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How LGBTQIA+ Citizenship Transcends the Nation- State Paradigm: An Argument for Supranational Queer Citizenship

Marcus Cantrell

University of Arkansas, Fayetteville

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**How LGBTQIA+ Citizenship Transcends the Nation- State Paradigm: An Argument for
Supranational Queer Citizenship**

An Honors Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Honors Studies in
Political Science

By:

Marcus “Cade” Cantrell

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J. Willam Fullbright College of Arts and Sciences

The University of Arkansas

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Table of Contents:

Abstract.....	3
Introduction.....	4
Methodology.....	5
Chapter 1: Brief Histories of Citizenship and LGBTQ Peoples Across Time.....	7
1.1: Analyzing the History of Citizenship.....	7
1.2: A Temporal Examination of LGBTQ People.....	9
Chapter 2: Interrelated Modes of Trauma and Healing.....	12
2.1: Modes and Means of Oppressing Queer People Across the Diaspora.....	12
2.2: Mending the Broken, Healing the Queer Soul.....	16
2.3: Queer Citizenship Through the Lens of Interrelated Trauma and Healing.....	18
Chapter 3: Dreams of a Future: The Formation of a Supranational Queer Citizenry.....	20
3.1: Supranational Queer Citizenship.....	20
3.2: How Supranational Queer Citizenship Compares to Existing Conceptions.....	21
3.3: Conclusions.....	22
Works Cites.....	23

Abstract

Current conceptions of citizenship, which are heteronormative and tie citizenship to membership in a nation-state, do not account for the quotidian experiences of LGBTQ people across the globe. Seeing as the queer community is a relatively small one, many queer people feel a sense of shared fate with LGBTQ people across the diaspora and feel helpless when they see their queer siblings being persecuted in egregious ways. Thus, the need for a new type of uniquely queer citizenship becomes salient. This thesis posits that a supranational queer citizenship would be the most effective conception of citizenship for queer people because it would allow them to not only build community across borders but would also allow LGBTQ people a place to advocate for queer rights, and under the right circumstances push for international legal action against countries that are seen to be hindering queer people from achieving equity within the countries bounds. Additionally, this theory acknowledges that nation-state citizenship is simply not sufficient enough to guarantee the well-being of queer people, and that a supranational framework is needed to ensure queer people's full inclusion and protection in a rapidly globalizing world.

Introduction

“We the people,” some of the most divisive words in modern history were written in 1787, approximately two years before the French Revolution which further forged citizenship firmly to the geographical bounds of the nation-state (U.S. Const., 1787; Walton 2009). Those prophetic words would set the stage for a seismic centuries long debate around the inclusionary and exclusionary nature of traditional citizenship (nation-state citizenship). For 2SLGBTQIA+ (LGBTQ) people around the world, their contributions to the societies they found themselves in were largely devalued long before, and long after, America’s founding fathers wrote the constitution. Given many citizens shared experiences of institutional, communal, and physical violence, as well as community building, nation-state citizenship, which works in favor of many within the nations bounds, generally does not allow the same types of “civic participation” to be enacted upon by LGBTQ individuals (Kallio, Häkli, Bäcklund, 2015, p.6). As such, nation-state citizenship is characterized as exclusionary of LGBTQ identities because of its ridged territorial bounds that constricts LGBTQ community building and plight amelioration across the diaspora. Thus, the need for a *supranational queer citizenship* becomes salient. Supranational queer citizenship is a citizenship paradigm that allows LGBTQ people to bend temporal conceptions of space, time, and lived reality to create an international platform for LGBTQ civic engagement and rights negotiations to take place.

Methodology

This paper employs a qualitative research method, which draws upon a variety of sources including academic literature, first person accounts, and policy documents. The research design is informed by an approach that recognizes the social construct of citizenship and the heteronormativity of the global collective imagination, as well as the political and social forces that shape the ways in which these categories are experienced and understood. Additionally, the research design takes into account, to the greatest degree possible, the understanding that the LGBTQ communities discussed in the paper must navigate sometimes competing notions of civic engagement and civil negotiations as viewed through a lens of individual and communal lived queer experiences, in efforts to better construct paradigms of queer belonging on an international stage.

The first step in this research process involved an extensive and expansive, although not exhaustive, review of academic literature and first-person sources pertaining to LGBTQ violence, queer citizenship, territorially defined citizenship, transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, supranationalism, queer legal studies, queer historical studies, and many other terms related to the queer identity and conceptions of citizenship that seek to move beyond the rigidity of the nation-state. This review included a wide range of sources such as journals, books, newspapers, and policy critiques. The review was conducted using a systematic search strategy, which included a variety of academic databases such as Onesearch, ProQuest Central, Academic Search Complete, JSTOR, Google Scholar, and Ethnic NewsWatch. Some of the search terms in this review included “queer studies,” “queer citizenship,” “transnational citizenship,” “supranational citizenship,” “queer refugees,” “nation-state,” “LGBTQ rights,” “LGBTQ trauma,” “LGBTQ historiography,” “cosmopolitanism,” and “cross-border cooperation.”

The second step in the research process involved reviewing policy documents found through the Library of Congress and Human Rights Watch, which related mainly to LGBTQ criminality. This review included an examination of national policies relating to LGBTQ rights and international human rights treaties. These documents were examined to a degree that made the tying together of local, regional, and international laws possible. As well as having the effect of making the picture of LGBTQ oppression, criminality, and resilience more salient.

Limitations

Although comprehensive and expansive, this method is in no way exhaustive in its presentation of queer identities and queer citizenship. Additionally, the literature review method employed could be further supported by conducting studies related to feelings of transnational queer solidarity among queer people across the globe. Lastly, this method is limited in its scope of conceptions of queer citizenship and could further ascertain additional sources of global queer discontent.

Conclusions

Overall, this research design allowed for a comprehensive exploration of the varied ways in which supranational queer citizenship transcends the nation-state paradigm. As well as helping to inform the ways in which continued LGBTQ criminality and subjugation to heteronormative notions of state and citizenship has pushed LGBTQ people globally to search for new modes of civic arrangement.

Chapter 1:

Brief Histories of Citizenship and LGBTQ Peoples Across Time

1.1: Analyzing the History of Citizenship

The history of citizenship highlights the tensions between inclusion and exclusion, and the importance of recognizing and addressing still present inequalities. Additionally, this tumultuous history underscores the need for new conceptions of citizenship to be responsive to social change, and to be receptive to the various means and methods that could be employed to promote social justice and ameliorate the rampant inequities that exist across the globe.

The original concept of citizenship has a long and storied history steeped in the traditions of ancient Greece and Rome (Dagger, 2002). In these two ancient societies, citizenship was tied to one's status as a free adult male, as well as being additionally defined in terms of political rights and participation in the community (Dagger, 2002). However, later in the era of the Roman Republic, citizenship was extended to include women, slaves, and foreigners who had earned the right through military service or other state-serving means. However, these marginalized groups had to continuously negotiate their citizenship in ways that effectively rendered them to second class citizenship, in which affluent white males still dominated the social hierarchy (Lavan, 2019).

In the medieval period, citizenship was typically aligned with membership in a craftsmen guild or religious community, being associated with a guild or religious community of higher standing defined a person's rights, responsibilities, and access, as it relates to their civic stature and what rights they could enjoy (Nederman, 2002). Consequently, citizenship in the medieval

period was more closely tied to subjective interpretations of one's social and economic status, rather than political rights.

During the enlightenment period, the idea of citizenship was defined in more universal terms, with emphasis being placed on individual rights, freedoms, and responsibilities. During this time, the French Revolution of 1789 and American Revolution were seismic turning points in the development of modern citizenship, culminating in the adoption of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Declaration of Independence respectively, which proclaimed the equality of all citizens before the law (Von Gentz, 1800). However, these rights were often only extended to white, male, property owners, and typically excluded women, people of color, and many other marginalized groups.

Following enlightenment, in the 19th and 20th centuries, citizenship was closely forged to a person's nationality, and the nation-state more broadly. During this period, and leading into modernity, the rights of citizenship were granted to, or denied to, people based on their birthplace or ancestry. This has, and still does, lead to the exclusion of immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers, and many other groups who do not fit into the nations identity or were deemed to be undesirable.

Today, although still tied firmly peoples "subjective interiorization of the idea of the border," the concept of citizenship is being continuously shaped by modern forces such as globalization and transnationalism (Balibar, 2002, p.76). This idea of a more global citizenry, which emphasizes a sense of responsibility and belonging to a larger human community, is becoming increasingly important in addressing global issues such as climate change, migration, and various problems of social justice. However, as will be addressed later, this 'global citizenry' may still not address all the problems faced by LGBTQ populations across the globe.

However, even given these recent developments, the history of citizenship has been marked by tensions between the “modes of inclusion and exclusion” that seem to arise when the previously mentioned conceptions of citizenship are employed ((Balibar, 2002, p.72). As such, nation-state citizenship rarely accounts for the lived experiences of all the ‘citizens’ within a nation’s borders, and thus leaves room for new and competing conceptions of citizenship to emerge that better accommodate marginalized groups and help to ensure that they enjoy full participation in civic life.

1.2: A Temporal Examination of LGBTQ People

Contrary to international collective imagination, LGBTQ people have existed since at least the dawn of organized human civilization, although, it must be mentioned that premodern accounts of LGBTQ people are sparse (Balibar, 2002, p.73). This absence of LGBTQ historical documentation is due at least in part to the fact that homosexuality and varying types of gender expression were often stigmatized or criminalized in many parts of the world until relatively recently. As such, LGBTQ people have been historically left out of the “civic participation” that is crucial in the state making process, and as such are forced to live in heteronormative spaces that not only view heterosexuality as ‘normal,’ but also have the effect of actively excluding LGBTQ identities on national, regional, and local stages (Kallio, Häkli, & Bäcklund, 2015 p.6). However, it is still worth investigating the various societies and traditions that accepted LGBTQ lifestyles as well as how, sometimes in the same cultures, LGBTQ lifestyles were rebuked and reviled.

In the ancient northern Mediterranean world, there were two societies, while close in geographical proximity, that had very disparate methods of treating queer peoples. In classical Greece for example, same-sex relationships were widely accepted and, in many cases, encouraged through the “*erastes*” and “*eromenos*” relationship (van Kesteren, 2019, 363). This type of relationship, whereby older and younger men were paired for pedagogical purposes, although not acceptable in the modern context, provides a well-documented example of same-sex relationships in the pre-Christan world. On the other hand, Roman society, which is credited for the spread of Christianity, generally frowned upon same-sex relationships, and in some cases, further frowned on men taking the “passive role” in same-sex encounters, which could have served to further entrench binary gender roles during this time (Haskins, 2014, p.403).

In many Native American cultures, there were individuals who were recognized by their tribe as being “two-spirit,” an identity which denoted that these individuals possessed both male and female spirits within them and were thought to have special spiritual abilities, which led to them being culturally revered for their ability to transcend the two worlds (Driskill, 2010, p.69). Similarly, some premodern African tribes contained people who did not conform to traditional gender roles. For instance, the Hausa people, who lived in what is modern-day Nigeria, had tribe members who practiced the “*yan daudu*” tradition, in which young men would dress as women and would perform as entertainers in dance rituals, often with same-sex partners (Salamone, 2005, p.52). These people, known to pass between the two genders, held a similar status of cultural reverence as the two-spirit people found in the Native American tradition. However, the impact of colonialism and the imposition of European values in Africa led to the persecution and marginalization of LGBTQ individuals in some African societies.

In ancient Chinese culture, the legend of the “female knight errant” emerged during the Tang Dynasty. The female knight errant were women who lived and dressed as men, often partaking in traditionally male roles such as government or military service (Ropp, 2011, p.661). Despite the fact that these female knights were only thought to have been portrayed in legends, their behavior suggests that cross-dressing was not entirely taboo in ancient Chinese culture. However, it must be noted that premodern Chinese society was also influenced by Confucianism, which placed an emphasis on heteronormativity and the production of male heirs (Gao, Zuo, Wang, Lou, Cheng, & Zabin, 2012).

Lastly, moving beyond the ancient world and into a more contemporary context, the Stonewall Riot of 1969 is widely held as the most consequential watershed moment in LGBTQ history. One of the most significant impacts of the Stonewall Riot is that it galvanized the LGBTQ community and sparked a more productive era of activism than ever recorded before. Prior to Stonewall, LGBTQ individuals had been largely invisible and marginalized in global society. Consequently, the protests and organizing efforts that the riot sparked brought the struggles of LGBTQ individuals to the forefront and raised public awareness of the discrimination and oppression they faced (Duberman, 2019). It must be said, however, that despite the progress that has been made throughout history in relation queer rights, LGBTQ people still face rampant discrimination, and in some nations an increase in anti-LGBTQ actions, which further enshrines the need for the continual reconceptualization of LGBTQ belonging and citizenship.

Chapter 2:

Interrelated Modes of Trauma and Healing

The shared factors that lead to LGBTQ trauma across the diaspora and the ways LGBTQ people attempt to heal from that trauma will be the focus of this chapter. Specifically, the ways in which the interrelation of the methods of trauma and modes of healing impact not only the queer individual, but also their families, communities, and society at large. The various forms of trauma being discussed include the attempt by societal and communal institutions to erase queer identities, as well as the more visceral forms of physical violence that queer people face. Queer trauma is firmly rooted in intersectionality, in which a person's "race, gender, sexual orientation, and class are co-constitutive and shapes one's relationship to power and oppression" (Kolysh, 2017, p.2). While not the express purpose of this paper, it will be inevitable that discussions around the intersectional identities of queer people, and the ways in which those identities lead to further oppression, will be discussed, seeing as this is an examination of the queer identity as viewed through an international lens. Additionally, modes of queer healing will also be discussed, around a similar framework as queer traumas. The varied and innovative ways in which queer people heal through individualistic and communal practices, leading to diverse and robust routes of healing from the 'scars' that are left from the insidious traumas that LGBTQ people face in their day-to-day lives.

2.1 Trauma: Modes and Means of Oppressing Queer People Across the Diaspora

LGBTQ people are faced with a daily choice, be themselves and possibly face discrimination, physical harassment, and even death, or cloak themselves in a veil of

heteronormativity to survive. Although all queer people's ways of dealing with the crushing pressures of heteronormativity are affirmed and validated, this is an examination of the people who chose to live as themselves, as they are much more likely to be 'spotted' and thus are more likely to face oppression.

It must be noted that although discussed separately, the communal, institution, and physical attempts at queer erasure are all interrelated forms of trauma and often reinforce each other, creating a cycle of violence, exclusion, and at times eradication. Additionally, these forms of oppression are very often perpetrated against queer people in countries in which they are legally 'citizens,' but as we will see this is only a legal distinction and does not have much bearing on the *de facto* lived experiences of queer people in their pursuits of equal citizenship.

2.1.1: Institutional Erasure

Queer acceptance and equity would be high and righteous ideals for many countries to strive for across the globe. However, in viewing civilizations as being constituted through "different core values or practices that are historically foundational and that maintain, over time, and integrity as a cultural pattern," one can understand that many cultures and societies do not seek change, only maintenance of the status quo (Bhambra, 2015, p.103). So, these systems view LGBTQ civil advancement as a threat to the status quo and in many cases respond to that 'threat' with the full force of the states apparatus.

Institutionally, queer people are traumatized through the lack of protections that they must contend with, as well, in some cases the full criminalization of their identities. These lacks of protections are typically viewed through a lens of "benign neglect" by the state, but have real world implications in relation to the ways in which LGBTQ people are able to exist in their

societies (Russell & Williams, 2021, p.58). For instance, the lack of hate-crime and anti-discrimination laws in many countries has the effect of marginalizing the queer experience and thus tacitly implies that LGBTQ people are not an oppressed group, or worthy of special protection from physical, occupational, or emotional violence. Additionally, the lack of these special protections serves to further minimize queer existence by making it, in some cases, nearly impossible to find gainful employment or housing, which has the effect of further entrenching the state's picture of queer people as lesser and not worthy of protections. In this way, the state self regulates the public's perceptions of LGBTQ people because by not protecting their physical, occupation, or emotional safety, queer people are kept from participating in quotidian life and thus are viewed as the least desirable people in a given society.

Although, the lack of legal protections keeps LGBTQ people from being able to fully integrate into civil society and join others in the formation and renegotiation of citizenship, the actual criminalization of LGBTQ identities suffocates any and all attempts by queer activists to inject LGBTQ notions of citizenship formation to take place. A more egregious case of this criminalization can be seen in Uganda where, according to Human Rights Watch, queer people are subjected to life imprisonment for even possessing "carnal knowledge against the order of nature" (2023). The law effectively stops all advocacy and activism on behalf of the LGBTQ community, as many organizations have been forced to operate underground, this became particularly salient after Uganda's parliament passed the Anti-Homosexuality Act in 2023 (Human Rights Watch, 2023).

Overall, many states' institutional apparatus not only traumatize LGBTQ people by allowing them to be discriminated against and do little to protect them in the case of physical violence, but many of these states actually promote the criminalization of queer lifestyles, and

attempt to erase LGBTQ opinions from penetrating the civic institutions of their society. These types of institutional traumas typically have the effect of reinforcing the image of LGBTQ people and lifestyles that they want their citizens to believe.

2.1.2: Communal Erasure

Even if queer people are able to overcome the institutional barriers that hold them from obtaining full citizenship, existing communal ideas around queer people cause the oppression of LGBTQ identities, and further entrench the second-class status of queer citizens. A few modes of communal erasure are better understood in terms of disownment, displacement, and communal estrangement. These communal and familial rejections typically occur when a society member's non-traditional sexuality or gender presentation is seen as a "contestation over norms, values, standards, patterns of life and identities," and thus communities and families, being citizens of a heteronormative state, often police the boundaries of belonging to maintain the status quo (Aggleton et. al., 2018, p.X)

Familial rejection is a specifically scarring trauma because the individual is completely estranged from their familial support network and is typically cut off from all emotional, financial, and parental support. This familial rejection can lead to feelings of abandonment, guilt, and shame. Consequently, many LGBTQ youth find themselves homeless due to their families lack of support of their lifestyle and are thus further relegated to the lower rungs of the social hierarchy on the basis of their dually held queer and un-homed statuses.

Additionally, some families force their children into conversion therapy, whereby attempts are made to change an individual's sexual orientation through various methods

including psychoanalytic therapy, prayer and spiritual interventions, electric shock, nausea-inducing drugs, hormone therapy, surgery, and visits to prostitutes (Haldeman, 1994).

Lastly, forced marriages are employed by families in some counties as a way to ‘cure’ homosexual or gender non-conforming identities, leading to traumas surrounding the expectation of intimacy between an LGBTQ and heterosexual individual.

2.1.3: Physical Abuses

As previously mentioned, these various forms of trauma are interconnected and in a myriad of ways, the two aforementioned forms of trauma, institutional and communal, intermix in a volatile way to create environments where LGBTQ people are physically kept from expressing their identity and as such, cannot gainfully add their conceptions of citizenship to the larger national conversation.

Physical violence is a continuous threat for people in the global queer diaspora because many people see LGBTQ people as sub-human and not only unworthy of respect but actually worth targeting because they threaten a societies status quo, which is seen as a threat by the civilians who have been conditioned to police the boundaries of national belonging.

Physical violence comes in varied and stratified forms, however, all violence acts against LGBTQ people seek to keep them from existing as their authentic selves, which further estranges them from civic participation and the negotiations of citizenship.

2.2: Mending the Broken, Healing the Queer Soul

Although virtually all LGBTQ people have experienced one or more of the various forms of queer trauma, some much worse than others, not all queer people have been equally introduced to the various forms of queer healing, by which they can take some semblance of control over their civic destiny and healing process. By counteracting the same strata of trauma that LGBTQ people face, institutional, communal, and physical, with healing geared towards those areas of strife, queer people globally get to reclaim their spaces in small but significant ways.

2.2.1 Institutional Healing

It would be nearly impossible for the same institutions that once oppressed LGBTQ people to then turn around and become the system that advocates for their full inclusion in participatory politics. We see the previously mentioned theory play out in the United States where although the Supreme Court gave same-sex couples the right to marriage, the American political system as a whole has done very little to combat anti-LGBTQ sentiment in other areas of life, leaving many LGBTQ people just as vulnerable to vitriol as they were before the ruling. Some methods of institutional healing could come in the form of advocacy, whereby LGBTQ people advocate for their rights, and this thesis posits that the government should be proactive in advancing LGBTQ voices given its systematic erasure and silencing of them across time. If a queer person lives in a place where their lives are at risk at all times, one could destabilize the state's status quo by employing queer subversion, whereby they drop pro-LGBTQ pamphlets on the streets and in neighborhoods under the cover of darkness, join underground LGBTQ movements, or even leave the country if possible and attempt to dismantle state's anti-LGBTQ assumptions from outside of the reach of the state (Maltry & Tucker , 2002).

2.2.2: Communal Healing

The seemingly most thorough and concrete form of queer healing that exist across the globe today is communal healing, through which LGBTQ people get to engage with a form their “chosen family,” a family of (usually queer) individuals with whom an LGBTQ person feels as if they are safe, respected, and validated with (Blair & Pukall, 2015, p.259). Communal healing is such a potent form because it allows ‘broken’ queer people to reform kinship networks with people of their choosing, which leads to a supportive and dynamic community for these queer people to realign with, or discover, their authentic self. Additionally, queer people can connect with other LGBTQ people through various media platforms which helps to further expand their transnational support circle, with which many queer people, even if they do not know each other, build transnational solidarity with. Within these chosen families and transnational queer spaces, queer people healing from trauma can find spaces that are validating of their identities and that recognize the shared humanity among all oppressed queer people. Lastly, communal healing efforts allow queer people to seek out role models in the LGBTQ community, to whom they can look up to, because in many places LGBTQ people get absolutely no recognition in private, let alone public, spaces.

2.3: Queer Citizenship Through the Lens of Interrelated Experiences of Trauma and Healing

As outlined in the sections above, there are many forms of queer specific experiences that inform LGBTQ notions of safety, community, and civic activism throughout the world. The interrelation of these methods of Trauma infliction and modes of healing not only show the resilience of LGBTQ people globally, but further show that queer people are connected by these shared experiences. Consequently, given the second-class citizenship that befalls LGBTQ people in virtually every country that queer people are ‘out’ in, the queer community needs to

expand on notions of transnational queer community, solidarity, and “linked fate,” and push for the formations of a new conception of citizenship in which *supranational queer citizens* can work together to ameliorate the cause of their queer citizens across the globe (Simien, 2005, p.546).

Chapter 3:

Dreams of a Future: Queer Rights and the Formation of a Supranational Queer Citizenry

3.1: Supranational Queer Citizenship

Supranational queer citizenship refers to the rights and recognitions of LGBTQ individuals across territorially defined national borders. This conception acknowledges that LGBTQ people often face discrimination and violence in their home countries and seek asylum or migrate to other countries in search of safety and equality if conditions in their home countries are untenable. Many times, LGBTQ people do not get to challenge their governments views on queer rights because “discussions about minority rights are viewed as threatening the status quo, which the government wished to maintain,” leaving many LGBTQ people to leave their country of origin in search of more recognition (Scott, 2010, p.9). Additionally, this theory posits that LGBTQ people do not have to leave their home countries to enjoy the rights and recognitions inferred to them by way of being an LGBTQ individual, simply that they should be given priority refugee status if they were to make that decision, given the level and types of violence that are employed towards queer people. Supranational queer citizenship is thus concerned with the ways in which LGBTQ individuals navigate complex legal, cultural, and political systems in order to gain recognition, rights, and protection across borders.

Moreover, supranational queer citizenship recognizes that LGBTQ identities and communities are not confined to national borders, and that LGBTQ individuals often face intersecting modes of oppression and discrimination based on their gender, sexual orientation, race, class, nationality, and many other intersecting identities. It also acknowledges that nation-

state citizenship is simply not sufficient enough to guarantee the well-being of queer people, and that a supranational framework is needed to ensure queer people's full inclusion and protection. Supranational queer citizenship also highlights the importance of cross-border collaboration and solidarity among LGBTQ individuals and groups as well as with allies and advocates across the globe.

3.2: How Supranational Queer Citizenship Compares to Existing Conceptions

Supranational queer citizenship goes beyond the traditional idea of citizenship, which is typically based on national borders, and is predicated on "identity-based claim making" (Tilly, 1995, p.1). Additionally, supranational queer citizenship emphasizes the quotidian experiences of LGBTQ people and recognizes the diversity of concurrently held identities within the queer community. Unlike modern notions of citizenship which have "tended to be framed in terms of modes of political inclusion within, and exclusion from, nation-states," supranational queer citizenship is based on a sense of shared experiences around trauma, community, kinship, and solidarity among queer individuals across borders (Bhambra, 2015, p.102). In this way, supranational queer citizenship challenges traditional ideas of a fixed citizenship and instead embraces the fluid nature of identity and belonging in our ever continuously globalized world.

Compared to sexual citizenship, which is concerned with the ways in which queer people's identities are recognized and regulated by the state, supranational queer citizenship extends beyond the legal recognitions of LGBTQ rights within a state's borders and highlights the importance of solidarity among queer individuals across all countries, cultures, traditions, and social hierarchies (Aggleton et al., 2018). Lastly, in juxtaposition with transnational queer citizenship the two concepts may appear the same, however, the distinction lies in supranational

queer citizenships prioritization of working to free LGBTQ people from their oppression through means such as sanctions, human rights treaties, and the creation of supranational legal bodies akin to the United Nations or European Court of Human Rights. In this way, supranational queer citizenship acts as an overarching umbrella, within which sexual citizenship and transnational citizenship fall, and gives more ‘teeth’ to the other forms of citizenship by working to ameliorate the plight of LGBTQ people and not just simply build cross-border connections.

3.3: Conclusions

Supranational queer citizenship can be advanced through various means, such as the recognition of LGBTQ refugees and asylum seekers, the implementation of non-discrimination laws and policies, and the promotion of transnational LGBTQ activism and advocacy. It requires a rethinking of citizenship and belonging beyond the confines of the nation-state, and a recognition of the ways in which LGBTQ individuals and communities are part of a global struggle for human rights and dignity. Although current re-conceptions of citizenship exist, a supranational queer citizenship would have the dual purposes of fostering connections across borders and working to improve conditions for queer people through a supranational legal framework. Overall, this legalistic and community building framework would seek to give priority refugees status to queer people whose lives are threatened, impose some form of sanctions on anti-LGTQ countries, and advance existing and new human rights treaties, in this way, supranational queer citizenship transcends the nation-state paradigm and allows for a more functional, flexible, and inclusive queer citizenship to take shape.

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