Subjugated Knowledges," 15]. In their introduction to the reader's second volume, Stryker and Aren Aizura write that recent work in transgender studies "often directs its critical gaze at the inadequacies of the field's first iteration, . . . taking aim at its implicit whiteness, U.S.-centricity, Anglophone bias, and the sometimes suspect ways in which the category *transgender* has been circulated transnationally" (Stryker and Aizura, "Introduction," 4).

12 Valentine, *Imagining Transgender*, 169. In particular, Valentine cautions against uses of transgender as a modern or progressive category that classifies gender systems in a variety of cultural and temporal contexts according to a dominant

Western framework. For analysis of the ways such framings play out, see Towle and Morgan, "Romancing the Transgender Native."

13 Spade, "Resisting Medicine."

14 Butler, *Undoing Gender*, 52.

15 I draw on Valentine's use of this term as one that works in two related ways: "On the one hand, it validates those who adopt transgender as a meaningful category of self-identity; but it also draws attention to how people are identified by others as being transgender even though they may not necessarily use this term in talking about themselves. This phrasing thus highlights how self-identity and one's identification by others are complexly intertwined and shaped by relationships of social power" (Valentine, *Imagining Transgender*, 26).

16 I am grateful to Benjamin D'Harlingue for many conversations and collaborations that helped me work through these complicated, ever-shifting terms.

17 Enke, "Education of Little Cis."

18 Enke, "Education of Little Cis," 74.

19 Gossett, "Queerstions: What Does Cisgender Mean?"

20 Stryker, "(De)Subjugated Knowledges," 8–9.

21 Stryker and Aizura, "Introduction," 9.

22 Cohen, "Punks, Bulldaggers," 45; emphasis in original.

23 Eng, Halberstam, and Muñoz, "What's Queer," 3.

24 Ferguson, *Aberrations in Black*, 4.

25 I note here also Simone Browne's important work putting surveillance studies "into conversation with the enduring archive of transatlantic slavery and its afterlife, . . . making visible the many ways that race continues to structure surveillance practices" (Browne, *Dark Matters*, 11).

26 Minich, *Accessible Citizenships*, 17. For further discussion of these varied understandings of citizenship, see for example Lowe, *Immigrant Acts*; Ong, *Flexible Citizenship*; Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*; and Rosaldo, "Cultural Citizenship."

27 Gopinath, "Bollywood Spectacles," 159.

28 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 187.

29 Hammonds, "Black (W)holes," 141.

30 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 200.

31 Lyon, *Surveillance after September 11*, 150.

32 Brown, *States of Injury*, 174.

33 Canaday, *Straight State*, 6.

34 Foucault, "Risks of Security," 372.

35 Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 94.

36 Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 93.

37 Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages*.

38 For further explanation of the "trickle-up" model as Spade understands it, see Laura Flanders, "Dangerous Rush to Legislate on Surveillance and Mental Health?," *The Nation*, December 28, 2012.

39 "Responding to Hate Crimes: A Community Resource Manual," National Center

for Transgender Equality, July 1, 2009, accessed August 15, 2009, http://www.transequality.org/issues/resources/responding-hate-crimes-community-resource-manual.

40 "SRLP on Hate Crime Laws," Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2009, accessed April 2, 2010, https://srlp.org/action/hate-crimes/. Multiple other queer and transgender organizations forwarded a similar analysis of hate crimes legislation and incorporated it into their work. For example, the New York–based Audre Lorde Project developed and continues to support the Safe OUTside the System Collective, an antiviolence project "devoted to challenging hate and police violence by using community based strategies rather than relying on the police" ["Safe Outside the System (SOS)," Audre Lorde Project, 2017, accessed November 11, 2017, https://alp.org/programs/sos]. In the California Bay Area, Community United Against Violence for two years held Safetyfest, a multiday event that provided a range of tools and workshops for queer and transgender antiviolence organizing. The festival's offerings ranged from "community accountability skills to deal with partner abuse and sexual assault . . . without necessarily relying on the cops" to fund-raisers for incarcerated queer people of color (Mandy Van Deven, "The Bay Area's Safetyfest Queers Anti-violence Activism," *Bitch Magazine*, April 5, 2010, accessed June 15, 2011, http://www.bitchmedia.org/post/on-the-map-the-bay-areas-safetyfest-queers-anti-violence-activism).

41 Hammonds, "Black (W)holes," 141.

Chapter 1: Deceptive Documents

1 "DHS Advisory to Security Personnel; No Change in Threat Level," Department of Homeland Security, September 4, 2003, accessed September 9, 2003, http://www.dhs.gov/xnews/releases/press_release_0238.shtm.

2 Parenti, *Soft Cage*, 28.

3 In her analysis of *The Book of Negroes*, an eighteenth-century ledger documenting thousands of self-emancipating ex-slaves who traveled out of the United States, Simone Browne argues that "the body made legible with the modern passport system has a history in the technologies of tracking blackness" and that this history is "an important, but often absented, part of the genealogy of the passport" (Browne, *Dark Matters*, 70). For discussion of how legal documentation of mixed-race and racially passing people under U.S. slavery worked to maintain racial purity, see, for example, Zackodnik, "Fixing the Color Line."

4 Salter, *Rights of Passage*, 7.

5 U.S. Department of State, *United States Passport*, 73.

6 Mongia, "Race, Nationality, Mobility," 550.

7 Mongia, "Race, Nationality, Mobility," 528; emphases in original.

8 Torpey, *Invention of the Passport*, 97.

9 Pegler-Gordon, "Chinese Exclusion," 69.

10 For the Supreme Court decision, see *Shelby County, Alabama v. Holder, Attorney*