

Introduction: why queer(y) citizenship?

In Thomas King's 1993 short story, 'Borders', readers follow an Indigenous woman and her son as they set off from their home on the reserve and attempt to cross the Canada–US border that cuts across the 49th parallel. The US border guard does not allow them to cross into the United States because the mother declares their citizenship as Blackfoot and not 'Canadian' or 'American'. The pair attempt to return and are not allowed to cross into Canada for the same reason.¹ Despite attempts by border guards on both sides to elicit an 'acceptable' answer from them, the mother steadfastly refuses to offer the declaration that they come from any 'side' of the border other than the 'Blackfoot side' ('Borders' p. 135). As a result of what has been variously read as either the border guards' ignorance or the mother's stubbornness, the mother and the story's narrator spend three nights between the two border checkpoints in no man's land – the literal borderlands – sleeping in their car until a media frenzy forces the US border guards to let the pair through on the basis of their Blackfoot citizenship.

King's short story highlights the relationship between citizenship, the state, and national borders, and, in particular, emphasises the erosion of Indigenous rights and sovereignty as they play out at North American borders, as suggested by one reporter who earnestly (but ignorantly) asks the young narrator 'how it [feels] to be an Indian without a country' (p. 142). The mother's refusal to acknowledge any 'side' of the border undermines and ultimately rejects the idea that her citizenship can be bounded by either a figurative or literal modern nation state whose borders were drawn at the expense of Indigenous people in North America. The Canada–US border, in fact, as it runs across the 49th parallel and is touted as 'the world's longest

undefended border', originated from the negotiations that were to become the 1794 Jay Treaty. The Treaty, which is still legally binding today (as well as in the fictive universe of King's short story), included stipulations that protected Indigenous peoples whose lands straddled this new political boundary. Indigenous people crossing the border were not required to adhere to US and (then Great Britain) Canadian border control and customs regulations.² It is ironic, then, that the other questions asked of the mother in 'Borders' include whether she is carrying 'any firearms or tobacco' ('Borders' p. 135).

As it meditates on the need for recognition, rights, and representation as they are made manifest by the artifice and limits of nationhood, 'Borders' effectively emphasises the idea that, as Karl Hele puts it, 'borders are lived experiences' (xv), and 'mere lines drawn upon the water often disrupted or even erased altogether by the lived experiences of First People'.³ In this way, the story negates a view of citizenship and national identity as contingent on conceptions of the 'fraternity' that emerges from the policing of national borders, or, the 'deep, horizontal comradeship' critiqued by political scientist Benedict Anderson in his iconic work on imagined communities.⁴ This kind of fraternity, Anderson would have it, is rooted in an understanding of nationhood and community that ignores and takes part in the ongoing erasures and elisions of peoples and histories, what Anderson calls 'the actual inequality and exploitation' that takes place in the activity of nation building.⁵ It is important, then, to read work by Indigenous writers like King, whose writing serves to 'undermine established beliefs and to introduce other, typically marginalised viewpoints', especially in relation to the activity of citizenship.⁶

Crossing borders and queering citizenship recognises the limited imaginings of political and national communities, and reimagines the contours of contemporary citizenship. As it connects queer and citizenship theories to the idea of an engaged reading subject, this book offers a new approach to studying the act of reading, arguably a basic function of literature, as well as theorising reading as an integral element of the basic unit of the state: the citizen. This book explores how the act of reading across borders can be understood as a civic act that queers citizenship, and it does so through discussing seven US and Canadian writers in whose work borders proliferate and citizenship is unravelled: US–Mexico borderlands lesbian writer Gloria Anzaldúa, lesbian US southern white trash author Dorothy Allison, Canadian Métis poet Gregory Scofield, Mexican-American

performance artist Guillermo Gómez-Peña, queer Canadian language poet Erin Moure, Dominican-American novelist Junot Díaz, and Canadian author Yann Martel. Each of these writers offers a literary engagement with citizenship that advocates for an alternative model of belonging through civic readerly engagement, with no recourse to the reification of political borders yet without an outright rejection of state citizenship. In my interpretation of their work, then, I use the term 'queer' to denote the ways in which the concept and structure(s) of citizenship are critiqued, troubled, and unsettled, not only by their writing, but by their status, to varying 'degrees', as 'peripheral peoples', excluded from having full membership in their respective polities on the basis of one or more of their identifications, what sociologist Carlos A. Forment calls 'those groups who are excluded from or marginalised within the polity despite having rights to inclusion'.⁷ In this book, then, 'queer' is, as queer theorist David Halperin puts it, that which is 'at odds with the normal, the legitimate, the dominant'.⁸ The writing by 'peripheral peoples' examined in this book not only engages with citizenship but also positions the reader to queer it.

One impulsion to and justification for rethinking citizenship is that it has been almost universally recognised as exclusionary. As social scientists Engin F. Isin and Patricia Wood note, 'citizenship, despite modern, universalist rhetoric, has always been a group concept – but it has never been expanded to all members of any polity'.⁹ Semiotician Walter Mignolo sees the very ideas of citizenship and the citizen as racist, and 'tied to a racial hierarchy of human beings that depends on universal categories of thought created and enacted from the identitarian perspectives of European Christianity and by white males'.¹⁰ Rethinking citizenship is valuable, according to legal scholar Carl Stychin, because 'part of the value of citizenship discourse is the way in which it can be deployed to re-imagine the nation as a space for the performance of a range of different projects, in which there is no single authentic way of relating to the nation'.¹¹ In participatory democracies, the work of citizens is 'in the public sphere, carrying rights and entitlements but also responsibilities to fellow citizens and to the community which defines citizenship'.¹² However, each of the writers under examination here advocates what sociologist Yasemin Soysal has called 'a new mode of membership, anchored in the universalistic rights of personhood, [which ultimately] transgresses the *national* order of things' (emphasis added).¹³ This works on the assumption that there is a need to 'shift ... the major organizing

principle of membership in contemporary polities: [one in which] the logic of personhood supersedes the logic of citizenship' but not one that allows the exclusionary thrust of contemporary state citizenship to continue unimpeded.¹⁴ To queer citizenship, what I argue each of the writers under examination here engages in, is to also explore the reader as a queer, sexual(ised) citizen, which, as queer theorist Jeffrey Weeks has described, is a 'hybrid being, breaching the public/private divide which Western culture has long held to be essential'.¹⁵ The recognition that readers are hybrid beings who can read for the empowerment hybridity can engender is explored in more detail in the next chapter. In this book, the role of hybridity is sometimes understated but more often explicit, recognising the ways in which all citizens are hybrid beings but remain anchored, for as long as it exists conceptually, to the state. Likewise, queering underpins my analysis throughout as an intersectional, feminist praxis that can be used productively as a strategy in the decolonisation of citizenship and the establishment of alternative community building practices that resist and change the exclusions of citizenship rather than accept and adapt to them. This understanding is premised on the idea that feminist and queer critical frames can be used as tools to unravel the exclusionary practices deployed by the concept and practice of state-sanctioned citizenship.

The interest of queer theorists in and preoccupation with the unsettling and troubling of dominant and mainstream frameworks of 'Western' thought is useful in the unravelling of citizenship in that it provides an overarching and inclusive vocabulary with which to describe the exclusionary and marginalising processes of citizenship. Of course, queer theory is fraught. But not all the writers discussed in this book identify as queer, and not all readers are queer, either. However, the critical practice of queering as it takes place in the act of reading can translate to civic action, understood in this book as the opening up of new discursive areas from which to safely articulate improved citizenship practices that foreground and value *recognition*, *rights*, and *representation* for all members of a polity. These spaces offer not only discursive areas to rehearse these ideas, but also the community support and language needed to transform acts of reading into actualised political changes to state-sanctioned citizenship. The first chapter theorises these spaces further and sets my theory of queering citizenship as a critical lens used in my analysis of Anzaldúa, Allison, Scofield, Gómez-Peña, Moure, Díaz, and Martel.

As it enquires after and constructs a model for queering citizenship through reading, this book can be situated alongside existing theories of reading and particularly emergent theories of the citizen-reader, which cast the reading experience as one in which readers can find ‘another sense of’ citizenship.¹⁶ This form of citizenship lies beyond state-sanctioned notions of nationality and belonging and constitutes what literary critic Lauren Berlant might call a gentler, ‘intimate public sphere’ that ‘renders citizenship a condition of social membership produced by personal acts and values’.¹⁷ Berlant’s view of citizenship here is convincing, but focalised on the individual. As they theorise the other ways of belonging advanced by their figure of a citizen-reader, critics Danielle Fuller and DeNel Rehberg Sedo rightly criticise scholarship of paying too ‘little attention to the reader-reader interaction and [giving] no sense of the ways that non-academic readers might employ various reading practices as part of their everyday lives as social beings’.¹⁸ In these scenarios, citizen readers ‘express a version of citizenship outside the public domain of politics’.¹⁹ Where Berlant, Fuller, Rehberg Sedo, and others find this alternative sphere a space for new (or renewed) articulations of belonging and citizenship that offer ‘the promise of belonging’, these models may inadvertently diminish the importance of resisting the exclusionary powers of state citizenship.²⁰ This book aims to do the opposite.

My arguments here are premised on the importance of citizens’ relationship to the state as one that is in dire need of interrogation, because, as Gillian Roberts reminds us, ‘rights are not upheld in the same way for all individuals, as evidenced by the distinction between legal and cultural belonging’.²¹ When critics and theorists formulate sites at which alternative citizenship networks can be generated, citizenship as it relates to the state is allowed to escape scrutiny of its exclusionary civic practices. Further, these spaces of alternative citizenship, while theorised as locally democratising, progressive spaces of resistance, can easily be mobilised to regressive, conservative ends that uphold the values of patriarchal, heteronormative, white supremacy and seek to further curtail state-sanctioned civic rights on the basis that alternative models for belonging exist. This book, therefore, advances a model for reading that has as its agenda the queering or unsettling of state citizenship *as it stands* and as it impacts the lived experiences of real, civically disenfranchised and disempowered groups in the United States and Canada as they are represented in the

literary texts under discussion. This is not at odds with the creation of alternative spaces of citizenship and belonging, but rather a project that stands alongside these existing theoretical frameworks, working towards more impactful and inclusive conclusions and policies.

As well as its engagement with studies of reading, this book works to hemispherically connect contemporary border studies, Indigenous studies and the politics of recognition, critical race studies, queer theory, postcolonial studies, and reception and audience theories.²² Bringing these separate but related fields together to examine work by authors whose writing contests and resists claims by a particular national context (in this case, the United States or Canada) works to reframe our understanding of what is generally called 'American studies', centring the reader as a powerful agent of literary validation as well as civic action. In this way, while this book positions itself as working within American studies, it also, as Caroline F. Levander and Robert S. Levine put it, seeks to 'chart new literary and cultural geographies' in the Americas through its exploration of queering citizenship.²³ It also alleviates the concerns expressed by Gillian Roberts and David Stirrup that the last decade's 'newly reconfigured American Studies' has sought only to 'expand [the field's] object, rather than its method, of study'.²⁴ In its engagement with hemispheric American studies, this book looks first to the borders of North America as it theorises a reader capable of queering citizenship.

Crossing borders and queering citizenship begins, then, from a rereading of Gloria Anzaldúa's *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (1987), which is generally considered to be a 'foundational' text in studying North American border identities. The borderlands Anzaldúa alludes to in the title of her work are specific: she is referring to the US–Mexico borderlands where she grew up. Rife with controversy, the US–Mexico borderland region took the shape that it retains to this day in 1848 with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the treaty that ended the US–Mexico War that had begun in 1846. The stipulations of the Treaty stated that Mexico cede the equivalent of 55 per cent of its pre-war territory to the United States in exchange for \$15 million. The stipulations also assured the safety of pre-existing property rights of Mexican citizens in the transferred territories. However, the US Senate modified the Treaty and subsequently seized much of the privately owned land.

In *Borderlands/La Frontera*, Anzaldúa demonstrates the dramatic consequences of the Treaty for ordinary Mexican citizens: overnight,

they were Mexicans living in ‘America’ – the naturalisation process took much longer than had been negotiated – and second-class citizens. Many towns, villages, and families had been split in two, one half on the Mexican side and the other on the American side. Those left living on the American side were no longer recognised as Mexican; nor were they recognised as American. Instead, they occupied uncertain territory, their citizenship status ambiguous. They viewed Mexico as their home and the United States as an occupying force. These groups’ lives were changed by the creation, imposition, and enforcement of a border in their midst. Anzaldúa’s formulation of the new *mestiza* focuses on the ‘hybrid’ character of the borderland experience in general, and the hybrid nature of those who inhabit the borderlands in particular. She presents a framework of hybridity and arguably, citizenship, that extends beyond the borderlands referred to in the title of her well-known text: ‘the Borderlands are physically present wherever two or more cultures edge each other, where people of different races occupy the same territory, where under, lower, middle and upper classes touch, where the space between two individuals shrinks with intimacy’.²⁵ This book discusses Anzaldúa as not only the foundational figure of border studies, but also reframes her active involvement in feminist movements as part of the broader narrative of US feminism in the 1970s and 1980s.

North American borders have served as important signifiers of national security and identity since the original settlement of the continent, but their narratives have become especially polarised in the last 30 years, and especially since the 2016 election of Donald Trump to the US presidency.²⁶ The reality of and discourse around borders since 9/11 has become increasingly politically charged, and at the time of writing, Donald Trump’s 27 January 2017 Executive Order, known more popularly as the Muslim Ban, figures North American borders as sites where citizenship and national identity can be contested by the state and is an attempt to strip away civic rights from citizenship status. Precursors to this Executive Order are numerous, with a rise since 2001 of figures in the United States and Canada such as Brigitte Gabriel, for example, who urges Americans and Canadians to monitor their borders because ‘[t]he terrorists are using our borders to infiltrate our country’ and legislation such as the Secure Fence Act of 2006 which doubled the funding of border patrol agents on both the United States’ northern and southern borders.²⁷

Of course, discursive appeals that describe American borders as weak and understand citizens as being in need of protection pre-dates Donald Trump; for example, after September 2001, one of the more controversial changes in border security in the United States was the Real ID Act of 2005. This Act, which stipulated that '[n]otwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall have the authority to waive all legal requirements [that] such Secretary, in such Secretary's sole discretion, determines necessary to ensure expeditious construction of the barriers and roads',²⁸ allowed Secretary of Homeland Security Michael Chertoff to 'waive in their entirety' seven pieces of legislation relating to the environment to extend triple fencing through the Tijuana River National Estuarine Research Reserve near San Diego.²⁹ Crucially, the Act also established new categories of acceptable identification documentation for those crossing into the United States from its borders with both Mexico and Canada, in addition to broadening and further defining 'terrorist' activity in the wake of 9/11. The legislative establishment and implementation of new definitions of identification papers stands as a violation of treaty obligations with cross-border Indigenous peoples, and, within the United States, impacts voting rights for other minority and historically disenfranchised populations, including African Americans, Mexican Americans, and others. In the context of this book, the Real ID Act of 2005 is an excellent example of the intersection of the status of citizenship and the discourse around North American borders, even though it became law over a decade ago. The continued return in legal and scholarly treatments of North American borders to the site of the US–Mexico border as a metonym for questions of citizenship renders this particular border significant, even while it has also become the 'originary' site of burgeoning alternative articulations of civic identity that this book explores.

Indeed, according to Claudia Sadowski-Smith, 'by the turn of the twenty-first century ... the U.S.-Mexico frontier has evolved into one of the most prominent sites for analyses of border transgressions that emphasize contemporary diasporic practices of hybrid place-making and non-absolutist citizenship'.³⁰ To the north, an imbalance between scholarship on the US–Mexico and Canada–US borders can be easily traced; the latter had long been the 'longest undefended border in the world' until 9/11.³¹ However, as Victor Konrad and Heather N. Nicol observe, 'the time-word rhetoric about the "longest undefended border in the world" has disappeared both in Canada and the United

States. In its place a new, “post-9/11” border culture has emerged in the Canada-U.S. borderlands.³² As it engages with border studies, this book contributes to a noticeably undertheorised area of North American studies: the Canada-US border.³³

While no Canadian legislation as controversial as the Real ID Act exists (though perhaps the Canadian Anti-Terrorism Act and the related Canadian Senate Bill S-7, the 2013 Combatting Terrorism Act qualify), questions of citizenship have always played a significant role on the Canada-US border, particularly in the context of Indigenous peoples’ cross-border territorial rights.³⁴ One need only consider an incident from July 2010, when the United Kingdom declined to issue visas to the Iroquois Nation’s lacrosse team that had been due to compete in the World Lacrosse Championship. The UK claimed that their Iroquois passports are not currently recognised as *state-issued* travel documents and later clarified that it would waive the visa requirement and accept the Iroquois document if it was ‘accompanied by a United States passport’. This was despite then-Secretary of State Hillary Clinton’s ‘one-time’ letter of assurance to the UK government that the team would be allowed back into the United States on their tribal passports. Secretary Clinton’s (unintentionally) ironic guarantee that the lacrosse team would be allowed back into the United States sparked a controversy that eventually led the US State Department to ‘confirm’ in a statement that it had no treaty obligation with the Iroquois Nation to recognise their passports, despite the Iroquois existing legally as a confederacy of six nations. This is one example in a range of others that has seen legal Indigenous citizenship described as ‘a fantasy document’ or, as in Thomas King’s ‘Borders’, dismissed as irrelevant because it is ‘not on the forms’.³⁵

Just as Anderson’s understandings of imagined communities, Anzaldúa’s new *mestiza*, and conceptions of borders in narratives of hemispheric American studies represent nodes in this book, so does the work of political historian T. H. Marshall, whose formulation of modern citizenship is a typical starting point in studies of the field. In 1950 Marshall delivered a series of lectures at the University of Cambridge that has since become a benchmark and reference point for most theoretical work on citizenship in the post-Second World War era. In ‘Citizenship and Social Class’, Marshall sees citizenship as ‘a direct sense of community membership based on loyalty to a civilization which is a common possession’.³⁶ Here, Marshall presents a causal relationship between membership in a community,

civilization, and citizenship. This concept of citizenship is also contingent on a certain understanding of the modern nation state, which ‘encompasses the notions of the people as a nation, the sovereignty of these people as a nation, and the state as the sum total of its individualised citizens’.³⁷ In these views, the citizen is a political entity and the smallest unit that makes up the state. As such, the citizen does not only enjoy the rights that come with membership in the political community, but also assumes the duties that come with citizenship. In this framework, citizenship defines identity.³⁸ Yasemin Soysal notes: ‘Citizenship defines bounded populations, with a specific set of rights and duties, excluding “others” on the grounds of nationality.’³⁹ Marshall’s specific definition, with operative words such as ‘rights’, ‘duties’, and ‘common possession’, is often seen as the bedrock of citizenship and leads clearly to the development of citizen ‘rights’. His reading of citizenship is examined further in the next chapter.

Despite Marshall’s significance within citizenship theory, the writing explored in this book assumes an engagement with participatory theories of citizenship rather than the representative democracies of the United States and Canada, themselves standing as ‘representative’ of certain manifestations of exclusion. In such a framework of participatory democracy, ‘citizen action and self-government [are put] at the centre of political life’.⁴⁰ Far from the stark and severe delineation between civil, political, and social citizenship that Marshall advocates, or the crude corollary understanding of citizens which sees them as having an amorphous balance between rights and obligations, citizenship in a participatory democracy works by ‘transforming strangers into citizen-neighbours through common conversations and projects’.⁴¹ This focus on individuals and their roles in a community while still maintaining the accountability of the state is key to understanding the basic terrain upon which the writers examined in this book position readers to rethink and queer citizenship.

It is, of course, far easier to theorise a queered citizen or citizenship rather than to put it into practice, principally because there are no simple answers to the questions of how and where this process is to take place. Critical theorist Nancy Fraser’s articulation of subaltern counterpublics is helpful here. As she puts it, subaltern counterpublics are ‘parallel discursive areas where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counterdiscourses

to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs'.⁴² These counterpublics provide a model for the shift away from the public/private binary that characterises dominant discourses of citizenship. If we are to view citizenship as not simply a delicate relationship between rights and duties, but as a complex nexus where the discourse and performance of citizenship intersect and intervene, or as Isin and Wood suggest, as a combination of political 'status and practice' (or performance), then the distinction between public and private spheres and, by extension, public and private citizenship, is also inevitably blurred.⁴³ When read alongside Fraser's notion of subaltern counterpublics, these constitute a site at which the queering of citizenship can take place, and in each of the chapters to come, this theoretical site is made manifest by the civic work of the active reader.

This book, therefore, offers not only a 'model' for 'queering citizenship' but also a theory for understanding the various ways in which peripheral or minority writers, like Anzaldúa, Allison, Scofield, Gómez-Peña, Moure, Díaz, and Martel work to interrogate, critique, and queer the concept of citizenship. I read their work in service of a relationship with a state that does not require nations and their borders to be 'reified through assertions of border controls and appeals to nationhood', as we see in the actions of the border guards in Thomas King's 'Borders', but instead through queer readings that hold states accountable and engender civic belonging, as we see in the actions of the story's Blackfoot mother, who tells her son Blackfoot creation stories as they sleep in their car, parked between two border checkpoints.⁴⁴ The task of this book is to 'identify the terrain' of queering citizenship and the potential it can hold for readers.⁴⁵

As it theorises reading as a civic act in the queering and querying of citizenship, *Crossing borders and queering citizenship* crosses and re-crosses North American borders, moving back and forth to the US–Mexico border and across the 49th parallel, and exploring the work of American and Canadian writers whose work is concerned with questions of recognition, rights, and representation in their critiques of the state and citizenship. This book's contribution to their projects is in its theorisation of the reader of these literary texts as an active agent in this critique, so that readers are imbued with power beyond 'empathetic' reading (though empathy is certainly welcomed).⁴⁶ This discursive move allows for the possibility of co-situating the critique and connecting authors from the 'periphery' of the polity to 'mainstream' readers in a meaningful way.

If this introduction has been concerned with the ‘why’ of querying and queering citizenship, the first chapter works to explain the ‘how’. Fusing theories of citizenship, postcoloniality, active reading, and queering, the chapter offers a starting point in exploring how reading is a powerful tool that can be mobilised in service of civic struggles for recognition, rights, and representation. Each of the subsequent chapters focuses on a writer whose work, whether autobiographical or fictional, poetry or prose, performance or epistolary, is preoccupied with how the recognition and dismantling of borders – physical or figurative, political or socially constructed, geographical or psychic – gestures towards a citizenship that is founded on principles vastly different than those we might recognise today. Anzaldúa, Allison, Scofield, Gómez-Peña, Moure, Díaz, and Martel may represent only a few ‘ways’ of being ‘peripheral’, but their readerly solutions to the problem of civic exclusion are applicable beyond one particular minority group, and are elegant, creative, and transformative.

Notes

- 1 Thomas King, ‘Borders’, in *One Good Story, That One: Stories* (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 2013 [1993]), pp. 131–47. All subsequent references to the short story will appear parenthetically in the text.
- 2 The Jay Treaty. Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, signed at London November 19, 1794, with additional article Original in English. Submitted to the Senate June 8, Resolution of advice and consent, on condition, June 24, 1795. Ratified by the United States August 14, 1795. Ratified by Great Britain October 28, 1795. Ratifications exchanged at London October 28, 1795. Proclaimed February 29, 1796. http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/jay.asp (accessed 15 June 2013).
- 3 Karl S. Hele, ed., *Lines Drawn upon the Water: First Nations and the Great Lakes Borders and Borderlands* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2008), pp. xv and xi.
- 4 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1991), p. 7.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- 6 Arnold E. Davidson, Priscilla L. Walton, and Jennifer Andrews, *Border Crossings: Thomas King’s Comic Inversions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), p. 29.

- 7 Carlos A. Forment, 'Peripheral Peoples and Narrative Identities: Arendtian Reflections on Late Modernity', in *Contesting the Boundaries of the Political*, ed. Seyla Benhabib (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 314–30, at p. 314.
- 8 David Halperin, *Saint Foucault: Towards a Gay Hagiography* (New York: New York University Press, 1995), p. 62.
- 9 Engin F. Isin and Patricia Wood, *Citizenship and Identity* (London: Sage, 1999), p. 20.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 313.
- 11 Carl Stychin, *A Nation by Rights: National Cultures, Sexual Identity Politics, and the Discourse of Rights* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998), p. 200.
- 12 David Bell and John Binnie, *The Sexual Citizen: Queer Politics and Beyond* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), p. 36.
- 13 Yasemin Nohöglu Soysal, *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994), p. 159.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 164.
- 15 Jeffrey Weeks, quoted in Bell and Binnie, *The Sexual Citizen*, p. 36.
- 16 Danielle Fuller and DeNel Rehberg Sedo, *Reading Beyond the Book: The Social Practices of Contemporary Literary Culture* (London: Routledge, 2013); Lynne E. F. McKechnie, Knut Oterholm, Paulette M. Rothbauer, and Kjell Ivar Skjerdingstad, eds, *Plotting the Reading Experience: Theory/Practice/Politics* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2016); DeNel Rehberg Sedo, *Reading Communities: From Salon to Cyberspace* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Anouk Lang, ed., *From Codex to Hypertext: Reading at the Turn of the Twenty-First Century* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012); Elizabeth Long, *Book Clubs: Women and the Uses of Reading in Everyday Life* (Chicago: University Press of Chicago, 2003); Karen Littau, *Theories of Reading: Books, Bodies, and Bibliomania* (Cambridge: Polity, 2006); Janice Radway, *A Feeling for Books: The Book-of-the-Month Club, Literary Taste, and Middle Class Desire* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).
- 17 Lauren G. Berlant, *The Queen of America Goes to Washington City: Essays on Sex and Citizenship* (Raleigh: Duke University Press, 1997), p. 5.
- 18 Fuller and Rehberg Sedo, *Reading Beyond the Book*, p. 39.
- 19 Danielle Fuller, 'Citizen Reader: Canadian Literature, Mass Reading Events and the Promise of Belonging', The Fifth Eccles Centre for American Studies Plenary Lecture pamphlet series (London: Eccles Centre & The British Library, 2011), p. 4.
- 20 Lauren Berlant, *The Female Complaint: The Unfinished Business of Sentimentality in American Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), p. ix.

- 21 Gillian Roberts, *Prizing Literature: The Celebration and Circulation of National Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), p. 11.
- 22 See for example, Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1997 [1987]); Renato Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis* (London: Routledge, 1993); Emily Hicks, *Border Writing: The Multidimensional Text* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991); Héctor Calderón and José David Saldívar, *Criticism in the Borderlands: Studies in Chicano Literature, Culture, and Ideology* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991); José David Saldívar, *Border Matters: Remapping American Cultural Studies* (Oakland: University of California Press, 1997); Claudia Sadowski-Smith, *Border Fictions: Globalization, Empire, and Writing at the Boundaries of the United States* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2008); Claudia Sadowski-Smith, *Globalization on the Line: Culture, Capital, and Citizenship at U.S. Borders* (New York: Palgrave, 2002); Amritjit Singh and Peter Schmidt, *Postcolonial Theory and the United States: Race, Ethnicity, and Literature* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2000); Caroline F. Levander and Robert S. Levine, eds, *Hemispheric American Studies* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 2008); Rachel Adams, *Continental Divides: Remapping the Cultures of North America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); John Carlos Rowe, *Post-Nationalist American Studies* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2000); David Staines, ed., *The Canadian Imagination: Dimensions of a Literary Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977); Ian Angus, *A Border Within: National Identity, Cultural Plurality, and Wilderness* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997); W. H. New, *Borderlands: How We Think about Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1998); Davidson et al., *Border Crossings; Winfried Siemerling, The New North American Studies Reader: Culture, Writing, and the Politics of Re/Cognition* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Ila Nicole Sheren, *Portable Borders: Performance Art and Politics on the U.S. Frontera since 1984* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015); Rachel St John, *Line in the Sand: A History of the Western U.S.-Mexico Border* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).
- 23 Levander and Levine, *Hemispheric American Studies*, p. 3.
- 24 Gillian Roberts and David Stirrup, *Parallel Encounters: Culture at the Canada-US Border* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2013), pp. 2–3.
- 25 Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera*, p. 19.
- 26 See, for example, the USA PATRIOT Act of 2001 and the Real ID Act of 2005 (discussed further below).

- 27 Jennifer Leclaire, 'Because They (Islam) Hate', *The Voice*. www.thevoicemagazine.com/culture/society/brigitte-gabriel-because-they-hate.html (accessed 12 October 2010). In addition to other spurious claims, Gabriel suggested that Hezbollah intend to invade the United States through its shared border with Mexico.
- 28 It should be noted here that the Real ID Act was passed as a rider on an appropriations bill funding the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. The Act has seen resistance from environmental groups in addition to civil liberties advocates. For more, see 'An Act making Emergency Supplemental Appropriations for Defense, the Global War on Terror, and Tsunami Relief, for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2005, and for other purposes' (11 May 2005). www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/PLAW-109publ13/content-detail.html (accessed 17 October 2010).
- 29 The following Acts were waived by Secretary Chertoff: The Endangered Species Act of 1973, The Migratory Bird Treaty Act of 1918, the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, the Coastal Zone Management Act of 1972, the Clean Water Act of 1972, the Clean Air Act of 1963, and the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. Chertoff's waiver of these Acts in favour of legislation that is undeniably a reaction to 9/11, further emphasises my point that the events of 9/11 represented a break in the way the United States dealt with its borders. The Real ID Act further stipulates that his decisions are not subject to judicial review, and in December 2005 a federal judge dismissed legal challenges by the Sierra Club, the Audubon Society, and others to Chertoff's decision.
- 30 Sadowski-Smith, 'Introduction', p. 2.
- 31 At a conference I attended at the University of North Dakota's Borderlands Institute in 2010, a United States government representative clearly stated that the border was no longer considered 'undefended'; rather, within government circles, it is termed the 'longest *unsecured* border'.
- 32 Victor Konrad and Heather N. Nicol, *Beyond Walls: Re-inventing the Canada-United States Borderlands* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), p. 2.
- 33 Examinations of the Canada-US border have tended to focus on cultural production and circulation. See for example Waldemar Zacharasiewicz and Christoph Irmscher, eds, *Cultural Circulation: Dialogues between Canada and the American South* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2013); Roberts and Stirrup, *Parallel Encounters*; Gillian Roberts, *Discrepant Parallels: Cultural Implications of the Canada-US Border* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2015).
- 34 For more on this, see 'UK Refuses to Grant Visas to Iroquois Lacrosse Team' (15 August 2010). www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us+canada-10634044 (accessed 16 August 2010).

- 35 Gale Courey Toensing, 'Canadian Border Agent Confiscated Haudenosaunee Passport, Called It "Fantasy Document"', *Indian Country Media Network* (17 August 2011). <https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/travel/canadian-border-agent-confiscated-haudenosaunee-passport-called-it-fantasy-document/> (accessed 20 September 2011).
- 36 T. H. Marshall, *Class, Citizenship, and Social Development* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 91.
- 37 Maria-Barbara Watson-Franke, 'To Teach "the Correct Procedure for Love": Matrilineal Cultures and the Nation State', in *The Political Interests of Gender Revisited: Redoing Theory and Research with a Feminist Face*, ed. Anna G. Jónasdóttir and Kathleen B. Jones (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), pp. 104–21, at p. 104.
- 38 Suad Joseph, 'Women between Nation and the State in Lebanon', in *Between Woman and Nation: Nationalism, Transnational Feminism, and the State*, ed. Cora Kaplan, Norma Alarcon, and Minoo Moallem (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), pp. 162–81, at p. 163.
- 39 Soysal, *Limits of Citizenship*, p. 2.
- 40 Holloway Sparks, 'Dissident Citizenship: Democratic Theory, Political Courage, and Activist Women', *Hypatia* 12:4 (1997): pp. 74–110, at p. 78.
- 41 *Ibid.*, p. 78.
- 42 Nancy Fraser, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy', in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1992), pp. 109–42, at p. 123.
- 43 Isin and Wood, *Citizenship and Identity*, p. 10.
- 44 Soysal, *Limits of Citizenship*, p. 2.
- 45 Bell and Binnie, *The Sexual Citizen*, p. 49.
- 46 See, for example, David Kidd and Emanuele Castano, 'Reading Literary Fiction Improves Theory of Mind', *Science* 342 :6156 (2013): pp. 377–80, and even Loris Vezzali, Sofia Stathi, Dino Giovannini, Dora Capozza, and Elena Trifiletti, 'The Greatest Magic of Harry Potter: Reducing Prejudice', *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 45 (2015): pp. 105–21.