LOCATING THE TRANSGENDER OTHER:

ALTERITY IN 21ST CENTURY AMERICA

by

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of the requirements for the degree

of

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DEDICATION

For Jennifer Néso'eóó'e Woodcock-Medicine Horse, the person who finds the motive in my narrative, honor in its moral, understanding in its purpose, and meaning in its author. You still lie next to me every night and fend off my dragons. Thank you for this gift.

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Choice defines the parameters of my family, and I acknowledge the agency of my matrilineal line. To my Auntie Etta, Dr. Henrietta Mann; my brother, Dr. Steven Zimmelman; my sisters, Dr. Mimi Zimmelman, Dr. Liz Rix, Dr. Dawn Adams, Dr. Ivy Merriot, Professor Sylvie Kay, and my fellow traveler Debbie Smith, thank you all for encouraging me to take one more step on life's road. Also, I wish to express my most sincere gratitude to Charlene M. Woodcock, a lady without whose support this work would not have been possible.

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Finally, I concede the fact that I have plagiarized all lines of inspired narrative from my three feline mews, Elvis, Addie, and Bitts. While I gratefully acknowledge the editing skill of Melody Montgomery, Corky Bush, Jennifer Néso'eóó'e Woodcock-Medicine Horse and Charlene M. Woodcock I do so with the hope that the grammatical errors of my cat familiars were quickly remedied.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION 1

Locating the Transgender Dialogue 1
Research Questions 4
Walking in the Woods 4
A Revised Expectation 5
Lunch in Seattle 7
A Change in the Political Wind 9
Political Scripting: The 'Trans' Military 11
A Confusing Landscape 16
Pathetic or Deceptive? 19
Global Changes 21

2. CORNER POSTS of THEORY 24

Sages or Sophist 24
On Queer and Transgender Theory 26
Arguments and Positions 29
Raymond 30
Haraway 38
Butler 39
Meeting the Founder: A Story 42
Sandy's Story 44
Anzaldúa 47
Fausto-Sterling: Many Sexes & Many Genders 50
A Different Approach: The Knowledge Wheel 54
Penning Up the Carnivore 57

3. THE METHO-THEORY OF STORY 59

Categories, Words, and Stories 59
Metho-Story 61
In a Drug Store 62
Beirut 66
Postscript 84
The Story of the Eagle 86
Indigenous Meaning 92

4. THE ROAD LESS TRAVELED 94

Knowing Who We Are 94

TABLE OF CONTENTS CONTINUED

Roots in Antiquity 96
Women as Warriors 97
Indigenous Symbols: Berdache and the 'Soft Man' 100
The Story of We'wha 102

5. BEFORE THERE WAS CHRISTINE 105

Soldiers, Artists, and Ladies 105
Remembering Lily 108
Transgender Soldiers: A Wartime Army 110
Unproductive Exclusion 117
Post War Reality 120

6. AMERICA MEETS THE OTHER 124

The Fifties: Culture Conflict 124
Christine 127
Defining the Category: 'Woman' 133
McCarthy 137

7. THE SIXTIES 143

The Mantra of Social Revolution: Tune In, Turn On, Drop Out 143
The 'P.R' Problem 147
The Coffee and Donut Riots 153
San Francisco 159
Compton's Cafeteria 162
Two Interesting Ladies Separated by Time 173

8. THE SEVENTIES AND BEYOND 177

New Strategies 177
Stonewall 180
Legal Legacies 181
The Birth of Judicial Challenges 184
Corbett v. Corbett: A 1970's Landmark 185
Second Serve 186

9. CONCLUSIONS – THE ROAD AHEAD 190

A Cultural Crossroads 190

TABLE OF CONTENTS CONTINUED

The NCTE: Putting on a Face on Transgender Politics 193
Media and the Cyber Community 199
A New Paradigm of Gender 200
Epilogue 201

REFERENCES CITED 205

APPENDICES 213

APPENDIX A: The Path of Trans Advances 214
APPENDIX B: Penalties for Sex Offenses 222
APPENDIX C: Shawn Wilson: Indigenous Story as Methodology 225

LIST OF TABLES

Table Page

1. Police Assumptions: Transgender sex trafficking 35
2. Transgender negative experiences with family 35
3. Denial of equal services 36
4. K-12 transgender experiences 36

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Page

1. Cassidy Medicine Horse, a university trans-activist at 64. 1
2. Fit for duty: Christopher Beck to Kristin Beck, both a Navy SEAL....14
3. Separate but Equal — A 14th Amendment interpretation....17
4. The cross-dresser as criminal. 20
5. Dancer on his Beirut rooftop. 22
6. Mentoring discussions. 23
7. Beth Elliott, folk singer. 31
8. Camp Trans — Outside the Michigan 'Wimmins' Music Festival. 32
9. Robin Morgan, radical feminist. 33
10. Intersexuals: around for a long time. 52
11. Male and Female: Many types of intersex conditions. 52
12. The Knowledge Wheel 56
13. Thrifty's 1950. 65
14. 'No Indians or Dogs Allowed' (center left) Nicholas Galanin. 2008. 65
15. Beirut opulence, 1960s 85
16. Beirut 1953 Poverty 85
17. Arab oil wealth. 85
18. An exploded powderkeg. 85
19. Transgender Burial sites? 97

LIST OF FIGURES CONTINUED

Figure Page

20. Valkyrie's Death, 1880. 99
21. Drawing of the grave. 99
22. Cheyenne hetaneman, or female two-spirit. 102
23. Bathrooms, an issue then and now. 106
24. Boulton and Park as Fanny and Stella, 1868. 106
25. Boulton and Park feature, *Illustrated Police News*, May 1870. 107
26. Einer Wegener before transitioning to Lili Elbe. c. 1929. 109
27. Lili Elbe, first documented sex reassignment. c.1931. 109
28. Hanne Snell 111
29. Albert D. J. Cashier (l), Francis Clayton/Jack Williams (c & r). 111
30. Homos invade San Francisco. 114
31. Katharine Hepburn. 117
32. Jean Arthur. 117
33. Patricia as Peter Davies. 119
34. Patricia Davies at ninety. 119
35. Robina Asti, victorious. 119
36. Robina Asti and 'love of her life,' Norwood Patton. 119
37. Norm Sansome, one of many gay service personnel. 121
38. Anti-Communist warning. 125

LIST OF FIGURES CONTINUED

Figure Page

39. Sex predator film warning; 1961. 125

40. Big Brother Surveillance. 125

41. Willie Gillis Food Package. 126

42. *Rosie the Riveter* depicts 1940 feminism. 126

43. *The Problem We All Live With*. (1964) New Orleans desegregation. 126

44. A waiting room for white only. By order police dept. 127

45. A country store in South Carolina: Negroes not wanted. 127

46. George Jorgensen. 129

47. Christine Jorgensen, post-transition. 134

48. Christine Jorgenson, at home. 134

49. McCarthy is posing for a picture in a Douglas SBD Bomber. 138

50. Republican party's response to the excesses of McCarthy 139

51. Cooper's Donuts, Los Angeles. 154

52. Dewey's lunch counter, Philadelphia. 156

53. Finocchio's performers. 160

54. Finocchio's patrons. 160

55. Compton's, San Francisco. 163

56. Letter to Vanguard. 171

57. Jan Morris on the Dick Cavett Show, recorded April 30, 1974. 174

LIST OF FIGURES CONTINUED

Figure Page

58. Jan Morris at the microphone during a book reading. 174

59. Cross-Dresser as lunatic, predator, and criminal. 184

60. A landmark legal decision. 186

61. Dr. Renée Richards 188

62. Obama signs Hate Crimes Law 189

63. NCTE joins National Transgender Advocacy Coalition. 194

64. Mara Keisling and this author at DuPont Circle. 195

65. President Obama signs LGBT Workplace Orders. 196

66. Transgender people are educating members of Congress. 197

67. Moving Trans-History Forward Conference. 201

68. The crosswalk in front of the Student Union — 'UVic.' 204

NOMENCLATURE

•**Agender** — People who do not feel they align with any gender, or sense a distinct lack of sexual orientation. Being asexual is not a requirement of 'agender' people, as gender identity and sexuality are unrelated.
•**Alter** [the] — The identity of the other that references the individual within the expanded meanings of alterity.

•**Alterity** — The quality or state of being radically alien to the conscious self or cultural orientation and defined within the identity of the 'other.' That is an entity or identity that stands in contrast and is not like another identity. Within the phenomenological tradition, alterity assumes the existence of an alternative viewpoint and distinguishes between the 'self' and the 'non-self.' The term implies something other than the sameness of imitation and is often described as otherness. Expanded meanings of alterity exist in the writings of Cornelius Castoriadis, *L'institution de la société, 1975; (The Imaginary Institution of Society, 1997)* and Jean Baudrillard's *Figures de l'álterité, 1994*.[1] Postcolonial theorist and philosopher' Gayatri Spivak suggests that alterity is determined by processes of othering.[2] The 'alter' can be the subject of colonization and the subject of the culture of the colonizer.

•**Ambisexual —** Neither male nor female

•**Androgyne** — A non-binary gender identity. Androgynes may possess traits that are simultaneously feminine and masculine. Some androgynes have adopted an androgynous psychological gender identity, while some may still be questioning their gender.
•**Bigender** — Describing the experience of gender identification derived from traits associated with two distinct sexes simultaneously.

•**Cis, Cisgender, Cis-Man, Cis-Woman** — Individuals who have a match between the gender(s) assigned at birth, their bodies, and their identity. Derived from the Latin meaning *'on this side of'* and considered to have the opposite meaning of trans, or *'across from'* or *'on the other side of.'*

•**FtM** — An acronym for '*Female to Male.'* A transgender identity commonly used for a person who was assigned female at birth but has a male gender identity. Although, on an individual basis the implication may include the notion of sexuality it is not synonymous with 'Butch' or 'Lesbian.'

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[1] Douglas Kellner, "Jean Baudrillard," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, Winter 2015 (Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2015), https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2015/entries/baudrillard/.

[2] Nasrullah Mambrol, "Alterity in Post-Colonialism," *Literary Theory and Criticism Notes* (blog), September 26, 2017, https://literariness.wordpress.com/2017/09/26/alterity-in-post-colonialism/.

NOMENCLATURE CONTINUED

•**Gender Dysphoria —** Formerly known as gender identity disorder, GID, the term indicates a strong and persistent feeling of identification with a different gender. The discomfort of physical and mental incongruence with one's birth sex results in significant distress or impairment that may include a desire to *be* a different sex.[3]

•**Gender Expression** – A person's outward gender presentation, usually comprised of personal style, clothing, vocalizations and body language.

•**Gender Fluid** — A designation of movement within a gendered identity; a shifting understanding of the presentation of 'self.' Also, an ontological knowledge of 'self' that is masculine, feminine, or other and is, or may become, temporary. That is, a non-static form of 'self.' Also, a blending and continuing shift of traditional gender and agender conceptions of male and female, masculine and feminine, androgynous and non-categorized cultural presentation. Gender fluidity indicates a free-form substructure and exists without consideration of genital configuration, sexual orientation, desire, performance, display or presentation.

•**Gender Nonconforming** — Referring to individuals who do not adhere to social mores concerning dress, activities, and social role based on cultural expectations of perceived sex. A gender non-conforming person may choose to present as either, or neither, distinctly male nor female, but rather as a gender-free individual.

•**Genderqueer** — A reference to individuals who do not adhere to strict male or female identities and roles. Sometimes this term is used simultaneously with another gender descriptive.

•**Gender Questioning** — A phase or period of self-assessment where an individual examines their sexual orientation and gender identity.

•**Gender Variant** — About individuals who reject the conventional definitions of male and female gender. Anyone who acts or thinks in a manner not socially approved for the gender assigned him/her at birth.

•**Homophile** — A post-World War II term that developed as a result of a desire for queer respectability. The word 'homophile' stressed love instead of sex. Some historians still refer to the LGBTQ activism that occurred between World War II and Stonewall as the 'Homophile Movement' as it denotes organizations and political strategies employed by homosexuals before the era of confrontational activism that marked the 1960s.[4]

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[3] "Gender Dysphoria," Psychology Today, accessed December 11, 2017, https://www.psychologytoday.com/conditions/gender-dysphoria.

[4] "25 Years of Political Influence: The Records of the Human Rights Campaign - Exhibition > The Stage >

NOMENCLATURE CONTINUED

•**Intersex** — A general term used to describe a variety of mixed phenotypic genital conditions. Most often associated with ambiguous reproductive or sexual anatomic features. Early forms of the word indicate varying manifestations, i.e., stages, of hermaphroditism or pseudo-hermaphroditism.

•**Invert —** Denoting gender-inversion theories of homosexuality. Gay men and lesbians were, in the past, sometimes referred to as 'inverts.' However, the term is not widely culturally understood and does not achieve the same reach as 'homosexuality.'

•**Metho-Theory —** A proposed analytical principle that combines the fact-based scholarship of the method and the abstract thinking of the theory into one discipline. The idea seeks to eliminate the separation between how one *enters* a debate and the specifics *of* the debate. Metho-theory highlights the role of the Story in creating intersections between truth(s), perception(s), and belief(s). The principal of fluidity interprets the relationship between isolated facts and the abstractions of theory. Metho-theory proposes that facts are fluid and dependent upon relative evaluations of observable phenomena. Thus, theories must also be fluid and malleable concepts. Metho-theory posits the existence of a continuum between reality and abstract reverie – that is, a single world of the Story where meaning is always fluid and the predictability of a subject is unpredictable.

•**MtF** — An acronym for '*Male to Female.'* A transgender identity commonly used for a person who was assigned male at birth but has a female gender identity. Although on an individual basis the term may include the notion of sexuality, it should not be confused with the more general designations of homosexuality.

•**Non-binary** — A form of gender non-identity that does not fit within the traditional boundaries of mainstream understandings. Non-binary is a rejection of the assumption of only two distinct genders. It indicates gender specificity just in so far as a description of *'what something is not*.'

•**Orality —** An expression of verbalized thought closely allied to oral tradition and encompassing broad aspects of cultural communication. The term draws from the work of Walter J. Ong and advances the notion that most languages are never written down.

1950's-1960's: Homophile Movement," accessed November 30, 2017, http://rmc.library.cornell.edu/HRC/exhibition/stage/stage_3.html.

NOMENCLATURE CONTINUED

•**Other** (the) — The idea of the Other describes the relationship that exists between people. It is a state of being different, that is an identity that locates the individual or object of scrutiny outside of the social norms of society. Otherness is the condition or quality of being different or particularly strange, bizarre, or exotic.[5] The practice of Othering describes a reductive action of labeling a person as one who belongs to a subordinate social category. Persons who do not fit the norms of the social group are placed at the margins of society. That is a place where the social criteria of normality do not apply.[6] Within the context of sex and gender, Simone de Beauvoir relies on Hegel to contextualize the Other as the least favored in a social group where 'man represents both the positive and the neutral and woman represents the negative.'[7]

•**Pangender** — A term for people who reject their inclusion within the conventional labels of male or female in sociocultural gender. That is, a term used to imply that a person, or group of people, is *'all gender.'* It has a great deal of overlap with genderqueer. Pangendered people feel that they do not fit into binary understandings of genders. Instead, pangender identity implies a mixed and non-gender-specific that may encompass unlimited portions of a third, fourth, fifth or even more significant numbers of gender identities.

•**Psychosexual Hermaphrodite** — An 1886 theory advanced by German psychiatrist Richard von Krafft-Ebing. He proposed that gay men were male-bodied individuals with women's brains, lesbians were women with minds of men, and bisexuals were people with hermaphroditic brains.[8]

•**Transgender** — Believed to have originated in 1965 the term also shortens to trans and is often used as a prefix. For example, 'trans-person' or 'trans-identity.' Denotative of a person or group of people whose sense of their gender differs from the sex characteristics assigned at birth. Persistent feelings of gender dysphoria may begin in early childhood.

•**Transsexual —** *A*n older term that dates to the 1920s and Magnus Hirschfield's reference to (German) 'Transsexualismus.' Contemporary use refers specifically to those who seek or have undertaken a medical intervention to change their bodies.

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[5] J. Mitchell Miller, "Otherness," in *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2008), 588–90, https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412963909.

[6] Alan Bullock and Stephen Trombley, *The New Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought*, ed. Oliver Stallybrass, 3rd edition (London: HarperCollins Publishers Ltd, 2000), 620.

[7] Carole McCann and Seung-kyung Kim, eds., *Feminist Theory Reader: Local and Global Perspectives*, 3 edition (New York: Routledge, 2013), 33.

[8] Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 1894, http://archive.org/details/PsychopathiaSexualis1000006945.

ABSTRACT

Discussions directed toward amending past stigmatizations associated with transgender identity have expanded in the 21st-century. Contemporary debates concerning the sociocultural pariah of mid-20th-century America have swung wide the doors of denounced identity. As this has happened, a more extensive text has emerged concerning the notion of alterity.

Designators of non-binary gender expanded during the middle of the last century and grew to include ideas of anti-nationalism, civil disruption, and sexual perversion. A plethora of politically motivated social agendas resulted in scholarship that did not keep up with contemporary realities. Perpetrated distortions of the 'trans-other' have disaffiliated more than 1.5 million American citizens. Dramatic increases in 'hate crimes' and a striking disparity in transgender suicide rates present a worrisome illustration of trans-alterity.

This treatise centers on how the location of transgender Story has shifted and revealed new ways of discussing gender distinctiveness. There is an opportunity for a scholarship to develop that incorporates the history of trans-exclusion with contemporary advances in technology. Stories of the trans-subject are instantly communicated, and knowledge of the past acts to eliminate transgender alterity.

The art of telling stories is an underutilized tool of scholarship. Trans-emergence is a story about contemporary reality and recording knowledge about the history of a marginalized culture. By looking back, it is possible to see a future that does not merely re-theorize or restate a call for inclusion but informs scholars that society is experiencing a *'Transgender Renaissance.'*

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Locating the Transgender Dialogue

In recent years there has been a striking increase in the visibility of transgender persons throughout the United States. Many icons of conservative attitude such as churches, law enforcement agencies, and institutions of higher education are coming to grips with the fact that they are not living in a world of their predecessors. As a result, gay, lesbian, transgender, and gender non-conforming preachers are being welcomed into the religious fold along with police officers and military personnel who identify as transgender. Also, new laws aimed at preventing violence and discrimination directed toward trans-identified people are incorporated into many city ordinances.



Figure 1. Cassidy Medicine Horse, a university trans-activist at 64.[9]

[9]Courtesy: Adrian Sanchez-Gonzalez/Chronicle

Accompanying these advances are positive transgender revisions to the diversity statements at many public and private universities.[10] [11] It is becoming increasingly evident that some advocates and scholars recognize that a pitched social battle is taking place concerning the equal treatment of transgender people. (Figure 1)

It is vital to remember that while community members continue to participate in the struggle for transgender equality the central argument is deeply rooted in another area. Inculcated prejudicial bias is being challenged, and previous notions of mainstreams 'most favored' people are coming under review. Thus, while isolated local victories maintain the momentum of transgender advances and empower specific social sectors, it is necessary to keep in mind that the more substantive subject of the transgender narrative is the right of self-identity and the expectation of equal treatment. If one looks at the lessons of history, it seems that the final successes or failures of eliminating the stigmatization of trans-alterity will depend on two things: First, whether local advocacy and scholarship can merge in a way that recognizes and avoids the mistakes of the past; Second, the development of a compelling methodology for telling the stories of transgender people.

Convincing dominant social sectors to listen to the voices of marginalized people first requires that an authentic and authoritative leadership emerges from within the ranks of the transgender community. The leaders must be able to elicit empathy and to generate

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[10] Maggie Astor, "Transgender Recruits Welcome at Police Departments, Even If Trump Doesn't Want Them," *The New York Times*, August 3, 2017, sec. U.S., https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/03/us/transgender-military-police-trump.html.

[11] Gail Schontzler, Writer, Chronicle Staff, "Montana Regents Outlaw Bias against Gays and Transgender People," Bozeman Daily Chronicle, accessed April 11, 2018, https://www.bozemandailychronicle.com/news/montana_state_university/montana-regents-outlaw-bias-against-gays-and-transgender-people/article_00f5f29e-ef63-11e2-ac4c-0019bb2963f4.html.

a passionate response to what history tells us is the result of discriminatory behavior.

Although one might be able to point to the landscape of 21st-century America and see many contemporary examples of inclusive policies concerning the transgender subject, lack of leadership is the reason that a large part of the discussion has gone unnoticed. That is, we seem to avoid raising particular issues within the academic community that might threaten the exposure of a disturbing sociocultural trend. By normalizing problem specific areas, things such as race and ethnicity, we seem to facilitate the erasure of other uncomfortable areas that require debate. For example, many well-known universities such as Columbia and Harvard, as well as smaller, less prominent schools like Otterbein University, have well-funded departments dedicated to the study of race and ethnic minorities.

However, while the field of minority studies is a growing and healthy discipline, it is rarely linked to a discussion about transgender people. This is an academic Achilles' heel as it exposes the idea that an analysis of race and ethnicity is categorically 'normal' while transgender issues are abnormal. According to a recent report produced by the Human Rights Campaign, an organization of more than three million members who support and advocate for the rights of LGBT people, violence against the transgender community is on the rise. The report states that there were at least 28 deaths of transgender people in 2017, five more than in 2016. What makes these tragedies most significant is that the majority of the violence is directed toward women of color. This prompts me to ask, why are there so few scholars looking at this juncture? Accordingly, I find the apparent disconnect between race and ethnic scholarship and transgender

violence a blatant example of making invisible an uncomfortable reality.

> It is clear that fatal violence disproportionately affects transgender women of color, and that the intersections of racism, sexism, homophobia, and transphobia conspire to deprive them of employment, housing, healthcare and other necessities, barriers that make them vulnerable.[12]

Research Questions

My research is directed by the following three questions:

1. What Is the *optimum methodology* for developing and communicating a new and expanded interpretation of transgender identity?
2. What 20th-century *evidence* indicates the inevitability of 21st-century transgender emergence?
3. What are the *locations* of transgender resistance and how do they inform a discourse concerning alterity?

Walking in the Woods

My research leads me to believe that the process of eliminating prejudicial gender policies that designate trans-individuals as objects of scrutiny can be revised. The transition needs to begin by filling the void between the more fashionable forms of academic debate and scholarship that socially erase identity with new ways of knowing. I propose that the process of bridging the gap between trendy knowledge and invisible reality should start by listening to the stories of those who are most affected. In the following analogy, I describe how one might frame the pool of inert scholarship that

[12] Human Rights Campaign, "Violence Against the Transgender Community in 2017," Human Rights Campaign, accessed April 18, 2018, http://www.hrc.org/resources/violence-against-the-transgender-community-in-2017/.

focuses on the minutiae of transgender identity rather than its heart. Sadly, I have noticed that the oversights of scholars, that part of the discussion that is either intentionally or inadvertently left out of the narrative, are often quickly reflected outside of the academic community.

Imagine that you are walking through the woods, and in your travels, you happen upon a small clearing. In the middle of the clearing, you notice a little body of water. You are thirsty, so you draw closer to the center with the hope of finding a place to drink. However, as you come nearer to the shoreline, you become aware of a pungent smell emanating from the pond. Looking at the water, you observe that there is no movement. Its glass-like surface is eerily undisturbed and is a place where neither amphibians nor bugs can survive. You clear away bits of floating debris and look deep into the water but realize that no fish inhabits its depth. The constant stream that once fed the pond is gone and slowly rotting vegetation has replaced a haven of activity. No flow of re-oxygenated water feeds the lake, and the outlets that once drained the stagnation have slowed to a trickle. The water has become undrinkable.

A Revised Expectation

In the following story, I tell of a moment when I first became aware that my perceptions of humankind, like the pond, had become stagnant. It was a time when I was beginning to separate myself from the rhetoric of an established dialogue about the expectations of gender. I reflect on a chance encounter that took place more than forty years ago, and I realize that in a fly-specked restaurant forty miles from Seattle, Washington, I learned some of the most significant lessons of my life. First among them

is that the simplification of identity is something that creates a box. It reduces the complexity of thought to a point where it fits into an easily stored container and no longer requires a reasoning process. Instead, what passes for innovative mental activity is a mechanism for regurgitating past rhetoric. The notion of placing the transgender subject into a conveniently assembled package of identity category is reductive. Those who would seek to make the reality of the trans-individual fit neatly into the assortment of boxes that contain subjects such as feminism, queer theory, bio-identity, medicine, politics, law, and social equality miss the mark in trying to identify the parameters of the transgender subject. By placing trans as a 'subset subject' of more mainstream discussions, well-intentioned scholarship makes invisible the reality of the transgender person and empowers the detractors of non-bimodal identity.

Transgender personhood requests neither 'understanding,' 'tolerance,' nor 'inclusion' as a form of politically correct diversity. The notion that one must explain or codify the extreme variability of the trans-narrative is a highly dangerous proposition. By engaging in a protracted commentary that attempts to describe, justify, and place gender autonomy somewhere within the recognized trope of theoretical knowledge, the trans-narrative is reduced to the mythic status of a single story. Instead of trying to understand the transgender topic 'actively' by generating additional forms of hyperbole, it is far more productive to evaluate the subtleties of trans-reality. This is best accomplished by listening to the stories of experience. It is essential that one remember that as the stories and history of a social and cultural form of personhood emerge, they should not be judged as tales that rely on the approvals of mainstream society. Understandings of self-

actualization are central to the trans-person but may not be apparent to casual observers.

Lunch in Seattle

About forty years ago, I decided to go to Alaska. I made a few plans that mostly involved the selection of a warm coat, locating an old roadmap and dropping quarters in a pay phone to let some friends know of my plan. My sole possessions were a duffel bag full of clothes and a guitar; they filled the back seat of my 1968 red Ford Mustang. I eyed my day's groceries. Three peanut butter sandwiches and a thermos of coffee resided in the passenger seat as I turned north and headed for the southern extremity of the Alaska Ferry System, Seattle, Washington.

I drove through the night and by lunchtime the next day the sandwiches were gone, and I was about forty miles from Seattle. Having no desire to get stuck in traffic while looking for a place to eat, I stopped for lunch at a small-town bistro. On a fly-specked sign near the entrance were the words, "Eat Here, Or We Will Both Starve." Heeding the advice, I entered the restaurant and sat down. I noticed two women sitting at a table in the far corner of the cafe. One of the women seemed to be speaking quietly to her companion who sat silently, listening with a look of intense concentration on her face. Although both women appeared to be around the same age and dressed in a similar style, I noticed that, for some reason, there seemed to be an air of mentor and mentee that surrounded their conversation.

I ordered my lunch and while I waited began to sip on a glass of ice tea. For some reason, my eyes kept straying back to the occupants of the corner table. They, having arrived before me, and with their lunch finished, concluded their conversation and began

to gather their belongings in preparation to leave the restaurant. As they maneuvered through the tables and chairs that had been left askew from the now departed noon-time crowd their route brought them within inches of where I was sitting. Perhaps because both women were seated at the time I arrived at the restaurant I had not noticed that the receiver of the mentorship appeared to be almost a foot taller than her companion. Also, I saw that her shoulders seemed to be broader and more muscular than her friend. My first thought was that the taller of the two must be a professional athlete. I recall thinking that her general slender build and powerful looking upper body reminded me of an Olympic swimmer. I guessed that her companion might be her coach.

As they proceeded through the door and slowly disappeared into the glare of the afternoon sun, I continued to gaze in the direction they had taken. I don't know why I was so irrevocably mesmerized by the two now-departed restaurant patrons, as I had no reason to suspect that there was anything different about them than any other women. Both individuals were attractive, confident, and appeared to be absorbed in their afternoon activities. They fit perfectly into my life experiences. Only when they had left the restaurant and were out of sight did I begin to consider why my attention had been so acutely riveted on them.

I remember that although there were subtle differences in their physical form, one being taller and stronger than the other, there was something about the two that I could not quite put my finger on. I took another sip of luke-warm ice tea and reshuffled that part of my mental filing cabinet that contained information about women. All of a sudden, the startling reality that is the world reached out and hit me. While I had no awareness of the

correct descriptive terminology, I intuitively realized that the taller of the two had just provided me with my first glimpse of a 'transgender' person. Interestingly, as I reflect on the event, I remember that instead of being transfixed by her physical features I discovered that what I found most compelling about her was the extreme intensity with which she claimed her identity. Her demeanor was not of one who was timid or insecure in a borrowed gender. Instead, it was of a woman who 'owned' who she was. Pausing momentarily to digest the experience of her silent declaration, I understood that I had just been granted a valuable life lesson. Only minutes had passed since one of the certitudes of my life had been destroyed. It was replaced with the knowledge that gender is not a life-long mandate. Instead, it is open to negotiation. The possibility of living a different life, at that moment, became a reality.

I relate this story in 'a good way' and within the context of a narrative that tells of an intuitive moment. By recognizing the identity of the woman in the previous story, I began a journey of introspection that has led to my knowledge about the nature of the transgender experience.

A Change in the Political Wind

One of the most conspicuous changes in the social direction of America is the increasing presence of trans-folks. As they continue to emerge into the public spotlight the accompanying structures of media, medicine and law are close on their heels. Historical documentaries, as well as contemporary television programs featuring transgender people, can be found on numerous broadcast platforms. Additionally, LGBT websites provide a constant stream of information concerning the latest legal wranglings

of both the pro and con transgender judiciary. Also, many medical practitioners have lengthy waiting lists of patients that desire sexual alterations. One famous California practitioner has reportedly stopped offering firm surgical dates for gender transition given a two-year backlog of patients. The result of the unfulfilled need for gender-confirming surgery is that the high price of the procedure and waiting list of patients has forced many prospective clients to seek medical intervention outside of United States. As transgender patients come together on the landscapes of internationally recognized medical centers, a strong sense of global commonality is established that reinforces transgender knowledge. While it is uncertain what role international networking plays in developing new laws and progressive attitudes there is an increasing amount of evidence that suggests that 'something is going on.'

In recent years countries that for centuries have had well-earned reputations for conservative social attitudes seem to be listening to the cacophony of voices being raised demanding changes to laws governing sexual activity and gender identity. Some of these changes are codifications that recognize a third gender. For example, nations such as India, Pakistan, Nepal, and Bangladesh have joined a growing list of western countries that have added legal authority to the idea of extended gender.[13][14][15]

In Western societies, new legal standards indicate that even areas that are heavily

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[13] Friederike Heine, "M, F or Blank: 'Third Gender' Official in Germany from November," *Spiegel Online*, August 16, 2013, sec. International, http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/third-gender-option-to-become-available-on-german-birth-certificates-a-916940.html.

[14] Kyle Knight, "Nepal's Third Gender and the Recognition of Gender Identity," *Huffington Post* (blog), April 24, 2012, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/kyle-knight/nepal-third-gender_b_1447982.html.

[15] "Ireland's Social Revolution: Traditionally Catholic Nation Makes History with Marriage Equality Vote," *Democracy Now!*, accessed December 31, 2017, http://www.democracynow.org/2015/5/26/irelands_social_revolution_traditionally_catholic_nation.

invested in religious orthodoxy are joining with more secular populations concerning gender and sexual recognition. Germany, New Zealand, Ireland, and Australia, for example, all represent countries that have recently established standards that respect sexual self-identity regardless of gender. Additionally, Thailand, a country well known among many in the transgender community for its reputation as the 'sex change capital of the world' is slated to contain a provision in its new constitution that includes a third gender category.[16]

As national populations that are known to embrace sacred belief systems such as Hinduism, Catholicism, Islam, and Buddism come to realize that the burgeoning transgender movement is not new or a social threat, new attitudes about non-standard gender are developing. It is interesting to note that the United States, a country once known for innovation, lags behind many less-developed nations in integrating liberal social attitudes. U.S. reluctance to engage in the dialogue of progressive views about sex and gender is seen in numerous recent judicial rulings. Instead of reflecting the insights of other global cultures, current administrative policies seem to demonstrate the arbitrary nature of the American political agenda concerning gender recognition. The result is that mercurial regulatory guidelines have produced confusing and often socially regressive policies.

Political Scripting: The 'Trans' Military

In June of 2017, *Politico Magazine*, a periodical that covers politics and policy in

[16] A. B. C. News, "Bangkok: Asia's Capital of Sex Change Surgery," *ABC News*, August 22, 2006, http://abcnews.go.com/International/story?id=2338490&page=1.

the U.S. reported that the Defense Department was drafting 'special regulations' to accommodate transgender recruits. Despite this, on July 26, 2017, less than a month later, newly-elected president Donald Trump stated that:

> After consultation with my Generals and military experts, please be advised that the United States Government will not accept or allow transgender individuals to serve in any capacity in the U.S. Military. Our military, says Trump, must be focused on decisive and overwhelming victory and cannot be burdened with the tremendous medical costs and disruption that transgender in the military would entail.[17]

The order reflected an unexpected shift in policy that caught many, including those in the military leadership, by surprise and prompted a fact-based response from a California think tank. On August 1st, 2017, the *Palm Center: Blueprints for a Sound Public Policy,* issued a statement that contradicted Trump's assessment of transgender military service. They reported that fifty-six retired generals and admirals were warning the president that anti-transgender policy, if implemented:

> … would cause significant disruptions, deprive the military of mission-critical talent, and compromise the integrity of transgender troops. Transgender personnel would be forced to live a lie, and their non-transgender peers would be forced to choose between reporting their comrades or disobeying policy. As a result, the proposed ban would degrade readiness even more than the failed 'don't ask, don't tell' policy. Patriotic transgender Americans who are serving—and who want to serve, say the upper echelon, must not be dismissed, deprived of medically necessary health care, or forced to compromise their integrity or hide their identity.[18]

The Palm Center report goes on to say:

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[17] Jacqueline Klimas, "Next Battleground for Trump Transgender Ban: Recruiting Stations," Politico, accessed December 31, 2017, http://politi.co/2C7479n.

[18] "Fifty-Six Retired Generals and Admirals Warn That President Trump's Anti-Transgender Tweets, If Implemented, Would Degrade Military Readiness," Palm Center, August 1, 2017, http://www.palmcenter.org/fifty-six-retired-generals-admirals-warn-president-trumps-anti-transgender-tweets-implemented-degrade-military-readiness/.

> President Trump seeks to ban transgender service members because of the financial cost and disruption associated with transgender military service. We respectfully disagree and consider these claims to be without merit. The RAND Corporation, as well as research in the *New England Journal of Medicine*, found that the financial cost of providing health care to transgender troops would be, at most, $8.4 million per year. The amount is one one-hundredth of one percent of the military's annual healthcare budget.[19]

The public relations debacle that followed the White House announcement, according to Richard Gonzales, a reporter for *The Two Way,* an online news feed from National Public Radio, NPR, was designed to upend an Obama administration policy that would have allowed transgender enlistees. Despite legislative efforts to enforce the ban on transgender recruits the battle over the issue appears to have come to a temporary end. According to Gonzales, on December 30th, 2017, the Department of Justice withdrew its legal challenge to the court rulings of four federal judges and two federal appeals courts. The judiciary found that the President did not have the power to enforce the ban. In a statement commenting on the defeat of the White House initiative Peter Rand, an LGBT civil rights attorney stated:

> Federal district courts in DC, Maryland, Seattle and Los Angeles have seen through the administration's hollow arguments in support of discrimination and rejected them, as have the federal appeals courts. The war isn't over, but the government has waived [sic] the white flag before this battle even got started. The administration clearly saw the writing on the wall and withdrew its desperate effort, for now, to block transgender people from openly enlisting in the armed services and serving their country.[20] (Figure 2)

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[19] Ibid.

[20] "U.S. Military To Allow Transgender Recruits After Trump Administration Drops Appeal," *NPR.org*, accessed December 31, 2017, https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2017/12/30/574729504/u-s-military-to-allow-transgender-recruits-after-trump-administration-drops-appe.



Figure 2. Fit for duty: Christopher Beck to Kristin Beck, both a Navy SEAL[21]

It is unremarkable that given underscored policies that seek to make transgender persons invisible, one might recognize that previous advances in social and legal gender designations are under assault. In addition to the debate concerning military service, there are numerous court challenges regarding policies that address 'transgender rights.' Whether we will revert to 'McCarthy-like' levels of intolerance or move forward with an enlightened social system is a subject that remains open to debate.

The possibility of losing hard-won ground crops up in a recent banner headline that appeared as a political critique in the Bilerico Report, one of the internet's most significant and reliable sites of LGBTQ commentary.[22] The commentary of the author, Brynn Tannehill, reflects the uncertain future of trans-identity in the title of his piece; 'Is this the end of the LGBTQ movement as we know it?' In a gloomy prediction Tannehill

[21] Under the Radar, "Sound Off: Should Transgender Troops Be Allowed to Serve?," Military.com, August 11, 2015, https://www.military.com/undertheradar/2015/08/sound-off-should-transgender-troops-be-allowed-to-serve.

[22] "About Us | The Bilerico Project," *Bilerico Report / LGBTQ Nation*, accessed December 31, 2017, http://www.bilerico.com/about/.

says that advances such as court cases prohibiting LGBTQ discrimination and favorable legal interpretation of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act that includes protections for transgender people, the next five years may see those advances reversed.[23] The Bilerico report states:

> Late last month, something happened that escaped the notice of most of the progressive press. The conservative plan to end the LGBTQ rights movement as we know it snapped into clear focus. It's not a short-term plan, but one that will take place inexorably over the next five to ten years. The scary part is that it is not just feasible, but also highly likely to succeed, and there's very little the movement can do to prevent its demise.
> The long-term strategy for the Supreme Court is to do two things. First is to interpret Obergefell v. Hodges as narrowly as possible, such that the decision only guarantees the right to get your name on a license and a death certificate. The second is to lay the groundwork for the Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993 (RFRA) to nullify almost all legislation, case law, policies, and regulations protecting LGBTQ people. When completed the protections for transgender people under the 1964 Civil Rights Act will inevitably fall, along with protections for women and other minorities.[24] [25]

Tannehill's forecast for the demise of the LGBTQ movement, however, contradicts an article found in an August 25, 2016, publication of *The Atlantic*. The well-established magazine published an article by journalist Andrew McGill the title of which proclaims, 'Americans Are Embracing Transgender Rights.' According to the author:

> A poll released by the Public Religion Research Institute found 72 percent of Americans now favor passing laws to protect lesbian, gay and transgender people from discrimination. According to the poll says, McGill, the data includes three-quarters of Democrats and two-thirds of Republicans. The article goes on to say that a majority of Americans

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[23] "Know Your Rights: Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, " *AAUW*, accessed April 3, 2017, http://www.aauw.org/what-we-do/legal-resources/know-your-rights-at-work/title-vii/.

[24] Brynn Tannehill, "Is This the End of the LGBTQ Movement as We Know It?," LGBTQ Nation, July 6, 2017, https://www.lgbtqnation.com/2017/07/end-lgbtq-movement-know/.

[25] Obergefell v. Hodges, 2015 WL 1041665 (Supreme Court 2015).

> also oppose so-called 'bathroom bills,' which require transgender people to use the restrooms that correspond to their sex at birth.
> The poll found Americans are so supportive of federal non-discrimination legislation that most errantly think that it already exists. Just over 80 percent of Americans, according to the survey, mistakenly believe that the federal government already bars employers from firing gay or transgender employees because of their orientation or gender identity. The *Atlantic* article goes on to quote the CEO of the PRRI, Robert P. Jones, 'People in their head just logically think, if marriage is legal, then workplace protections must also be in place.'[26]

A Confusing Landscape

Navigating contemporary social terrains, pockmarked environments littered with remnant echoes of 'Jim Crow'-like caste evictions, is complex and legal findings are often inconsistent. Hotly-contested issues and conflicting opinions surrounding the presence of transgender people in the United States have become familiar topics of contemporary media. One need not look far to find examples of inconsistent state and federal standards concerning guidelines that seem to direct a 21 st-century version of Jim Crow laws. Renamed transgender rights, the idea of 'separate but equal' identifies trans-alterity and appears to be alive and flourishing in 21st-century America.[27] (Figure 3)

[26] Andrew McGill, "Americans Are Embracing Transgender Rights," *The Atlantic*, August 25, 2016, https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/08/americans-are-embracing-transgender-rights/497444/.

[27] "A Brief History of Jim Crow - Constitutional Rights Foundation," accessed January 4, 2018, http://www.crf-usa.org/black-history-month/a-brief-history-of-jim-crow.

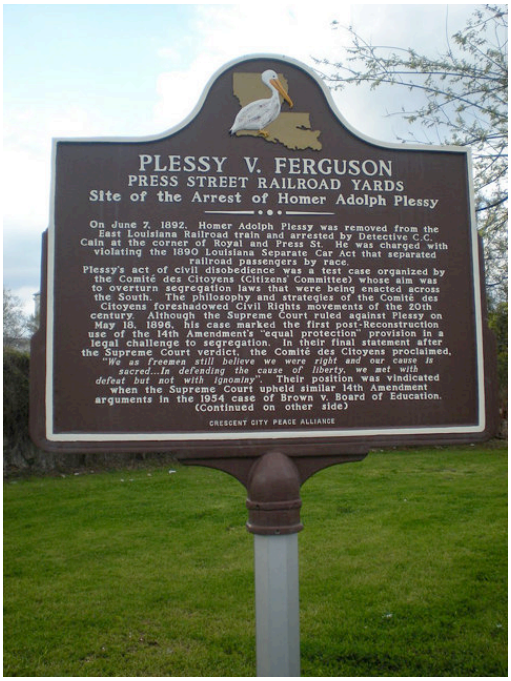


Figure 3. Separate but Equal — A 14th Amendment interpretation.[28]

An Oklahoma court, for instance, recently found in favor of a transgender professor employed at Southeastern Oklahoma State University.[29] Rachel Taylor was awarded $1,165,000 by a jury of six women and two men who determined that she had been denied tenure because of her gender.[30] The decision favoring the plaintiff, however, demonstrates the fragile nature of non-uniform transgender legal findings.

In March 2017 *The New York Times* ran a story that seems to contradict progressive legal attitudes. The paper reports on a story about Gavin Grimm, a

[28] Image courtesy: Wikimedia Commons.

[29] "Oklahoma Jury Awards Fired Transgender Professor over $1 Million," *Business Insurance*, accessed January 4, 2018, http://www.businessinsurance.com/article/20171122/NEWS06/912317421/Oklahoma-jury-awards-fired-transgender-professor-over-1-million-dollars.

[30] Twitter, "Jurors Award Transgender Woman $1M in Discrimination Lawsuit against State University," *NewsOK.com*, November 21, 2017, http://newsok.com/article/5573019.

transgender teenager living in Virginia.[31] The challenge brought by Grimm questions the authority of his high school to exclude him from using the boy's bathroom. The case, supported by The American Civil Liberties Union and the ACLU of Virginia alleged that the policy of excluding trans students from restrooms is unconstitutional. Grimm's attorneys argued that similar to the Plessy v. Ferguson decision, the school's 'bathroom policy' violates the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution as well as Title IX of the 1972 U.S. Education Amendments Act. The federal law prohibits sex discrimination in public schools.[32] Although Grimm pursued the case through a series of legal wrangling all the way to the doorstep of the United States Supreme Court, on April 7th, 2017, the Fourth Circuit Court overturned a lower court win for Grimm. The refusal of the SCOTUS to hear the facts of the case appears to not only reflect the unstable policies of federal administrators but also places Title IX interpretation of transgender protections in jeopardy.[33]

Antagonistic legal decisions such as Taylor v. Southeastern Oklahoma State University and the refusal of the SCOTUS to render a decision in the Gavin Grimm case indicate the presence of many unanswered questions that point to areas that require an increased amount of academic debate. The future of transgender people may well depend on whether scholars are able to catch up with 21st-century realities and provide

[31] Gavin Grimm, "Opinion | Gavin Grimm: The Fight for Transgender Rights Is Bigger Than Me," *The New York Times*, March 7, 2017, sec. Opinion, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/07/opinion/gavin-grimm-the-fight-for-transgender-rights-is-bigger-than-me.html.

[32] "Overview Of Title IX Of The Education Amendments Of 1972, 20 U.S.C. A§ 1681 Et. Seq. | CRT | Department of Justice," accessed January 4, 2018, https://www.justice.gov/crt/overview-title-ix-education-amendments-1972-20-usc-1681-et-seq.

[33] Adam Liptak, "Supreme Court Won't Hear Major Case on Transgender Rights," *The New York Times*, March 6, 2017, sec. Politics, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/06/us/politics/supreme-court-transgender-rights-case.html.

meaningful input to a discussion concerning social principals and assumptions.[34]

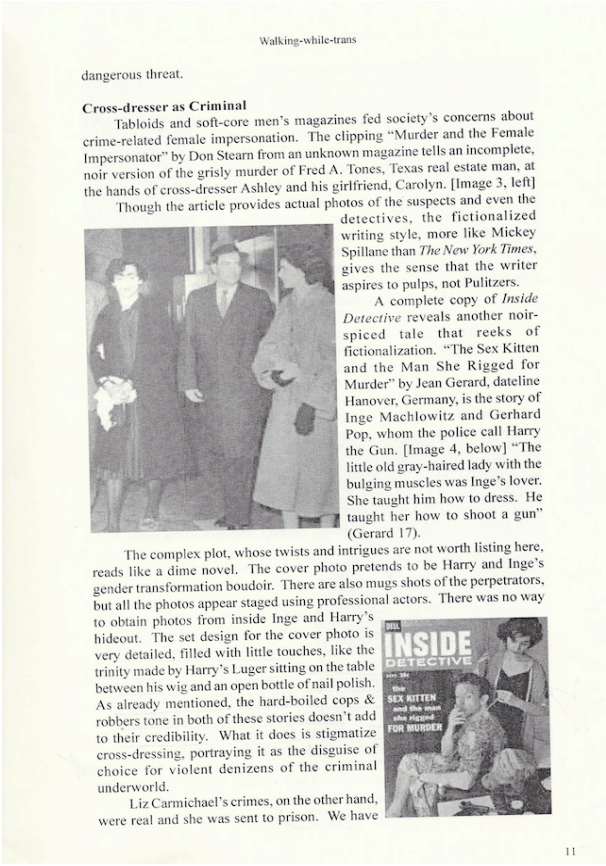
Pathetic or Deceptive?

The traditional portrayals of transgender people need to change and the images that create a 'pathetic identity' or even worse a characterization of 'deceptive intent' need to be dramatically revised. (Figure 4) I tie my views concerning the notion of deceptive imagery to those of transgender activist, author, and lecturer Julia Serano. Her assertions echo my concerns about the perception of the transgender character. She writes:

> A Freudian might suggest that the 'deceptive' transsexual's dangerous nature is symbolized by the presence of a hidden penis, while the 'pathetic' transexual's harmlessness is due to a lack thereof. A less Phallic interpretation is that the very act of passing makes any trans-woman who can do so into a deceiver.[35]

[34] "Transgender Teens Needing Hormone Therapy No Longer Need Court Approval in Australia," accessed December 1, 2017, http://mashable.com/2017/11/30/transgender-teens-ruling-australia/#J897MSTSbaqK.

[35] "Author, Performer, Speaker, Activist Julia Serano," accessed December 28, 2017, http://www.juliaserano.com.



Walking-while-trans

dangerous threat.

Cross-dresser as Criminal

Tabloids and soft-core men's magazines fed society's concerns about crime-related female impersonation. The clipping "Murder and the Female Impersonator" by Don Stearn from an unknown magazine tells an incomplete, noir version of the grisly murder of Fred A. Tones, Texas real estate man, at the hands of cross-dresser Ashley and his girlfriend, Carolyn. [Image 3, left]

Though the article provides actual photos of the suspects and even the detectives, the fictionalized writing style, more like Mickey Spillane than *The New York Times*, gives the sense that the writer aspires to pulps, not Pulitzers.

A complete copy of *Inside Detective* reveals another noir-spiced tale that reeks of fictionalization. "The Sex Kitten and the Man She Rigged for Murder" by Jean Gerard, dateline Hanover, Germany, is the story of Inge Machlowitz and Gerhard Pop, whom the police call Harry the Gun. [Image 4, below] "The little old gray-haired lady with the bulging muscles was Inge's lover. She taught him how to dress. He taught her how to shoot a gun" (Gerard 17).

The complex plot, whose twists and intrigues are not worth listing here, reads like a dime novel. The cover photo pretends to be Harry and Inge's gender transformation boudoir. There are also mugs shots of the perpetrators, but all the photos appear staged using professional actors. There was no way to obtain photos from inside Inge and Harry's hideout. The set design for the cover photo is very detailed, filled with little touches, like the trinity made by Harry's Luger sitting on the table between his wig and an open bottle of nail polish. As already mentioned, the hard-boiled cops & robbers tone in both of these stories doesn't add to their credibility. What it does is stigmatize cross-dressing, portraying it as the disguise of choice for violent denizens of the criminal underworld.

Liz Carmichael's crimes, on the other hand, were real and she was sent to prison. We have

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Figure 4. The cross-dresser as criminal.[36]

When addressing the location of trans-actualities, truth(s) versus trans-perceptions, (fiction), it is necessary to differentiate between reality and socio-political claptrap. The mid 20th-century concept of the transgender individual was centered on the idea of a perverted expression of sexuality. If trans individuals are to overcome past attempts at character assassination scholars who study, write, and learn from transgender matters must first grasp the fact that times have changed. There is a new and powerful 'bully pulpit' available that's independent of well-established 3rd party subjectivities. Knowledge about the nature of transgender people now comes from a different source.

[36] Courtesy: *Inside Detective*, September 1958.

Global Changes

Transgender identity, same-sex marriage, and non-conforming ways of being are becoming global facts of life. While the political and social locations change almost daily, it is difficult to deny that perceptions of sex and gender are undergoing radical revisions. For example, a story in *The New York Times* recently featured an article about "Coming Out in Lebanon." In a December 30th, 2017 piece for the paper, correspondents Laura Boushnak and Mona Boshnaq note the formidable obstacles of living a life in the Arab world that involves the open acceptance of gay, lesbian, and transgender people. They report that:

> Although Jordan decriminalized same-sex behavior in 1951, the gay community remains marginalized. Qatar, Sudan, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen outlaw same-sex relationships. In Saudi Arabia, homosexuality can be punished by flogging or death. [Also] In Egypt, at least 76 people have been arrested since a September crackdown on LGBT people that began with a fan who waved a rainbow flag during a concert by Mashrou' Leila, a Lebanese band with an openly gay singer.[37]

The Times goes on to say that while homosexual acts in Lebanon can still be penalized, Lebanese society has responded positively to the work of activists. Contrary to the neighboring Arab states of Qatar, Sudan, the United Arab Emirates and Yemen, Lebanon appears to be in the process of joining with the state of Jordan regarding the decriminalization of same-sex behavior. (Figure 5)

[37] Laura Boushnak and Mona Boshnaq, "Coming Out in Lebanon," *The New York Times*, January 5, 2018, sec. World, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/30/world/middleeast/lebanon-coming-out.html.



Figure 5. Dancer on his Beirut rooftop.[38]

> In 2013, the Lebanese Psychiatric Society said homosexuality did not need to be treated as a mental disorder. Judges have rejected cases prosecuted under a law that makes sex "contrary to nature" illegal. And this year, Lebanon held its first-ever Beirut Pride Week, full of events, if not an actual parade.
> What has helped make the difference is a culturally diverse society, a mostly independent media and the relative ease of registering non-governmental organizations, says Georges Azzi, the director of the Arab Foundation for Freedom and Equality, [a Lebanese] advocacy group located in Beirut.[39]

World events concerning the changing attitudes of sex and gender in conservative societies such as Lebanon indicate that scholars need to increase their efforts in providing new locations for academic debate. The findings of my research suggest that future scholarly discussions need to center on a process of knowledge gathering derived *from*

[38] Photo courtesy of Laura Boushnak, *New York Times.*

[39] Boushnak and Boshnaq, "Coming Out in Lebanon."

transgender individuals rather than a dialogue *about* them (Figure 6).

Current trends that espouse the particularities of 'transness' need to be vacated and the space filled by a broader concept that examines *what* 'transness' might signify. Counterproductive debates center on topics such as presentation, role performance, and sexuality. However, instead of adding substance, such discussions often detract from the unique opportunity available to pursue more relevant questions. Would it not, for instance, be more beneficial if the academic community were to pursue discussions that centered on public apathy toward hate crimes directed at the trans-other rather than whether the trans-person 'fooled' the perpetrator?[40] My study suggests that scholarship would benefit by a move away from the debris of mid-20th-century thought and toward a more productive model of transgender social consciousness.



Figure 6. Mentoring discussions.[41]

[40] "42-2_lee.Pdf," accessed May 8, 2018, https://lawreview.law.ucdavis.edu/issues/42/2/articles/42-2_lee.pdf.

[41] Photo courtesy of Laura Boushnak, *New York Times.*

CHAPTER TWO: CORNER POSTS OF THEORY

Sages or Sophist

There are numerous scholars in the field of transgender academics. Often their contributions to the field create new awarenesses and open dialogues that might otherwise go unnoticed. Nonetheless, despite the increase in both positive and negative attention, I recognize a void in the conversation. That is, the dialogue about trans-identity seldom addresses the relationship of the oppressor and the oppressed. The notion is one of 'oppositional force' and is irrevocably linked to all forms of existence.

The relationship between God and man/woman, male and female, as well as a plethora of religious convictions about the superiority of a specific diety, all seem to relate to a central theme of maintaining a hierarchy. However, despite centric debates about social, political, or religious issues there appears to be little attention paid to the implications of the ruler and ruled, the motif of the oppressor and the oppressed. The writers of transgender history have fallen victim to the centricity of unseating the oppressor. Thus, it is my position that trans-scholarship needs to center on stories that remove the agenda of a desired agency from the conversation and focus on the *meaning* of *othering*.

It seems unlikely that in the foreseeable future social narratives will make a radical course reversal and begin to include inconvenient facts detrimental to mainstream agendas. Historically, altered descriptions of transgender people, as well as other forms of alterity, have created alternative truth(s) that reinforce ideas of mainstream hierarchy.

As this has occurred, meanings of the other and the notion of justifiable subjugation have become socially acceptable. Cultural annihilations and created invisibility, however, are not new concepts.

I am reminded of the genocidal political policies of colonialism and direct attention to one of the inconvenient earmarks of history. Attempts at obscuring the presence of North America's indigenous other is an example of one of the failed sociopolitical policies of the late 19th century. 'Kill[ing] the Indian and save[ing] the man,' for instance, has an eerie similarity to the last 65 years of transgender history.[42] Perhaps one of the principal differences between the approach to removing the undesirable Indian other and contemporary policies that obscure the transgender other lies in placating modern sensibilities. Replacing and managing identity rather than eliminating it may be at the heart of 21st-century sentiment. Instead of colonial ideas that stressed cultural transformations designed to 'kill' the undesirable 'Indianness within the Indian,' mid-20th-century psychosurgery and medical practices provide a different strategy for creating stories of transgender normalization.

Stories *are* strategies of identity and I am continually amazed at how quickly their power is overlooked. They can vilify and make invisible that which is non-mainstream, or they can provide a reliable method of affirmation. Because of this, I am concerned that the shifting political dialogue of the 21st-century may be producing a confusing and conflicting narrative in trans-academics.

The dramatic shifts that are occurring in social knowledge are exemplified in the

[42] "'Kill the Indian, and Save the Man': Capt. Richard H. Pratt on the Education of Native Americans," accessed March 2, 2018, http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/4929/, 194

story of Jamie Shupe, the petitioner in a June 13th, 2016 Oregon court decision. *The New York Times* reports that Shupe went before Judge Amy Holmes Hehn of the Circuit Court of Multnomah County, Oregon, to request a legal designation that allowed her to choose a previously nonexistent option of neither male nor female as a designator of sex. *The Times* reports that legal experts say that the ruling was the first of its kind in the United States. The judge, says *The Times*, told Shupe's attorney, Lake Perriguey of Law Works, a law firm in Portland, that although the court's decision was favorable to the plaintiff, the attorney was "pushing the envelope" with his client's petition. Mr. Perriguey's reply to the court seems to echo the sentiments of many in the LGBT community. "We're not," Perriguey said, "really pushing the envelope, we are stating that the envelope needs to get bigger."[43]

On Queer and Transgender Theory

A critique of some of the more well-known theories that surround the field of transgender studies is ripe with the possibility that one will enter a minefield of oppositional commentary. The voluminous amount of essays, journal articles, editorials, and other publications that have surfaced since the discipline initially joined the sphere of academic thought has produced wide-ranging opinions. Regardless of what one says concerning a particularity associated with the field, it is probable that an authoritative voice that lays claim to the superior agency will be close at hand. The continuing discourse might be read, in one way, as a sign of healthy debate. However, if a hierarchal

[43] Christopher Mele, "Oregon Court Allows a Person to Choose Neither Sex," *The New York Times*, June 13, 2016, sec. U.S., https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/14/us/oregon-nonbinary-transgender-sex-gender.html.

agency dominates new thought, then the value of its conclusions are questionable. I introduced the idea of agency and hierarchal positioning as a necessary part of the theoretical critique.

The relationship of abstract thinking in fields that link to transgender studies is often confusing and leads one to question whether they are redundant areas of research or prescient extensions of knowledge. For instance, one might ask about how the position of feminist theories relates to political philosophy. Since both deal with the allocation of power, authority, and agency there seems to be, at the very least, an intertwining connection. The traditional subtext of political theory often includes the assumption of male hegemony. The various phases of the feminist movement, starting at or before women demanded the right to vote, all challenge the authority of the male phallus. Thus, the link between political and feminist theory is evident.

An area of confusion for those not directly involved with the idea of transgender a theoretical construct is its relationship to queer theory. While it is not the intention of this dissertation to produce an extended narrative concerning the concept of 'queer,' it is worthwhile to identify some of the principal differences and similarities between it and the transgender discussion. A brief review of the provenance and the process of maturation of the two terms provide some grounding that helps in distinguishing their different characteristics.

Both ideas have their roots in antiquity. However, the words themselves do not share the same heritage. 'Queer' is traceable to early 16th century Scotland and Germany while the words transgender and transsexual are products of the more contemporary

phrasing of mid 20th-century Central Europe and America. Regardless of their birthplace, the notorious fluidity that is endemic to the nature of words has shown little regard for the shifting meanings that surrounds queer and transgender. Before its current transmogrification into a variety of pejorative references queer simply meant odd or unconventional. Thus, one might presume that the idea of queer theory in the early 1900s might reference a discussion centered around a curious or eccentric behavior. In contemporary narratives, the meaning is somewhat different.

The idea of queer and the associated trove of literature related to the queer theory more strictly refers to culturally marginal sexual self-identification.[44] Although one might be tempted to assume that this idea is sufficient to provide a fixed definition such is not the case. According to several queer theorists such as Annamarie Jagose, "queer is very much a category in the process of formation. This definitional indeterminacy, its elasticity, is one of its constituent characteristics."[45] In this respect, it is very similar to the ideas that surround transgender theory, both fields study and hypothesize about an undefined and fluid topic. Although many scholars have tried to drag queer and transgender theory into tidy boxes with labels such as lesbian and gay studies, the mercurial nature of both theoretical structures resists categorization. They are unstable irritations for those scholars that depend on durable definitions to advanced the process of academic thought. Also, both areas of analysis share in common the fact that they offer zones of possibility.

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[44] Annamarie Jagose, *Queer Theory: An Introduction* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 1.

[45] Ibid.

Transgender theory differs from queer theory in several significant ways. First, the idea of transgender is not centered on, nor does it necessarily have anything to do with, a sexual identity. That is, one may psychologically identify with a different location on the gender spectrum without the implications of sexual activity. Also, the history of transgender activity indicates that it presents much more of a political threat to cisgender individuals then the homosexual movement that associated with contemporary notions of queer. The third significant difference between queer theory and transgender theory is that the theoretical orientation of the topic centers on the integration of the body with self-knowledge. It is this final point that I see as the most significant difference between the two academic disciplines. Transgender is about the actualization of self-knowledge.

Arguments and Positions

I found it a daunting undertaking to wade through the vast amount of theories and suppositions that have developed during the last 65 years of transgender history. Thus, it became necessary to create a simple 'yardstick' useful in evaluating theoretical structures. During my investigation, certain individuals emerged as representative cornerstones of transgender debate. The criteria for selecting them as foundational discussants centered around:

A) How they have contributed to the field of transgender studies.

B) Whether their position represent the diverse perspectives of gender identity.

Although I do not necessarily agree with the theoretical positions of all scholars I have selected as subjects of my critique, they offer valuable insights.

Raymond

I begin building the cornerstones of transgender theory by calling attention to scholar Janice Raymond, Professor Emerita of women's studies and medical ethics at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Raymond is the author of *The Transsexual Empire: The Making of the She-Male.* Her views are critical because they represent one of the first examples of cisgender *feminist* reactions to trans-women. It is helpful to discuss Raymond's position by contextualizing them within a 1970s time frame. The 1973 West Coast Lesbian Conference offers a glimpse into history.

Beth Elliott was at that time a hippy folk singer, antiwar activist, transgender lesbian, and young office-holder in the female-oriented civil and political rights organization, The Daughters of Bilitis.[46] (Figure 7) Elliot had at one time been expelled from the organization due to accusations of sexual harassment from a former college friend. The accuser, 'Bev Jo', was an active member of another lesbian-oriented group called the Gutter Dykes Collective, one of many shadow lesbian separatists groups.[47]

[46] "Daughters of Bilitis | Los Angeles Conservancy," accessed September 19, 2017, https://www.laconservancy.org/locations/daughters-bilitis.

[47] Ariel Levy, "Lesbian Nation," *The New Yorker*, February 23, 2009, https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2009/03/02/lesbian-nation.

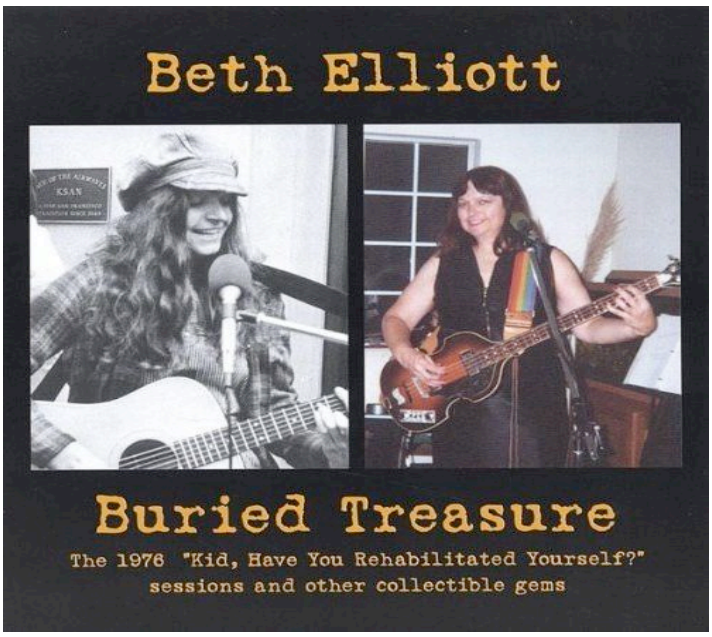


Figure 7. Beth Elliott, folk singer.[48]

Lesbian feminist Jill Johnson, author of the 1974 book, *Lesbian Nation: The Feminist Solution*, writes of the era of second-wave feminism:

> The lesbian separatists of a generation ago created a shadow society devoted to living in an alternate, penisless reality. There were many factions: the Gutter Dykes, in Berkeley; the Gorgons, in Seattle; several hundred Radicalesbians, in New York City, along with the smaller *CLIT* Collective; the Furies, in Washington, D.C.; and the Separatists Enraged Proud and Strong (*SEPS*), in San Francisco. There were outposts of Women's Land all over the United States and Canada—places owned by women where all women, and only women, were welcome. (Figure 8) "Only women on the land" was the catchphrase used by separatists to indicate that men, even male children, were banned from Women's Land (and they often spelled it "wimmin" or "womyn," in an attempt to keep men out of their words as well as their worlds). Separatists were aiming for complete autonomy, and to that end, there were separatist food co-ops—such as the memorably named New York Lesbian Food Conspiracy—separatist publishing houses, and separatist credit unions.[49]

[48] "Buried Treasure - Beth Elliott | Songs, Reviews, Credits," *AllMusic*, www.allmusic.com/album/buried-treasure-mw0001508486, accessed April 20, 2018, http://www.allmusic.com/album/buried-treasure-mw0001508486.

[49] Jill Johnston, *Lesbian Nation: The Feminist Solution.* (New York: Touchstone, 1973). 373.

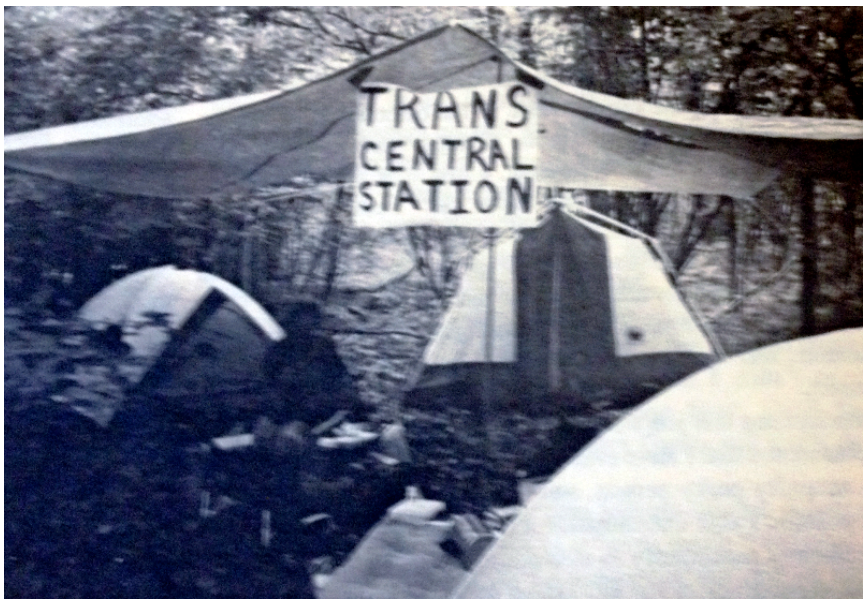


Figure 8. Camp Trans — Outside the Michigan 'Wimmins' Music Festival.[50]

Although Elliot had helped to organize and finance the lesbian conference and was slated to perform during one of its sessions, the Gutter Dykes protested her presence claiming that she was a 'man.' Following a vote, the conference participants decided that she would be allowed to perform. The next day, however, Elliott was absent from the conference and the keynote speaker, Robin Morgan, reignited protests concerning Beth. She referred to her as a 'male transvestite,' a rapist, opportunist, and an infiltrator.[51] (Figure 9)

[50] Courtesy: Goldin-Perschbacher, Shana. 2014. "Michigan Womyn's Music Festival." *Oxford Music Online*, March. doi:10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.a2267197.

[51] "A Gender Variance Who's Who: Beth Elliott (1950 -) Singer, Activist, Writer.," accessed September 24, 2017, https://zagria.blogspot.com/2009/12/beth-elliott-1950-singer-activist-writer.html#.WcgQ8YprwUF.



Figure 9. Robin Morgan, radical feminist.[52]

Raymond's book was published in 1979, six years after the conference; however it is considered by some to be the Mein Kampf of a genre of anti-trans feminist literature. Her position regarding 'XX chromosomal alignment' is reflected in her writing.

> All transsexuals rape women's bodies by reducing the real female form to an artifact, appropriating this body for themselves. However, the transsexuality constructed lesbian-feminist violates women's sexuality in spirit, as well. Rape, although it is usually done by force, can also be accomplished by deception.[53]

The core assumption that all transsexuals are rapists crowns Raymond's position as a well-known anti-transgender feminist and 'female-essentialist.' Her book underscores a feminist critique of transsexuality by arguing for the agency of natal superiority over medical feminization and positions the author as one who considers the

[52] Courtesy: Freda Leinwand. The Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, https://www.cliohistory.org/click/politics-social/revival/
[53] Janice G. Raymond, *The Transsexual Empire: The Making of the She-Male* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1994), 104.

schemes of culture to be an attempt to preempt biological sex assignment. Notable in her writing is that she expressly avoids the use of the term *gender*. Instead, she favors the term *sex role* and posits that both *male-to-female* and *female-to-male* transsexuals deny the history of sex roles in oppression. I see this as a severe flaw in Raymond's theory. She believes that chromosomes determine the category 'woman' and that the experience of being a woman removes all considerations of a transsexual agency.

Raymond's perspective is that transgender individuals are incapable of experiencing first-hand knowledge concerning sexual oppression. Although she acknowledges that male-to-female transsexuals have often undergone sexual harassment and discrimination after transitioning, her response centers on the argument that male-born post-transition individuals are only experiencing the oppression of sex roles that natal, or cisgender, women have suffered since birth. Also, she posits that medical intervention that reconstructs female-born post-transsexuals into men emanates from the same genre of sex oppressive roles. I read this as Raymond placing responsibility for gendered dysphoria on the shoulders of the male-dominated medical community. Her issue with the medical establishment is that surgical intervention perpetuates sex role oppression. Also, she sees male-to-female transsexuals as the result of collaborative efforts to create infiltrators that rape women's identity.

I disagree with Raymond's assessment of the medical community as creators of *infiltrators* into womanhood. Her position disregards the fact that transsexuals are the product of variable experiences and therefore have alternate realities of gender oppression. Further, she appears to ignore the fact that transsexuals have suffered parallel

forms of gender maltreatment for centuries. (Tables 1-4)

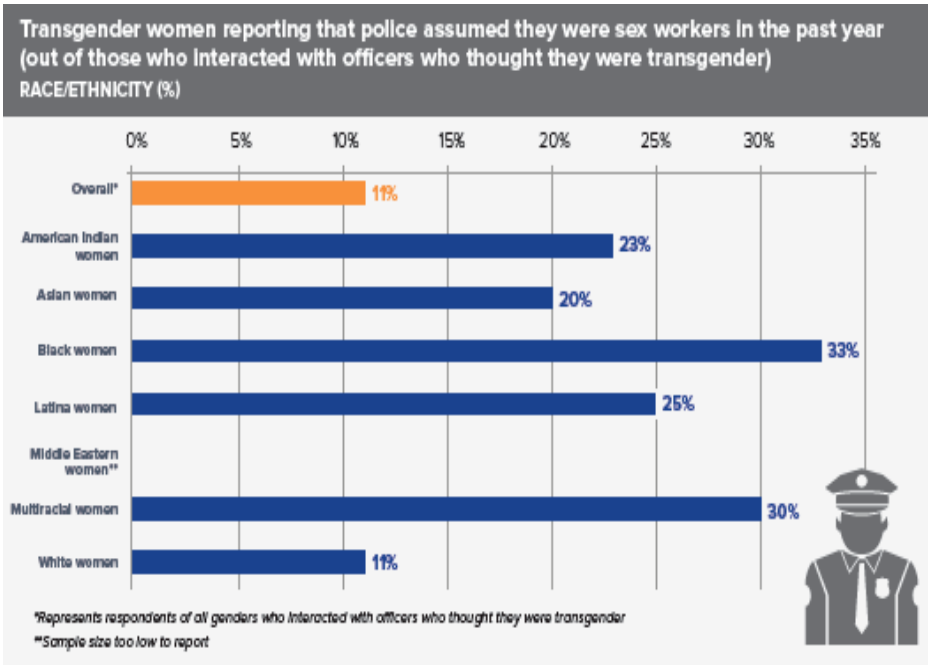


Table 1. Police assumptions: Transgender sex trafficking.[54]

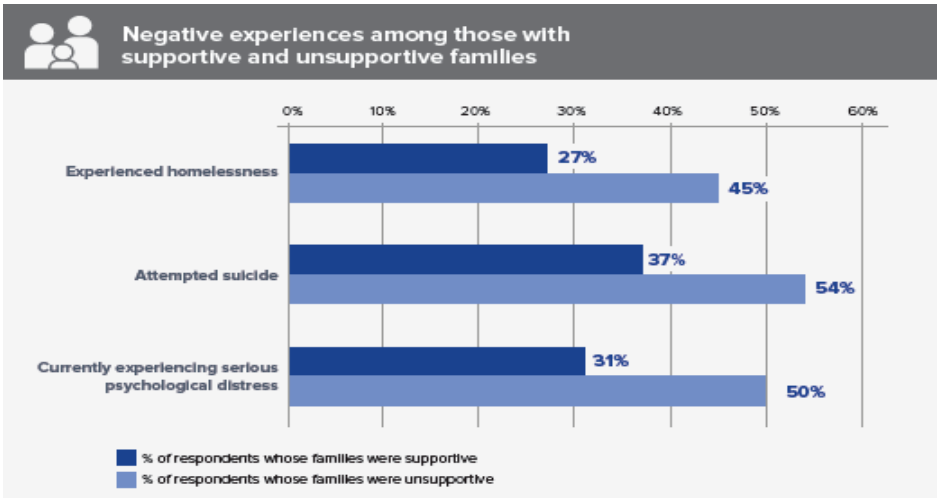


Table 2. Transgender negative experiences with family.[55]

[54] Courtesy: National Center for Transgender Equality

[55] Courtesy: National Center for Transgender Equality

Denied equal treatment or service, verbally harassed, or physically attacked in public accommodations in the past year because of being transgender

LOCATION VISITED	% OF THOSE WHO SAID STAFF KNEW OR THOUGHT THEY WERE TRANSGENDER
Public transportation	34%
Retail store, restaurant, hotel, or theater	31%
Drug or alcohol treatment program	22%
Domestic violence shelter or program or rape crisis center	22%
Gym or health club	18%
Public assistance or government benefit office	17%
Department of Motor Vehicles (DMV)	14%
Nursing home or extended care facility	14%
Court or courthouse	13%
Social Security office	11%
Legal services from an attorney, clinic, or legal professional	6%



Table 3. Denial of equal services.[56]



Experiences of people who were out as transgender in K–12 or believed classmates, teachers, or school staff thought they were transgender

EXPERIENCES	% OF THOSE WHO WERE OUT OR PERCEIVED AS TRANSGENDER
Verbally harassed because people thought they were transgender	54%
Not allowed to dress in a way that fit their gender identity or expression	52%
Disciplined for fighting back against bullies	36%
Physically attacked because people thought they were transgender	24%
Believe they were disciplined more harshly because teachers or staff thought they were transgender	20%
Left a school because the mistreatment was so bad	17%
Sexually assaulted because people thought they were transgender	13%
Expelled from school	6%
One or more experiences listed	**77%**

Table 4. K-12 transgender experiences[57]

[56] Courtesy: National Center for Transgender Equality

In her writing, Raymond refers to the fact that 'Blacks' recognize that the source of their oppression emanates from the society they live in, not their skin color and she notes that they do not seek medical intervention to change their appearance. Interestingly, Raymond's statement conveniently overlooks the fact that both men and women of Afro-American descent have been lightening their hair and skin through medical and self-administered methods for decades, if not centuries. Methods such as the use of bleaching creams, laser treatments, chemical peels, and plastic surgery all point to the fallacy in Raymond's argument. The historical antagonism of white society toward dark-skinned people has prompted past extreme efforts to 'pass,' and has taken a physical, emotional and economic toll on black culture. It scarcely comes as a news flash to self-respecting brown-skinned people that it is not their skin that is defective, but the ostracizing alterity foisted upon them by a racist society. The fact that Raymond is oblivious to this significant cultural phenomenon that continues in full force to this very day illustrates quite clearly the fundamental inadequacy of her research and conclusions.

While I recognize her analogy as illustrating an essentialist position regarding sex, I also see her overall assessment as shallow. She fails to take into consideration the psychological aspects of dysphoria, transgender suicide rates, and the notion of gender alterity. Also, she appears to disregard the fact that, until relatively recently, the medical community was not overly enthusiastic about treating transsexuals. Another of Raymond's points concerns the medical creation of the transsexual as an androgynous being. Again her argument falls short of the mark. Although androgyny is on the

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[57] Courtesy: National Center for Transgender Equality

spectrum of gender variation it has very little connection with the actual transsexual. Instead, for the person in the process of gender transition, androgyny is a common resting point, not the end goal.

Haraway

In 1985, scholar and Professor Emerita Donna Haraway presented a seminal essay to the academic community called "Manifesto for Cyborgs: Science, Technology, and Socialist Feminism in the 1980s."[58] Haraway uses the metaphor of the cyborg to express her view that not only is the size of the gender envelope changing, but also its fundamental shape. Particularly attractive in Haraway's work is her emphasis that there is a 'third axis' to gender. The idea that X, the female, and Y, the male, might be accompanied by an unidentified component Z is what first drew me to her work. Haraway posits the Z-axis as the cyborg, a bridge between the confrontations of male and female identity. Adding to that idea, I propose that the unknown components of the Z-axis are what give X and Y dimension. In this three-dimensional paradigm of gender, the concept of black and white, male and female, become shifting and fluid. Because of this, I see the cyborg as a metaphor for transgender identity. Both are composed of incongruent parts existing in a hostile environment that demands impossible restrictions of categorization. Both cyborgs seek to tear down boundaries and removes labels. Borrowing from Haraway's concept of the cyborg, I reconfigure her creation as a

[58] Donna Haraway, "Manifesto for Cyborgs: Science, Technology, and Socialist Feminism in the 1980s," *Socialist Review* 80 (1985): 65–108.

transgender entity — the mercurial, illegitimate child of the male and the female creature possessing the gender of both or neither of its parents.

An additional parallel with Haraway's work is my view that the transgender cyborg is an oppressed body existing in a hostile environment. The qualities that define the fractured identity of Haraway's cyborg are what give it multiple forms of individuality. This unique and independent 'life form' resonates as part of the transgender experience. The trans-cyborg, like Haraway's creation, rejects the idea of trying to return to a defined state of feminine or masculine wholeness. Translating Haraway's use of the cyborg to the field of transgender studies is compelling because although the "Cyborg Manifesto" was written more than 30 years ago, the idea of a composite character that is representative of the liberated human continues to resonate well into the 21st century. The concept of assembling unmatched pieces of individuality in a way that expresses a complex blended human identity presents uncharted avenues of possibility.

Butler

One of the central characters of gender theory, queer theory, and by extension transgender theory, is Judith Butler, an American philosopher, gender theorist, and professor at the University of California, Berkeley. While Butler has authored numerous books about gender and lesbianism, the volume for which she is best known is her 1990 publication, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*.[59] Butler's anti-

[59] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, Routledge Classics (New York: Routledge, 2006).

essentialist position seems to draw heavily on one specific area of linguistics drawn from T. L. Austin's speech act theory.[60]

According to Austin, there are three types of speech act: A) the locutionary act (the act of saying something), B) the illocutionary act (words that suggest rights and commitment), and C) the perlocutionary speech act (the effect of speech and the ability to elicit a response). It is around this third leg of Austin's theory, the consequences of speech and its ability to summon a reaction, that Butler appears to have formulated her platform of 'gender performativity.'

Butler's position, that gender is not a natural part of an individual but is instead an externally constructed reality, implies that gender is projected onto individuals by speech acts and discourse. Thus, Butler tells us that we 'do gender' as a result of repeated messages of expectations that become, over time, internalized. My reading of Butler indicates that she believes gender is a created social role and not simply an expressed description of a gendered world. For Butler, the term 'women's work' is the active performance of an array of discursive social fragments.

Further, Butler's discourse indicates that she believes hyperbole creates and maintains gendered expectations. In this aspect of her performance theory, I tend to concur with her. However, I posit that her idea of created gender is incomplete. For example, she correctly points to sitcoms that establish a cultural base for gender identification. Mid-20th-century television shows like *Leave it to Beaver, I Love Lucy,* and *The Brady Bunch* created verbal and visual messaging explicitly coding socially

[60] Mitchell Green, "Speech Acts," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, Winter 2017 (Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2017), https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2017/entries/speech-acts/.

appropriate behavior. That is, women naturally belong in the domestic sphere, and thus they are irrevocably anchored at home. I note that when you see a woman in 20-century media, she is portrayed as contentedly performing women's work. Butler posits that we internalize these messages and images and in so doing recreate a personal, cultural script that is complete with characters and casting.

Butler centers on repeated mainstream images that convey what gender 'should' look like according to existing cultural structures. While I applaud this scholar's insight into certain areas of research, I contend that her argument exhibits an errant disregard for the biological component of gender, thus, much of her work is missing a fundamental element. Her explanation of gender is that it is something defined by social conditioning and takes place over years of cultural exposure. However, this line of reasoning fails to explain how gender identity manifests in children as young as three or four years old. Also, it does not adequately address that portion of identity that prompts a person who already has an established sexual history to move across the boundaries of gendered existence. Although Butler may offer significant contributions to queer theory, the principal value of her input to trans studies is an anti-theory. That is, I see Butler's importance to transgender studies as a necessary counterbalance to the essentialism of Raymond.[61] Although she rightly claims agency within a feminist strategy, gender performativity theory may be better suited for dealing with paradigmatic issues associated with patriarchy.

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[61] "Judith Butler on Gender and the Trans Experience: 'One Should Be Free to Determine the Course of One's Gendered Life,'" *Versobooks.com*, accessed April 8, 2018, https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/2009-judith-butler-on-gender-and-the-trans-experience-one-should-be-free-to-determine-the-course-of-one-s-gendered-life.

Meeting the Founder: A Story

Allucquére Rosanne "Sandy" Stone is an American academic theorist, author, performance artist, and Professor Emerita at the University of Texas, Austin. In 2012, I contacted Sandy and told her that I planned to be in the San Francisco area within the next few weeks and hoped that she might have some time available to speak with me. She agreed, and we arranged to meet for lunch at a restaurant not far from her home in Santa Cruz. As I drove from my house in the East Bay city of Berkeley to the sun-drenched beauty of Santa Cruz, I recall thinking about the arrogance of my request to meet with Stone. I, a neophyte, had scored a lunch date with one of the most famous intellectuals of transgender history, Allucquére Rosanne Stone, the founder of Transgender Studies. Suddenly, the gravity of the situation struck me. My battery of standard interview questions, ingrained bits of academic inquiry indelibly lodged in my head, seemed utterly inappropriate and I briefly considered a strategic retreat. A U-turn at the next gas station would put me back in Berkeley within ninety minutes, and an apologetic email might smooth over a few corners of my rudeness. Notwithstanding, the momentary rush of panic that overwhelmed me abated as I realized that the winding mountain road between San Francisco and Santa Cruz offered little opportunity for a course reversal. I pushed forward toward my seaside rendezvous.

I arrived a little bit early at the restaurant and followed the maître d' to a table overlooking the beach. Sandy and her husband Cynbe entered the establishment a few minutes later. Unknown to me at the time was that her husband, a tall, strapping man who appeared to be in his late 50s, was quite famous in his own right. Cynbe, I found out,

was a well known Digital Anatomist who engaged in cutting-edge research at the Biological Structures Department at the University of Washington.[62] *Sandy, perhaps sensing that I was a bit intimidated by the situation that I had gotten myself into immediately broke the ice. Nodding in the direction of her husband she informed me that she had brought Cynbe along 'just in case I turned out to be some serial killer.' A moment passed, and then they both broke into wide smiles and welcomed me to Santa Cruz. Thus, my earlier panic was alleviated and the tone of the afternoon's conversation established.*

With little prompting, Sandy began to speak frankly about her life, a few of the circumstances that surrounded her transition, and her views concerning transgender people. I remember that she listened carefully to the questions I asked and only once took umbrage when I misspoke and used the word paradigm when referencing transgender similarities. She told me that while standards may exist in other fields of study, there is no archetypical model for transgender identification.

I have often thought of her statement and how it revealed a needed area of re-examined scholarship. Perhaps Stone's comment underlies the reason for the stagnation of productive debates about transsexuality. The implications of her statement led me to consider Stone's contribution to trans-academics as a cornerstone of transgender theory. Additionally, I realize that our conversation is an example of knowing the story because 'it happened to you.'

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[62] WikiVisually.com." 2018. *WikiVisually*. Accessed April 21. https://wikivisually.com/wiki/Cynbe_ru_Taren.

Sandy's Story

In 1977, Stone presented as a 'target of opportunity' for Janice Raymond. As a yet un-cowled scholar but a transitioned woman, Sandy had accepted employment with an upstart recording company, *Olivia Records*. The label originated as a collective of ten lesbian feminists devoted to the idea of producing 'women's music.' Stone, an openly transsexual woman, worked as a sound engineer for the record company from 1974 to 1978. Olivia was aware that Stone had transitioned from male to female and fully accepted Stone's non-natal feminine identity. I recall that as Sandy and I spoke, she seemed to look back somewhat wistfully on her tenure with Olivia. She mentioned that one of the highlights of her work as a sound engineer was her association with the iconic recording group, The Grateful Dead, and meeting the legendary Jerry Garcia.

The fact that Stone had a good work relationship with her employer did not dissuade Raymond from making an issue of Sandy's non-natal feminine status. Although much of Raymond's book is devoted to a critique of different aspects of the 'medically constructed' lesbian feminist, she mentions Stone by name.

> Masculine behavior is notably obtrusive. It is significant that transsexual [sic] constructed lesbian feminists have inserted themselves into positions of importance and performance in the feminist community. Sandy Stone, the transsexual engineer with Olivia Records, an 'all-women' recording company, illustrates this well. Stone is not only crucial to the Olivia enterprise but plays a very dominant role there. The...visibility he achieved in the aftermath of the Olivia controversy...only serves to enhance his previously dominant position and to divide women, as men frequently do, when they make their presence necessary and vital to women. As one woman wrote: 'I feel raped when Olivia passes off Sandy... like a real woman. After all his male privilege, is he going to cash in on lesbian feminist culture too?'[63]

[63] Raymond, *The Transsexual Empire*, 1994.

Not wishing to bring negative publicity to the already struggling Olivia label, Stone left the company in 1978. Exacerbations of transsexual status during the height of the feminist movement were not uncommon occurrences, and Raymond's book proved to be no exception. Nonetheless, it seems to be an ironic historical note that Raymond's book, *The Transsexual Empire: The Making of the She-Male,* appears as part of the Columbia University, Teachers College Press *Athene Series*. In the front matter of Raymond's book the editors seem to contradict the content of the volume:

> The Athene Series assumes that all those who are concerned with formulating explanations of the way the world works need to know and appreciate the significance of fundamental feminist principles. The growth of feminist research internationally has called into question almost all aspects of social organization in our culture. The Athene Series focuses on the construction of knowledge and the exclusion of women from the process—both as theorists and subjects of study—and offers innovative studies that challenge established theories and research.[64]

While the loss of her livelihood was undoubtedly inconvenient for Stone the circumstances that caused her departure from Olivia proved to be a boon to generations of transsexual people. Following her departure from Olivia Sandy went back to college, and while earning her doctorate under the tutelage of scholars Donna Haraway and James Clifford, published the foundational essay of trans-theory. *The Empire Strikes Back: A (post) Transsexual Manifesto* both replied to Raymond's critique of transsexuality and led to the establishment of Transgender Studies as an academic discipline. [65] Other theorists such as Susan Stryker, associate professor of Gender and Women's studies and

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[64] Raymond, *The Transsexual Empire*, 1994.

[65] Stone, *The Empire Strikes Back: A (post) Transsexual Manifesto* https://sandystone.com/empire-strikes-back.pdf

founder of the Transgender Studies Initiative at the University of Arizona, and Steven Whittle, Professor of Equalities Law at Manchester Metropolitan University applaud Stone's work. These scholars tell us that:

> Stone exacts her revenge more than a decade later, not by waging an anti-feminist counterattack on Raymond, but by undermining the foundationalist assumptions that support Raymond's narrower concept of womanhood, and by claiming a speaking position for transsexuals that cannot be automatically dismissed as damaged, deluded, second-rate, or somehow inherently compromised.[66]

In her *Manifesto*, Stone proposes a position entirely different from the essentialist nature of Raymond's narrative. She tells us that her opinion focuses on three principal factors. They are*, A) transgender people are problematically positioned in relation to the binary categories of male and female, B) transgender oppression is not the same as, and is non-reducible to, the type of repression experienced through sex roles, and C) that transgender social and cultural advancement requires political visibility.*

One crucial element of Stone's theory is that it does not offer a third possibility of gender existence. Instead, she calls transsexuality a 'nowhere' position existing outside of the binary. Thus Stone avoids pre-existing sex classes and their associated qualities of oppression. She posits that transsexuals have developed subcultures and distinctive practices and exist outside of conventional notions. The distinctive subcultural practices, she suggests, permit transsexuals to develop a personal narrative that allows them to interact with those that choose to 'medically designate' the transsexual. Also, Stone is against the idea of 'transsexual passing,' and says that post-operative transsexuals need to

[66] "Sandy Stone (Artist) - Wikipedia," accessed September 27, 2017, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sandy_Stone_(artist).

come out *as* transsexual. I strongly support Stone's position and add that one of the contributors to the slow progression of transsexual social inclusion is that gendered thought is colonized. I agree with Stone's belief that transsexuality should not be an obscuration of one's sense of being in the world. Instead, to claim a chair at the table of cultural and social discussion one must first have a visible presence. Stone's reference to the reality of contemporary academics supports my initial hypothesis.

> The reality of the situation is that academicians are no longer the sole privileged custodians of objects of knowledge called books.... In an era in our developed nations when the ubiquity of almost instantaneous communication puts us in a situation where almost everything is everywhere, the imperial mandate of the university as a privileged site of truth and an authorization for guild membership has evaporated; though, like the dinosaur, it may take a while for that knowledge to reach the central nervous system.[67]

Anzaldúa

I see Stone's placement of transsexuality as living outside of the existing paradigms of bi-modal gender. Her work resonates with the late American scholar of Chicana culture, feminist, and queer theorist, Gloria Evangelina Anzaldúa.[68] Anzaldúa, like Stone, rejects the idea of *purity* and expands the notion of gender by allowing for a cross-cultural platform to be established. Her work not only looks at the concept of queer but also examines the idea of queer within an ethnic and racial context. In one of Anzaldúa's most notable works, *Borderlands*/*La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, she writes:

> Before the Aztecs became a militaristic, bureaucratic state where male

[67] Francois Cusset, *French Theory: How Foucault, Derrida, Deleuze, & Co. Transformed the Intellectual Life of the United States*, trans. Jeff Fort, First Edition edition (Minneapolis: Univ Of Minnesota Press, 2008).

[68] Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands: The New Mestiza = La Frontera*, 3rd ed (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 2007).

> predatory warfare and conquest were based on patrilineal nobility, the principal of balanced opposition between the sexes existed. The people worshipped the Lord and Lady of Duality, *Ometecubtli*, and *Omecihuatl*. Before the change to male dominance, *Coatlicue*, Lady of the Serpent Skirt, contained and balanced the dualities of male and female light and dark, life and death.[69]

Anzaldúa sees herself in the gray area between cultures and an inhabitant of the borderlands about which she writes. The occupants of the periphery are represented by a multiplicity of fragmented identities. For Anzaldúa, identities are a place of changing consciousness. That is, one lands on an identity because one has no choice.

> There was a muchacha who lived near my house. La Gente del pueblo talked about her being una de las otras, 'of the Others.' They said that for six months she was a woman who had a vagina that bled once a month, and that for the other six months she was a man, had a penis and she peed standing up. They called her half and half, 'mita y mita,' neither one nor the other but a strange doubling, a deviation of nature that horrified, a work of nature inverted. But there is a magic aspect in abnormality and so-called deformity. Maimed, mad, and sexually different people were believed to possess supernatural powers by primal cultures' magico-religious thinking. For them, an abnormality was the price a person had to pay for her or his extraordinary inborn gift.
> Something is compelling about being both male and female, about having an entry into both worlds. Contrary to some psychiatric tenets, half and halves are not suffering from a confusion of sexual identity, or even from a disorder of gender. What we are suffering from is an absolute despot duality that says we can be only one or the other. It claims that human nature is limited and cannot evolve into something better. But I, like other queer people, am two in one body, both male and female. I am the embodiment of the heiros gamos: the coming together of opposite qualities within.[70]

The idea of a lack of choice, 'of the others,' may be what makes Anzaldúa's writing unique. She is not advocating for queer agency nor is she proposing ideas of

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[69] Gloria Anzaldua, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza, Fourth Edition*, 4 edition (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 2012).

[70] Anzaldúa, 41.

essentialism, anti-essentialism, or third gender. Instead, Anzaldúa comments on the separation of various ideologies that create an identity. She writes of the gray areas of agency and the notion of the Shadow Beast, something that she defines as, 'a part of me that refuses to take orders from outside authorities.'[71]

> A woman, she says, is undivine, … she must be protected from herself. [She is] the stranger, the other. The sight of her sends him into a frenzy of anger and fear.[72]

Her writing complements Stone's as neither theorist is interested in the idea of cultural passing. Instead, they note that there is a 'nowhere' position that exists that is the area beyond mainstream thought. I find the implication of developed subcultures and distinctive practices, things that exist outside of conventional notions, reminiscent of Anzaldúa's postulation stating:

> [Mortal combatants] will decide to disengage from the dominant culture, write it off altogether as a lost cause, and cross the border into a wholly new and separate territory.[73]

In addition to offering a needed balance to Raymond's essentialism and Butler's social performance, I see Anzaldúa's ideas deeply etched on the pieces of Haraway's cyborg. That is, fragmented understandings of the self that are part of a composite identity of oppressed marginalization. Perhaps the principal difference between Anzaldúa and many other theorists is that she expands on ways in which the suppressed exist. For her, the coercion of identity is something that penetrates the plurality of the self.

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[71] Anzaldúa, *Borderlands*, 4.

[72] Anzaldúa, 39.

[73] Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera*, 101.

Fausto-Sterling: Many Sexes & Many Genders

Three vital elements in developing a worldview are experience, social relationships, and the interpretation of phenomena. In combination, these three things are the elements that concern human engagement with our relational selves. That is, they are the essential features that create the Story. As a methodological vehicle, Story requires three fundamental ingredients. The first of these is the storyteller. The second is the listener or audience, and then the third is the event or experience that engages the tale. It is something that either happened to the teller, was told the teller in their role of being a member of another audience, or was given culturally to the teller. For example, an original tale of 'as it was told to me' may be a cultural gift and passed on with the expectation that it will be shared. Alternatively, an original story may also be something that is held privately. As such, it may not be something that is available to individuals outside of a select group. For instance, knowledge kept within the limited sphere of a tribe, clan, or band. Also important to understanding a worldview that is created through a story is that interpretations are fluid. Thus, there is no wrong way to assimilate the meaning of a story as long as it is respectful and does not lead to an epistemological understanding that dishonors or ignores the truth(s) of lived reality.

The work of Brown University biologist and historian Dr. Anne Fausto-Sterling is one interpretation of the phenomenon of a two-sex system. In the story of Levi Suydam, Fausto-Sterling tells us of a tale concerning male and female sexes that stand on the extreme ends of the biological continuum. However, another interpretation of Fausto-Sterling is about bodies that mix anatomical components conventionally attributed to

both males and females.[74] Still, the third interpretation of Fausto-Sterling's story demonstrates a deep-rooted dichotomy that places the category of either man or woman at the center of a free-choice civil rights system. She writes:

> In 1843 Levi Suydam, a 23-year-old resident of Salisbury, Connecticut, asked the town's board of selectmen to allow him to vote as a Whig in a hotly contested local election. The request raised a flurry of objections from the opposition party, for a reason that must be rare in the annals of American democracy: It was said that Suydam was 'more female than male,' and thus (since only men had the right to vote) should not be allowed to cast a ballot. The selectmen brought in a physician, one Dr. William Barry, to examine Suydam and settle the matter. Presumably, upon encountering a phallus and testicles, the good doctor declared the prospective voter male. With Suydam safely in their column, the Whigs won the election by a majority of one. A few days later, however, Barry discovered that Suydam menstruated regularly and had a vaginal opening. Suydam had the narrow shoulders and broad hips characteristic of a female build, but occasionally 'he felt physical attractions to the opposite sex (by which he meant women).' Furthermore, 'his feminine propensities, such as fondness for gay colors, for pieces of calico, comparing and placing them together, and an aversion for bodily labor and an inability to perform the same, were marked by many.' (Note that this 19th-century doctor did not distinguish between 'sex' and 'gender.' Thus he considered a fondness for piecing together swatches of calico just as telling as anatomy and physiology.) No one has yet discovered whether Suydam lost the right to vote. Whatever the outcome, the story conveys both the political weight our culture places on ascertaining persons correct 'sex and the profound confusion that arises when it can't be readily determined.'[75] (Figure 10 – 11)

The pre-packaged life identities that spotlight anatomical configuration leave little room for the many ambiguities of persons who either glide effortlessly along the matrix of gender identity or by chromosomal circumstance that fall outside of two-sex convention. I call attention to the assumptions about gender identity based on anatomical

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[74] Anne Fausto-Sterling', "NOVA - Official Website | Two Sexes Are Not Enough," accessed March 9, 2017, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/body/fausto-sterling.html.

[75] Anne Fausto-Sterling, *Sexing the Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality*, 1st ed (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2000).

configuration by noting a controversial 1993 proposal published by Fausto-Sterling. In *Sexing the Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality,* she discusses the possibility of a five-sex system. Fausto-Sterling posits that our deep-seated fixation on the male/female paradigm supposes that it is both inborn and natural.



Figure 10. Intersexuals: around for a long time.[76]



Figure 11. Male and Female: Many types of intersex conditions.[77]

Fausto-Sterling suggests a model that extends the two-sex system to include additional categories. She proposes the term herms (named after 'true' hermaphrodites), merms (named after male 'pseudohermaphrodites'), and the term ferms (named after female 'pseudohermaphrodites). Fausto-Sterling says that although she intended that her suggestion would be provocative, it also contained some tongue-in-cheek witticism. What she failed to anticipate is the amount of religious and academic fallout that the article

[76] First Last, *Freaks, Geeks, & Strange Girls,* https://www.amazon.com/FREAKS-GEEKS-STRANGE-GIRLS-First/dp/086719622X Freaks, Geeks, and Strange Girls

[77] Ibid.

unleashed.

> Right-wing Christians somehow connected my idea of five sexes to the United Nations-sponsored Fourth World Conference on Women, to be held in Beijing two years later, apparently seeing some sort of global conspiracy at work. 'It is maddening,' says the text of a *New York Times* advertisement paid for by the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights, 'to listen to discussions of "five genders" when every sane person knows there are but two sexes, both of which are rooted in nature.'[78]

Not to be left out of the fray, psychologist and sexologist John Money rose to the bait of Fausto-Sterling's comments. He writes:

> In the 1970s nurturists became 'social constructionists.' They align themselves against biology and medicine.... They consider all sex differences as artifacts of social construction. In cases of birth defects of the sex organs, they attack all medical and surgical interventions as unjustified meddling designed to force babies into fixed social molds of male and female.... One writer has gone even to the extreme of proposing that there are five sexes... (Fausto-Sterling).

While I agree with Fausto-Sterling's recognition that there may be a desirable quality to additional sex categories, I submit that she may have missed a few groups. I, therefore, recommend even further extensions. I would supplement her focus on anatomical considerations by enhancing her list with at least two more headings devoted to gender description, mifs (male-identified females) and fims (female-identified males).

Fausto-Sterling states that her proposed extension of the sexual bimodal had 'struck a nerve.' She says, 'The fact that so many people could get riled up by my proposal to revamp our sex/gender system suggested that change (and resistance to it) might be in the offing.' In keeping with the premise of Fausto-Sterling's book, *Sexing the Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality*, and noting that it was written

[78] Fausto-Sterling, "NOVA - Official Website | Two Sexes Are Not Enough."

eight years before the social reforms of ex-president Barack Obama, the assessment in which she stated that 'change might be in the offing' was prophetic.

The fallacy of the bi-modal sex/gender paradigm that Fausto-Sterling writes of underscores statistics supplied by The Intersex Society of North America (ISNA). They tell us that the frequency of people whose bodies differ from the expected standard of either male or female is one in every 100 births.[79] The scholarly work of Jo Paoletti agrees with the position of the ISNA by calling further attention to younger children who do not identify with their sexual assignment. She notes that children as young as three or four become conscious of their gender, but they do not realize that it is a permanent part of their identity until age six or seven.[80] Considering the work of Fausto-Sterling, Paoletti, and the ISNA it may follow that if *physical ambiguity* is present at the time of birth, then there may be an equal likelihood of *psychological uncertainty* as the child matures.

A Different Approach: The Knowledge Wheel

The use of linear thought moves the historical record along a continuous and predictable line. Beginning in the event and running to the creation of a new truth the line of thinking assumes ownership of past information to produce new knowledge. The authoritative power of production can always be referenced. Since the direct creation of new knowledge does not require that the producer evaluate the source, ethics, or effect of

[79] "How Common Is Intersex? | Intersex Society of North America," accessed March 13, 2017, http://www.isna.org/faq/frequency.

[80] "The History of Pink and Blue - Gender Spectrum," accessed September 3, 2017, http://genderspectrum.weebly.com/the-history-of-pink-and-blue.html.

the experience, the burden of self-examination is removed. For instance, one might ask should we build a new weapon as opposed to could we build it. Linear thought carries a dangerous component. By taking possession of knowledge the responsibility of continually re-evaluating its reliability in a changing environment is removed.

A different approach to trans scholarship is necessary. To avoid the hazards endemic to the assumption that past explanations and results are consistently valid, I propose The Knowledge Wheel. Its mechanism is grounded in the process of continuous re-evaluations. Instead of colonizing prior knowledge through mental ownership, the Wheel offers its user a means of decolonizing knowledge by assuming nothing. An experience or event does not move forward mentally without first turning inward. The process contradicts direct method in that it takes possession of nothing. Assessments and interpretations of events are personalized by continually referencing a central core of understanding.

Composed of three distinct parts, all of which are mercurial, the core develops as a result of one's life experience. Each event becomes a subject of introspection and thus influences knowledge. I envision the first component of the core as *assessment* of how knowledge about the subject was obtained. The second component requires an examination of one's ethical and artistic appreciation of the issue. The final piece of the central core combines the first two, epistemology and axiology, and forms the third leg of core knowledge, ontological position.

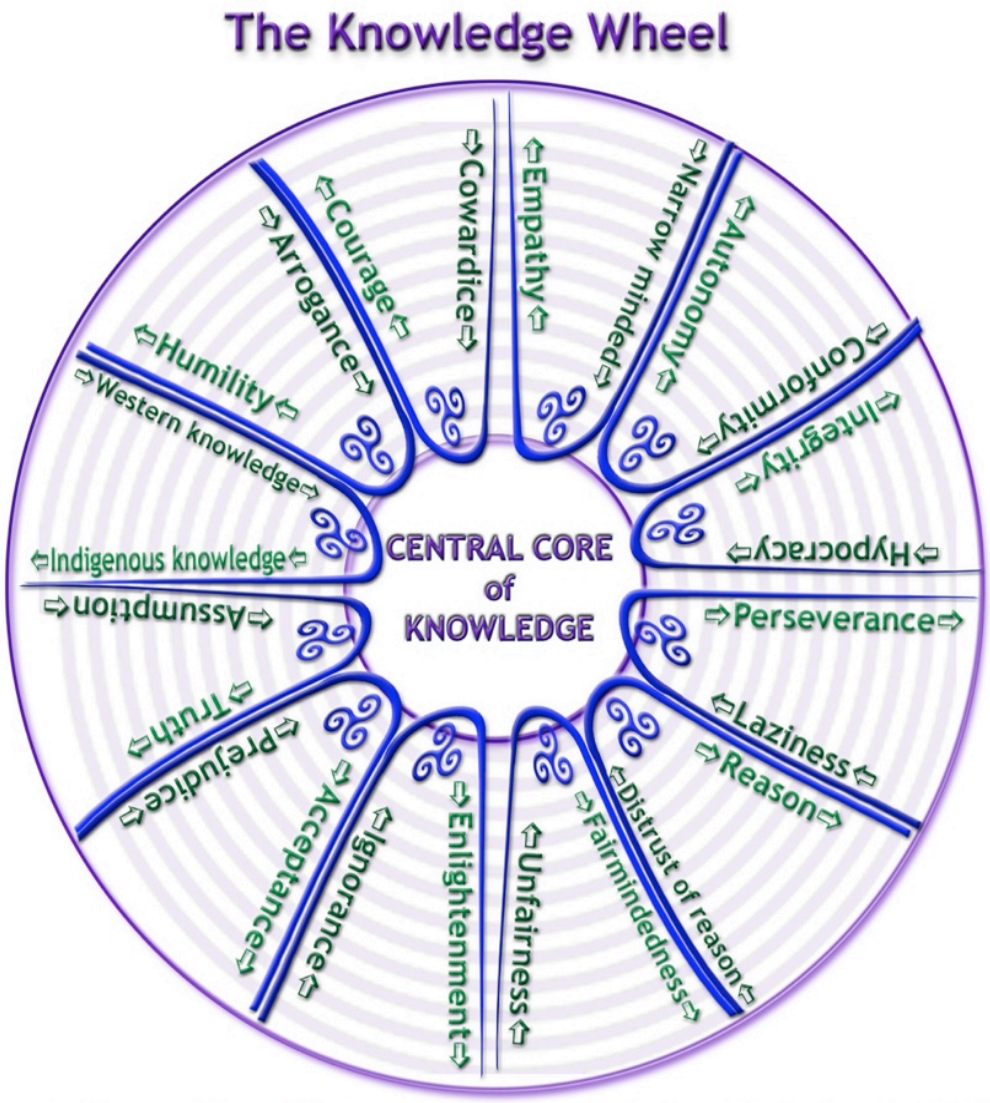


Figure 12. The Knowledge Wheel[81]

One of the principal difference between linear and circular scholarship is exemplified by Mandeville's idea of "taking possession of nothing." I propose that by refusing to occupy the space of previous assumptions, that is, non-possession and

[81] Original Diagram; C. A. Medicine Horse.

eliminating suppositions about a subject, scholars can examine their central core of knowledge before arriving at new truth(s). I also think that it may be helpful in the formation of new scholarship if those researchers with academic pedigrees look to the bias of conventional academic hierarchies before proposing a theoretical stance. Those factors that defy quantification, things such as individual perceptions of human existence and the distinctive experiences of one's life warp the straight line of linear knowledge gathering. It occurs to me that if scholars limit their ways of knowing to an assessment of the merits and demerits of academic niches, the significance of new social presences will be exiled to a footnote of scholastic commentary. Carefully evaluating ontological position is vital to dealing with the new social realities of the 21st-century. Unfortunately, critical self-evaluation may prove to be one of the most significant challenges to future scholarship.

Penning Up the Carnivore

The writing of this dissertation takes place in the midst of a transformational century that is moving the topic of the transgender other from third-world analysis to discussions about the 'nature of category and kind.'[82] That is to say, the assumed 'bio-power' of narcissism, the elements of 'maleness' or 'femaleness,' are being questioned and previous beliefs regarding biological and technological determinism scrutinized.

The result of the increased level of investigation concerning transgender topics seems to be confusing to some who are invested in the current traditions of knowledge

[82] "Haraway_CyborgManifesto.Html," accessed January 29, 2018, http://faculty.georgetown.edu/irvinem/theory/Haraway-CyborgManifesto.html.

gathering. It is quickly forgotten that trans-identity is an emerging social fact of the 21st century and the subject matter is often not well understood. Discussions need to be centered, and often a reference point needs to be provided. Things such as queer and feminist theory provide inadequate explanations when one tries to define non-bimodal gender. Thus, it is essential that reference points that interpret transness come from places other than the top of the academic food chain, that is from individuals who live their lives outside of white, male, heteronormative culture and are not academic carnivores.

Nigerian novelist and poet, Ben Okri, seems to share this author's concern with the hegemony of academic carnivores and how we gather knowledge. Okri writes that the politics of state-society have determined who we need to listen to, who has been sanctioned to speak. Politicians, heads of state, kings, religious leaders, soldiers, the rich, the powerful, the scholars and high academics all fancy themselves the masters of this earthly kingdom. They speak to us of facts, policies, statistics, programs, abstract and severe moralities.[83] I propose that an examination of the way knowledge is gathered, assimilated, and conveyed might reverse realities of the trans-alter. New voices might get to pen up the carnivore.[84]

[83] Ben Okri, *A Way of Being Free* (Phoenix, 1997).

[84] "A Cyborg Manifesto - Cyborg_manifesto.Pdf."

CHAPTER THREE: THE METHO-THEORY OF STORY

Categories, Words, and Stories

There is a risk involved in defining one's academic self. The idea of 'category' often creeps into the picture, and that offends me. Instead, I perceive myself as outside of category. That is someone who sees life through a moderately realistic lens of dreadful grammar, atrocious spelling and marvelous true stories. For me, stories combine the qualities of words, belief(s), truth(s), and perception(s) into one dynamic, often massive, and always unwieldy phenomenon.

Good stories are fluid, they move through generations, twist and turn in unexpected directions, circle back on significant life episodes, and on occasion offer new meanings by respectfully reinterpreting experiences. Above all, a good story adapts to the needs of the listener(s). Moreover, stories are a language that connects the teller and the listener without invading the space that either occupies. The 'method and theory' of a story is to engage the idea of our relational selves. That is, a story is about connecting the teller to the listener(s) through words, body language, innuendo, tonality, eye contact, and a continual awareness of your audience's response. Well-crafted words can trigger the imagination, traverse historical ground, and ignite passion. Despite their dynamic force and minimal regard for imposed definitions, words have elegance and create purpose. Like misbehaving children, words are steady and polite one moment and rude, disorderly, and rebellious the next. We continually ask them to stay put and give us time to create more words and more definitions. We ask words to help us build categories.

Words, however, do not suggest a static condition. They have dimension, implication, and color. Instead, of being the stuff of tidy, drab boxes in which to store our definitions, the elegance of words is that they compel desire, demonstrate needs, and give voice to the wishes of stories and characters.[85]

Professor Emerita in the School of Social Science in the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, Joan W. Scott adds a significant commentary to the shifting nature of words. In the *American Historical Review* Scott says:

> Those who would codify meanings of words fight a losing battle, for words, like the ideas and things they are meant to signify, have a history. Neither Oxford dons nor the Académie Française has been able to entirely stem the tide, to capture and fix meanings free of the play of human intervention and imagination.[86]

Rather than codifying meanings, the job of words is to provide us with stories that influence our lives. This idea seems to agree with the comments of British linguist David Crystal. Speaking of the significance of the story and its true meaning Crystal informs us:

> During the 13th century using the term 'story' meant that the narrative that followed must be truthful and that the use of the term indicated that the recounting of an event contained within the context of 'story' had the same meaning as history. Three hundred years later the term became somewhat modified. Its use in phrases such as *to story forth* meant 'to proclaim the story of.'[87]

Today, one of the ways that we recognize the efforts directed at preserving and sharing history is through organizations such as '*StoryCorps*,' a widely known non-profit institution that, in its efforts to overcome perceptions of 'alterity,' has collected the oral

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[85] "Biology of Story," accessed December 10, 2017, http://biologyofstory.com.

[86] "Joan Wallach Scott," *Wikipedia*, November 26, 2017, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Joan_Wallach_Scott&oldid=812128482.

[87] "David Crystal | Biography of David Crystal," accessed December 6, 2017, http://www.davidcrystal.com/?id=-1613.

history of more than 400,000 people.[88]

In this chapter, I focus on the use of words, story, and history. It has been my experience that these three items are intimately connected. However, I have also noticed a tendency to disconnect their intimacy by framing them as tools through which common areas of scholarship are built. For instance, if one engages in a discussion about politics, or the influence of one of its actors on current events, then the likelihood that a well-made bag of words and stories will likely appear is almost 100%. From the container will be dragged political history along with the personal accounts of the actor. Thus, the 'simplistic' use of bland words becomes a fact-filled methodology that attempts to engage an abstract theoretical topic, politics. I see little potential for constructive debate, and find the pathways that connect method and theory littered with personal agenda. I propose an alternate approach.

Metho-Story

The idea of Metho-Theory is similar to the notion of the story on steroids. That is, by looking at the topic under discussion in a different way, an approach that does not involve ownership of any part of the topic, one can create a story that is the topic. The center moves from an idea *about* a subject to an idea that *is* the subject. To illustrate how I envision this idea, I return to the same scenario concerning a political discussion. What would happen if the actor or event is reframed as a story that teaches or produces knowledge? Instead of reacting to a stressful political debate, something such as an unpopular partisan vote, and then 'loosing the dogs of theory' to explain the vote and

[88] "StoryCorps," StoryCorps, accessed December 6, 2017, https://storycorps.org/about/.

possibly producing a preponderance of new theories, one turns the situation around. I propose that this could be done by asking oneself a series of three, fairly simple questions. First, how do I know what I know about the event? Who are the players and why did they vote the way they did? Second, how does that knowledge affect my ethical stance? That is, was their vote ethically motivated and would I have done the same thing had the situation been reversed? Finally, have those two items, source knowledge, and ethical viewpoint, created a new story that reorients how I see myself in the universe? Metho-Theory creates a story that detaches the notion of 'ownership.' (See Appendix C)

To further demonstrate the power of detached ownership from the more linear structure of method and theory, I draw upon life experience. The following story is one of three different types that are useful in creating Metho-Theory. It demonstrates the resonant power of knowledge and survival that can be gained through a community. It is a story of — *We learned because it happened to you.*

In a Drug Store

My father was a handsome man, at least, that's how I remember him from the time when I was young. He had cut his hair just a few days before volunteering for military service in the Royal Air Force. His friends had told him that all pilots wore their hair short and more than anything else he wanted to fly airplanes. I once asked him why he continued to wear his hair so short when many times I had heard him express some nostalgia about an earlier about a time in his life. When he was young, his dark hair hung almost to his waist. Also, I think that he was tired of being called an 'Indian.' Still,

with his high cheekbones, closely cropped black hair, dark eyes, and deeply tanned skin it was hard to mistake his original bloodline.

My mother was the antithesis of identifiable ethnicity. I remember her as a slender, well-groomed woman with dark blond hair that extended slightly below the point of her shoulder. Although she was quite pretty, her fair skin and Scandinavian ancestry helped to make her overall appearance unremarkable in mid 20th-century America.

Most of my parents' married life was spent in one war zone or another, and it seems like the few times that we did return to the states we spent most of our time transiting the continent. We were airborne gypsies, and the next move to some unknown and obscure global enclave was always just around the corner.

On one particular occasion, when I was about twelve, the three of us had arrived in New York on a westbound flight that had originated in Cairo, Egypt. After a three-day visit with my maternal grandmother and the rest of her clan, we boarded a westbound TWA Lockheed Constellation and headed for Los Angeles. The plan, as I recall it, was to spend several weeks in the Southern California area before leaving for Manila in the Philippines. Dad, on the advice of a friend, had rented a baby blue Ford station wagon at a local car dealership. It was a very exciting time for me. The warm weather, sunny skies, and familiarity with the language meant I got to do and see many new and unfamiliar things. We ate at hot dog stands, went to the beach, and I sampled my first slice of pizza.

One afternoon we stopped for lunch at a Thrifty drug store. (Figure 18) The central part of the store sold everything from toothpaste to cough syrup. On one wall there was a food counter and about a dozen stools. On the other side, there was an eating area that

fronted on an open grill. Along the back wall was the pharmacist's counter and next to it, two bathrooms and two drinking fountains. There were very few customers and when we entered my mother headed for a table near the lunch counter. Dad and I began to meander toward the bathrooms. I hurried on towards the restroom while he stopped to examine a magazine.

I emerged from the bathroom a few minutes later and saw a heavyset man in the blue 'rent a cop' uniform confronting dad. They were having a heated conversation, and neither man was giving an inch. I did not find out until after we had left the store what the source of verbal altercation concern. It sticks in my mind that when I walked out of the toilet and stood next to Dad the chunky pseudo cop became quite flustered and the conversation came to an abrupt halt. He turned on his heel and walked away as my dad and I moved to the table where my mom sat drinking some lukewarm coffee. They exchanged a few discrete words and we left the store.

As we drove away, my father explained what had happened. The store security cop spotted Dad as we were entering the store. After I went into the bathroom, Dad had put down the magazine that he was thumbing through and gone over to one of two drinking fountains that were on the wall. He got a sip of water and walked back to where he was standing to wait for me. Not long after that, he was challenged by the rent-a-cop. The store cop wanted to know why he, with his swarthy black hair was with a towheaded blond kid. More importantly, why he ignored the sign on the drinking fountain that designated it as Whites only. When I came out of the bathroom, grabbed a sip of water

from the same place that dad had just had a drink and stood next to dad, the entire world of White privilege and pretentious authority came crashing down around the cop.

Times have changed in the ensuing fifty years. Anti-discrimination laws have passed, and court challenges have been won. Sadly what has not changed is the enduring social message. The 'other' is always suspect. (Figure 13)



Figure 13. Thrifty's 1950.[89]



Figure 14. 'No Indians or Dogs Allowed' (center left) Nicholas Galanin. 2008.[90]

The second story is also one of personal experience. I see it as another example of knowledge gathering through the story. It is a tale of — *I know this because it happened to me.*

[89] Courtesy: Pinterest.

[90] Courtesy: Nicholas Galanin Neon Photography. https://www.flickr.com/photos/galanin/2378844042/in/dateposted/

Beirut

In 1953, I was five years old. Earlier that year my parents decided to leave our home in Equador and move back to the United States. I don't know the motivation behind their decision, but I assume that it had to do with a combination of economics and dad's propensity toward a peripatetic lifestyle. Suffice to say, by the middle of March we had bid our farewells to Quito and were staying with mom's closest friend, Ludmilla, in Miami, Florida. 'Aunt Babe' as she became known to me, was the only child of Russian immigrants who fled the motherland just before the fall of the Tsarist autocracy. She was born in Florida in 1918 and received her legacy, a modest bungalow and a small but livable stipend, upon the demise of her parents. Although Babe was American by birth, she never seemed to tire of reminding everyone that she was 'as Russian as they come.' I recall that she loved to read Pushkin, was fluent in both the Russian and English language and was seldom seen without a smoldering cigarette in her hand. Also, while she was not a devotee of religion, she often made fond references to the magnificence of the Russian Orthodox Church and showed me black and white scrapbook pictures of her parents' Russian life. She and my mother met during WW II as a result of their mutual enlistment in the Women's Coast Guard Reserve, the SPARS. In all respects other than blood Babe was my mother's sister.

In June, after three months of visitation, a time that included ample amounts of sun, wine, cigarettes, and crustacean-based seafood, my parents and I moved eastward. The trip took us from aunt Babe's spare bedroom to an upscale apartment in Beirut, Lebanon. At that time Beirut was a shining gem in the crown of the Middle Eastern

Mediterranean. Known as the 'Paris of the Mid-East,' the city was a temple of lavish opulence and a meeting place for life's favored children to exhibit the extremes of ostentatious privilege. Its temperate climate, sea breezes, and friendly atmosphere all lent themselves to an air of peaceful expatriate living where the prosperous came to play. (Figure 15). Unrealized by the casual patrons of entitlement, those seeking 'diversions' and the perfect suntan in the heart of the 'Med,' was that just below the surface of Cadillacs and five-star hotels, a revolution was brewing.

The frameworks of discontent were part of the landscape of many post-WW II Mid-Eastern countries. Rumors of an impending cultural jihad added fuel to the fires of the ever-increasing number of social malcontents who stood behind banners of religious dogma. Doctrines proclaiming the cause of inequities and poverty provided combustible topics of dissent for 'would-be' political actors whose ambitions outweighed their efficaciousness. Accompanying the swelling discontent of the Mid-East body politic was the influx of foreign wealth and the unhindered authoritarianism of desert dynasties such as that of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, aka, 'The Shah of Iran.'[91] Puppet governments similar to Reza's, factions backed by foreign currency and controlled by extra-national agendas, blossomed within the expanding sphere of influence and the ubiquitous post-war military presence of superpowers such as England and the U.S. In exchange for financial backing, fledging political dynasties pledged guarantees of an alliance, oil, and strategic

[91] In March of 1951, a struggle for control of the Iranian government took place between a fervent Iranian nationalist, the democratically-elected Prime Minister Mohammad Mosaddeq, and Shah Mohammad Reza. The result was that a bill passed the Iranian parliament that nationalized British Petroleum interests in Iran. In 1953, the pro-Western Mohammad Reza was ousted from power by Mosaddeq but quickly restored by the covert assistance of the United States and the United Kingdom. "Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi | Shah of Iran | Britannica.Com," accessed October 26, 2017, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mohammad-Reza-Shah-Pahlavi.

location. The cessation of open hostilities provided the opportunity for many nations to shore up their relations with the numerous Arab States. Political regimes friendly to the West became well-cultivated landscapes in an era of Cold War affiliations and future locations for an extreme economic opportunity. As this happened, the influx of foreigners into the mid-East became increasingly evident, and a thin patina of social respectability and bureaucratic stability developed throughout the region. 'Temporary immigrants' to the shores of the more affluent parts of the Mediterranean reflected the search for the contented life of relaxed serenity that only extremes opulence could buy. The complacency and social detachment that attended the incursion of the guardians of privilege disguised the vulnerable underbelly of their notions of generationally-ingrained entitlement. As the disparities associated with wealth and power developed and the ever-present specter of elitist privilege took center stage, an opportunistic target for social revolution became painted on the backs of the entitled few.

The political landscape of 1953 Beirut was tumultuous. Revolution lay, like an ungerminated seed, just beneath the soil of social stability. The final fertilizing catalyst that led to the disruption of Lebanese hegemony came from an unexpected quadrant of the social spectrum. Rather than a single stimulant, the spark that ignited hostilities combined the excesses of elitism, nationalism, fanaticism, and ambition in a way that took advantage of a volatile mix of the social disquietudes. The fingers of blame that pointed to divergent social philosophies as a cause for the expansion of a marginalized populace were attached to the hands of many different wealthy political aspirants. On the whole, they catered to a multitude of factions, but their universal message was clear and

embedded in a promised ‘cure-all’ called revolution.

Juxtaposed against a backdrop of Arab Sheiks, potentates, robber barons and others seeking the excitement of Monte Carlo nights and the sun of the Côte d'Azur were the power brokers. A diverse assortment of diplomatic attachés and corporate representatives, all were vying for the top position within an ongoing stream of bureaucratic agreements. The prospect of success attained on the shores of the newly established global marketplace that lay between Cold War superpowers and the burgeoning Arab oil markets made a Mediterranean military toehold a strategic political and economic plum. An understood fact of life common to all of the participants that played on the political chessboard was that if Beirut existed under a mantle of one or more political alliances, it would allow access to one of the principal seaports of the Mediterranean. When this happened, it would provide a secure and strategic passage to the deserts of the oil-rich Middle East. (Figure 17)

By the summer of 1953, the dominion of minks and Mercedes expanded with the arrival of every privately-owned yacht that anchored in Beirut’s harbor. Private police forces, hired minions of the most wealthy, formed a protective curtain that isolated them and rendered invisible the poverty of the city’s unempowered and destitute ‘other.’ Only blocks away from the decaying squalor associated with starvation, bodyguards in business suits and sidearms stood vigil while their employers sipped coffee from rimmed gold cups and inhaled the smoky vapors escaping from ornately decorated nargileh. Along with the escaping smoke, the glaring disparities of social, cultural and economic separation that had come to signify the ‘Gem of the Middle East’ escaped the notice of

the hegemons. The odor of poverty drifted throughout the city and charged a powderkeg of civil unrest with the desperation of a disenfranchised population. By December the fuse had been lit, and the city was on the verge of an explosion. (Figure 18)

The apartment on the seventh floor of the Bassett Minkara building, an upscale housing complex in the American sector of the city, was fairly modest by Beirut standards. It contained two bedrooms, each with its bathroom, a large living room and a fair-sized kitchen. I recall the configuration of the apartment well as it had a balcony that fronted on a manicured courtyard and overlooked one of the main streets of the city. Beyond the iron gates of the complex and the modern four-lane highway that, at one end seemed to terminate in the azure blue tones of the Mediterranean and on the other in the haze of an endless desert landscape, lay a magnificent city. For the well-fed privileged set of foreigners any disruption of the bucolic, serene and safeguarded 'life on the Med'went beyond the realm of possible thought.

In retrospect, it is interesting to me that of all the events, sights and smells that I remember as defining my child's-eye view of Lebanon what stands out the most is the manner in which our apartment balcony was constructed. It was about a fifteen-foot-long concrete and stucco affair accessed by a single large glass door. The width was such that it would comfortably accommodate a sizeable webbed aluminum recliner and a circular table with three chairs. All the porch items were left in place by the previous tenants and thus became the property of the building owner. The construction of the porch included balusters and ironwork decorations that protruded from the ends of the guardrail. I remember these details well as they were to play a significant role in my survival.

Much to my dismay, shortly after our arrival in the city I was informed by my parents that I had been enrolled in the Salesian School for Boys, SSB. It was a boarding school designed to spread the Christian gospel among those who were unindoctrinated to the dictates of the Roman Church. The imposing white building was run and staffed by Catholic priests and none but the Fathers and the paying boarders were allowed to transgress the boundaries created by the massive wooden front door. I, along with several other children of expatriate families, became designated as 'day boarders.' When I consider the paradoxical nature of my attendance at a school run and staffed by Catholic priests, I am reminded that somewhere in the vast array of life's uncertainties there must exist a sadistic humorist. My assessment that a conniving trickster is busily at work in my life, well-hidden and toiling over the next thing with which to ambush me is based on the fact that neither then nor now, have my spiritual requirements embraced the idea of Christianity. Consequently, I cannot help but wonder what perverted entity placed me, a half-blood Nez Perce Indian kid and child of a mercenary pilot, in a Catholic school located on the coast of Lebanon.

The day that school started I became a commuter. I had been coached well beyond the extremes of repetition concerning the route upon which I was to proceed to reach the front door of the school promptly. After having performed several escorted dry runs before the first day of school, I had dutifully committed the track to and from SSB to rote memorization. Although it was with some small bit of trepidation that on the first day of class I struck out on my own, I soon gained the confidence and arrogance of familiarity. Each morning I would, like other foreigners, venture out through the high

gates of the apartment complex and stroll along the sun-drenched streets. At the designated time I would arrive outside the front door of the school and join the small crowd of other day boarders. Within minutes of my arrival a large white wooden door would be flung open, and at the appropriate time, we would all make our way across the creaking wooden floorboards of the interior foyer and down the dimly-lit corridors to our assigned classrooms.

Having no particular interest in after-class activities, each afternoon I would be escorted through the halls of the school by a tall young priest in a black cassock. Eventually, our odyssey through the labyrinth of corridors ended up at the front door through which I had entered. Father Bias, a priest of standard features and a faint Italian accent, would bid me a smiling farewell and send me back into the streets of Beirut with a verbal warning to, 'study your Bible.' Many decades have passed since I last heard his parting words but even now the mantra that followed our leave-taking remains with me. Like smoldering coals, the utterance, 'both God and I are watching you' remains burned into the frontal lobes of my brain. While I never confronted him with such an impertinent question I have often secretly wondered, 'if the two of you are so busy watching me, who's watching you?' Although I have nothing but a faint recollection of the Italian priest, I candidly admit that his black-robed visage scared me to death. Also, a thought occurs to me that, considering where we were, that is, in a country where the god of Islam has a much higher seat on the religious totem pole than the god of Christianity, the Bible of exactly to whom was he referring?

Occasionally, following my parole from a day of academic endeavors and my

release back into the streets of the city, I would return home along a more exotic route than the one I typically used in the morning. The result of this alteration in my navigational modus operandi was that in my quest for new horizons to conquer, and because I was not under the same morning time constraints, I acquired a new skill. I developed a considerable amount of expertise in the fine art of alley-hopping. It was a made-up game that I looked forward to playing at least several afternoons each week. The goal of the activity was to find new and unique routes home that shaved time off of my usual footslog. The rules were simple, turn left instead of right, go up a certain alley or side street rather than down, and never stick to a known path. I convinced myself of the intrepid nature of the undertaking through silent reminders that exploring places that most foreigner rarely saw, even from a distance, and going where only the boldest of adventurers dared explore were the sole province of the courageous. Winning my hero's quest entailed checking the arrival time at our apartment against a previous best effort. The knowledge that even if I could not shorten the interval of the journey, I would still receive the consolation prize of a well-stocked kitchen never failed to quicken my footsteps.

The route that I had chosen on this particular day was unknown to me and entailed possibilities that I had not previously considered. I learned of it through one of my schoolmates who guaranteed that it would cut at least five minutes off of my commute. According to my informant, Desmond, a Greek boy half again my size with dark eyes and hair to match, and a full-time boarder at SSB, the journey involved negotiating a series of narrow alleyways that I had always bypassed. He also told me that

I would need to traverse a rooftop bridge. The entire prospect was more than I could resist. Desmond assured me that he had taken the route several times on the weekend and that the bridge ended at the top of a narrow stairway. He said that if I descended the stairway and kept to the left side of its bifurcation, I would end up on the main boulevard. Judging from his description, I calculated that as I emerged from the stairs, I would be almost directly across the street from our apartment building. It would be a triumphant coup de gráce to my imaginary time clock.

Several days later I decided to pick up the gauntlet that Desmond had thrown. Having received my daily admonition from Father Bias, an Italian lilted voice shouting at me above the reverberating echoes of an Islamic call to prayer, I embarked on my adventure. I had not yet gone half-way along the proposed route when I realized that in my quest for exploration I had inadvertently wandered off of my pre-planned course. Instead of a speedy transit through unexplored alleys and an adventurous jaunt across rooftops and wooden bridges I was in the midst of scores of crumbling houses and burned out buildings. Dirt floor shanty structures surrounded me, and I realized that I was lost. (Figure 16) The stench exuded from my circumambient is one that I shall never forget. It was the perfume of decay, something that one associates with the carcasses of dead and dying animals. Despite the aroma of necrotic flesh I was, for some unknown reason, drawn forward. As I moved nearer to the rubble, I began to hear the faint guttural sounds of an Arabic melody. Like the call of Homer's Sirens, the noise seemed to beckon me forward toward a low frameless window. The opening, a hole that had cut into the crumbling wall of a mud building was in such a position as to allow cooking fire smoke

to escape but high enough off of the ground to prevent rain runoff from entering the structure. Just to the left of the low opening, an entrance draped with tattered black cloth had been pushed aside just enough to reveal the central doorway. Most of the roof had at some earlier time yielded to the combined forces of gravity and insect infestation. The remnants, timbers rotting with decomposing vegetation had found a secondary use as part of a small stack of firewood. Without entering, I peeked into the dark abyss of the makeshift smoke window and saw, at the back of the dwelling, an ancient-looking dust-covered radio. Its crackly peal of barely audible noise reverberated off of the decaying walls of mud and splintered plaster. The music, such as it was, made hollow nasal sounds. The empty noise matched the two gaunt faces that suddenly appeared at the glassless portal. 'Baksheesh, baksheesh[92] The words were the cried solicitations of children that were unceremoniously shoved out of the draped doorway by an invisible third party. They appeared to be about my same age although their wan and tightly-drawn skin made invisible any reasonable comparison. They were covered with rags of dirty clothing and wore no shoes.

The interloper, I had confronted a world that was beyond my comprehension and had no apparent recourse to my unintended encounter other than to flee. I turned away from the destruction that I had found and ran without pause, absconding with the knowledge that I neither sought nor desired, in the direction from which I had come. Panic seemed to direct me to my only avenue of escape. Retracing my route and leaving all thought of meritorious accomplishment behind, I ran until I saw the familiar symbols

[92] Money that is given as a present or alms.

of my world.

The well-fed and reasonably clean presence that intruded on poverty, the fact that I had shoes on my feet, and hair did not appear as a haven for lice, embodied a picture of the privileged 'other.' As I stumbled across, and then re-crossed the line of disparity, I marked the end of my childhood naïveté. The changed perspective bookended and furnished evidenced to my culpability in the scenario of alterity. Moreover, the events of that day have allowed me to witness, from an early age, the destructive forces brought about by embracing the fear of dissimilitudes. The classrooms of life have many lessons contained within their walls. In a rubble-strewn dirt lot in 1953 Lebanon, the one that I learned was that the intrusions on life's invisibilities require payment of a toll and the currency is recognition. However, the alms given from the empty pockets of privilege are worthless.

In spite of my continued commute and the daily routine of school, it was around this time that I began to sense, more than see, a change in Beirut. It had become tense. Shops closed early and there appeared to be fewer people crowding the main roads. My previous fearless attitude began to wane under the weight of experience. On most days I came directly home after school, and I seldom strayed from the main streets. I became more observant and started to pay closer attention to things. I don't know if my unease had to do with the increasing amount of my father's absence or my mother's reluctance to do anything more permanent to the interior of our home than adding to the growing pile of unread magazines. My unwillingness to venture far from our front door meant that during my free time I would sit for hours thumbing through the pages of well-illustrated

weekly periodicals. As time passed and the atmosphere of the city grew more strained my unwillingness to engage in activities outside our home had the dubious benefit of creating within me a connoisseur of the photographs contained in *Look* magazine and the *Saturday Evening Post.*

One day in late November, while trudging my usual route home through newly-broken sidewalks and piles of semi-demolished brick buildings I suddenly felt a violent pain just above my left ear. I instinctively grabbed my skull and instantly realized that one of many well-aimed rocks had hit my head. Others rained down on me and pummeled my upper torso. The stones thrown by a group of local children seemed to buffet me from all sides. The first rock thrown had found its mark and blood spurted from the back of my head. I am confident that to the casual bystander the yelp that I let out must have sounded louder than a death wail. Although, as I later learned, the wound appeared to be much worse than it was, it did serve my immediate need. The attackers panicked, no doubt thinking that they had inflicted a mortal wound on the foreign intruder, and quickly disappeared over a small rise in the stone terrain. Scared, confused, and crying, I made my way back to the relative safety of my parents' apartment. I did not know it at the time but that day marked my final encounter with the inside of my spiritually-directed temple of learning. And so it was the last day that I ever heard the parting admonition of the good Father.

The particulars of the events that transpired during the following weeks have over time departed from my memory. They are the vague recollections of one immersed in the comfort of the half-way space found while one slides in and out of waking consciousness.

My physical injuries, although minor, underscored my growing fear of leaving the confines of my safety. I became, for the first time in my life, frightened. Sometimes, during the night I would be jarred into instant wakefulness by the growing number of abbreviated staccatos of automatic weapons fire I heard in the distant parts of the city. They were short bursts of violent disagreement that emanated from outlying, less affluent sections of the city.

During the daylight hours, I could see from the windows of our apartment that shops that only weeks before had sold everything from jewel-encrusted gold ornaments to aromatic Lebanese flatbread had removed their welcoming 'Café Francais' style sidewalk tables from the front of their establishments. The seemingly endless chain of commercial enterprises that were crammed tightly against one another along the main thoroughfares of the city began to close early, and the diminished vestiges of entrepreneurial endeavors suddenly became shuttered behind chained steel grillworks of putative security. The shiny Mercedes and Ferrari automobiles that had carried sheiks, potentates, and an assortment of other fiscal royals along the paved arteries of interurban nourishment that fed Beirut's infrastructure became less conspicuous. Replacing them were intermittent appearances of large, quickly moving trucks draped with dark olive-green canvas side curtains.

The daily requirement of my presence at the Salesian school, the bastion of my educational experience but no longer part of my routine, fostered a mixture of tedium and fear. The drudgery of transitory captivity that I had become resigned to had ended abruptly with rumors of increasing violence directed at foreigners. Instead of my usual

footslog through the bustling, crowded streets of Beirut, I became an observer of things that had no immediate effect on me. I lounged around our apartment, slept restlessly, and ate whatever the bill of fare dictated. My amusements became limited to a deck of dogeared playing cards, old magazines and my one friend, a German boy whose family occupied our same apartment building. Since both of us withdrew from school within days of each other, we shared the great commonality of many pre-adolescent children, boredom. A great deal of time that we spent together was devoted to concocting different ways to confound the grounds staff of the apartment complex. We turned off hoses that were in use and ‘replanted’ newly-sown shrubbery in less than optimal places. Together we were the bane of the groundskeeper's existence.

When you are young time seems to move at a glacial pace, especially when there is little to occupy your days. One afternoon my companion, Frantz, performed a marvelous feat of the most improbable kind of magic. On a bet concerning the impossibility of his proposed effort, upon which I wagered and lost a red plastic whistle, I watched in fascination the drama of Frantz's wizardry. While blowing smoke from a purloined parental cigarette out of his nose, he demonstrated his ability to put an entire apple in his mouth and close his lips around it. It was an artful sight worthy of the most exceptional vaudevillian effort. As his face flushed and then turned red in response to exorbitant amount of energy expended, I remember thinking that he looked like a smoldering pumpkin. I was appropriately impressed with his Aryan genius.

Several days passed and I decided to see if Frantz had concocted any other feats of legerdemain. As I made my way down the stairs leading to the partially-covered area

near the rear of our building, a place where we typically loitered after being exiled from the confines of our respective apartments, I rounded the corner of one of the lower stairwells and suddenly stopped in my tracks. The door that I usually stood in front of inquiring about Frantz's availability to accompany me on our afternoon adventures was wide open. Most often I would knock a few times, and Frantz would appear. We would make our way down the remaining floors in search of whatever mischief we could find. This particular day however what lay before me was an open portal leading to a cavernous space. Except for a few discarded newspapers that lay strewn about the entrance, the apartment was empty. I asked several neighbors that I encountered during the remainder of the day about the absence I discovered, but none had an explanation for the sudden vacancy. It was not until several days later that I found out that the unexpected late-night move was in response to a hastily composed embassy directive that required all diplomatic personnel relocate to the grounds of the German foreign delegation. The family had, without explanation or ceremony, vanished.

I was crestfallen at the loss of my sole friend. Although neither of us had an overwhelming command of the language that was spoken by each other, we came together as chums who found common ground in our mutual need for companionship, pranksterism, and laughter. With the disappearance of Frantz, I was at a loss concerning how to fill my days. Sometimes my mother took pity on my boredom and taught me various card games that she had learned as a girl. Since she had not played them in many years, the rules of any particular hand were at best, creative facsimiles of the creators' intent. Christmas loomed on the immediate horizon, but mom became less interested in

keeping me entertained and increasingly preoccupied with writing letters and creating small packing lists. She called them ‘essentials.’ I began hanging out with Mahmood, the building supervisor. He said that he came from the hill country and taught me how to swear in Arabic, sing a song about Zahlé and made a convincing argument that even the most urgent of matters would always take, ‘three to seven minutes.’ Despite the passage of time, the Arabic curses and song that Mahmood taught me are still in my mind.

My father came home only sporadically as the end of the year drew near. I remember that he always smelled of sweat and the odd aroma that I have since come to associate with the interior of old airplanes. One particular day he returned home only long enough to shower, change clothes, and speak in a low, barely audible voice with my mother. Within what seemed like moments of his arrival a few items were tossed into a small canvas bag that always accompanied him. Anxiously he checked his scarred Timex and vaulted down the back stairs. Amidst the sound of grinding gears and protesting carburation, his little red Simca Sportster dissolved into the obscurities of Beirut.

What brings this day to the forefront of my memory is that shortly after his departure I needed to go into my parent’s bedroom. In the same way that one might know if an unwelcome intruder had entered one’s home during an absence, I sensed something peculiar about the room. Suitcases had been removed from their usual resting place at the back of the closet and placed along the side of a wall. Personal items such as a hairbrush, toothpaste, and a razor lay neatly arranged on the top of a dresser bureau. Additionally, the half-a-dozen family photos that graced the room were missing from their usual location and now lay neatly stacked next to the toiletry items. Also, noted by its absence,

was dad's Smith and Wesson 357 magnum pistol. A glass-fronted cabinet near the side of my parents' bed was home to several trashy novels, a windup travel alarm, and a few miscellaneous bits of bric-a-brac collected from the local street bazaars. Normally, wedged between the books and the interior of the cabinet was the exposed oversized bone handgrip of dad's pistol. On this occasion, neither the Smith nor its sacred companion piece, a scarred 'pancake style' belt holster was in evidence.

The next day I awoke to the sound of French Phantom Jets that strafed the street in front of our apartment building. Small arms fire cracked from the tops of buildings all around us, and the windows of houses on the street below erupted with the flashes and salvos of rapid-fire weapons. Short directed bursts of expended lead met single, well-aimed rounds. They punctuated the noise of the screaming jet aircraft that came in low and fast from the Mediterranean beachscape. The increasing uneasiness that I had sensed months before had suddenly become extremely animated. In less time than exists between one heartbeat and the next, I recognized that the privilege of my protected anonymity was gone. I was a first-person observer to the opening volleys of a revolution. Barefoot and still clad only in my nighttime baggy boxer shorts, I wandered out onto the porch of our apartment and began to watch the happenings below. From my vantage point, I looked down into the cockpits of the fast-moving jets and saw the tracer rounds as they flickered along the roadway. Every fifth shot indicated the accuracy of the guns. I was an observer of an event that had become instantaneously real. My youthful size and the protection of our porch were all that stood between me and that reality.

The amount of time that I watched with my mouth agape could have been

seconds or minutes. Suddenly the concrete balusters in front of me exploded with the remnants of spent lead, mangled shards of concrete and mangled wrought iron decorations. What remained of the porch began to rain down onto a well-manicured lawn. Standing dumbfounded among the splintering cement and concrete of the porch, the assaulting noise of automatic weapons fire still echoing as marksmen looked for and found other targets, I felt the unmistakable abruptness of my father's hand as he grabbed the scruff of my neck. As if ensnared by a giant rubber band that had been stretched and then instantaneously released, I felt my body being summarily tossed back into the relative safety of our home.

That night, as the moon rose over the Mediterranean, I in stood the cockpit door of a Middle East Airways four-engine Vickers Viscount aircraft. The scream of its turbine engines all but drowned out the whirr and thump of the undercarriage as the wheels became temporarily nested within the hidden depths of the fuselage. I tilted and swayed in unison with the deck of the aircraft as my father, the sole pilot, lifted the ship from the Beirut airport and banked it at such an acute angle that I suspect that the wing did not miss the water by more than a few feet.

My mother, her hands gripped tightly on the armrests of a well-worn first class seat, had installed herself on the aisle, several rows aft of the forward bulkhead. As if in silent vigil, she watched over her old blue train case, a battered veteran that once belonged to her mother, that rested between her feet. The rectangular case with only one functional brass clasp and a mirror affixed to its inner lid contained our passports, vaccination records, and a handful of family photographs and letters. Together they

formed remnants of her girlhood life. Her certificate of marriage and the official certification of my birth remained as the only remembrances of life that used to be. Across the narrow aisle from where my mother sat with pew-like rigidity and aristocratic dignity, she had wedged two suitcases tightly in the space reserved for a passenger's legs. Scuffed, tattered, and hurriedly-packed they were cardboard and metal metaphors of the life that was to come. The last evacuation plane out of Beirut left on New Year's Eve 1953 and had a total of two passengers and one pilot on board, — a mercenary, a mother, and a tow-headed kid. As the aircraft broke ground and turned northwest toward Athens, I watched my home go up in smoke. I was five years old.

PostScript

I did not understand the scope of the economic and social antagonisms that surrounded my life in Lebanon. It is doubtful that even if they had been explained to me, I would have appreciated the gravity of the situation. Instead, as I crossed the dark tarmac of a city under siege, the only emotional response that I can recall is feeling utterly dispossessed. The lessons of the feelings of being disenfranchised and alienated are lasting. They remind me that one may not always be able to circumvent the inevitable outcomes of alterity. The line that divides privilege from 'right' is drawn with a very finely pointed pencil. It is easily erased and often temporary. It is easily assumed that immunity from being part of a segregated identity is permanent. Nonetheless, the 'other' is the fluid concept. The other inhabits the space between the demented identity of 'is' and 'or.' The other has no home.

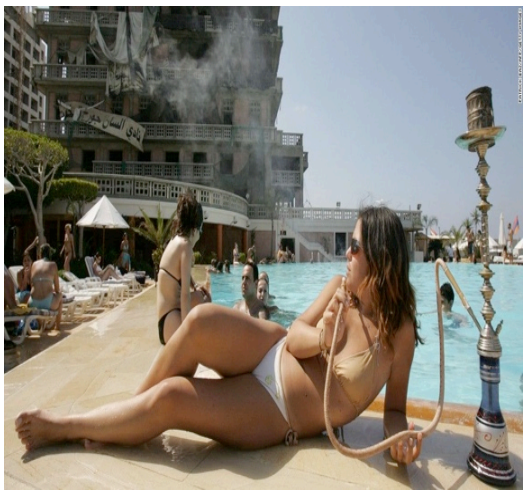


Figure 15. Beirut opulence, 1960s[93]



Figure 16. Beirut 1953 Poverty[94]



Figure 17. Arab oil wealth.[95]



Figure 18. An exploded powderkeg.[96]

[93] Courtesy: Stephanie d'Arc Taylor, for CNN • Updated 22nd June 2015, http://www.cnn.com/travel/article/beirut-five-star-hotels-faded-glamor-cnngo/index.html.

[94] Courtesy: dailystar.com.

[95] Courtesy: new-corner.com.

[96] Courtesy: La Republica.ec.

The third form of the story comes from Lakota storyteller, Joseph Marshall. It demonstrates traditional ways of knowing and lessons from ‘Once Upon a Time.’ I define the story as — *We know from our shared history.*

The Story of the Eagle

Long ago the People were living in the land of many lakes. There were many animals in the forest. The lakes were filled with fish of all kinds. The People were strong; there was peace, life was very good. But there came a particularly hard winter; snow was deep. All the snow finally melted in June in the moon of ripening berries. Summer brought much rain, and the lakes and rivers began to fill, and the rains kept falling.

The People knew that the wet season always passed. They waited for the rains to let up but they didn't. The lakes and rivers filled, overflowed their banks yet the rains kept falling. The waters rose higher and higher, chasing the People out of their lodges. They found higher ground, but the water kept coming.

There was no rest from the flood; the People had to keep moving to the hills and ridges. Even the animals fled from the waters. Food became scarce because the hunters couldn’t hunt. There was no dry wood for fires; the People were cold. Soon many became cold with the coughing sickness. Some grew weak and died because there was no medicine to help them. Then the winds came, angry and vengeful. They whipped the floods into a mean-spirited dark being that sought out the People as they tried to flee, dragging them down into its cold darkness. Within days all but one of the People were dead.

A young woman clung to the rocks of a high hill. She had started climbing with

her family, but the wind-driven flood had taken them all. Now she was alone and dizzy with grief, waiting to die. Weakened by hunger and sadness, she fell asleep and slept for several days.

The winds which had turned the flood into a frenzy also chased away the rain clouds. The sun bathed the land with its healing, soothing warmth. From the high hill, the young woman could see what the flood had done. It had taken her mother and father and her brother and sister. She was alone. Her plaintive wail of grief rose over the land, causing four-legged and winged to pause and listen. Day after day, night after night she sat, overcome with grief and loneliness.

One afternoon she awoke to find a great eagle perched on a nearby rock. He was very large with dark brown feathers. She was frightened because she knew that the eagle could be a great hunter with powerful talons. But the young woman was drawn to the eagle's soft brown eyes. She waited, sensing there was no danger. Then, the eagle spoke, "I have seen that you are alone." "Yes, the flood took my family, took all of my people, there is only me, and all I have is sadness. It stays with me day and night." "Then I will be your friend. Tell me what I can do for you." "You can do nothing," she lamented. "I will die alone." "That is not true. Your relatives the four-legged, the winged, like me, and the crawlers, we are all here." "I am the last," she sobbed, "so I am waiting to die." "If you die there will be no more like you on the earth, there will be nothing but emptiness where your kind once lived. You must live." He stretched his wings and rose in the air. "Where are you going?" she asked. "Are you leaving me?" "Only to bring you food. I will return." And he did, bringing a large fish. "I must make a fire," she said, "I cannot

eat this without cooking it." The eagle, of course, could fly very fast. After several flights to the forest, he had collected a large pile of wood for her. The young woman started a fire and cooked the fish. Even the small bites seemed to give her strength; she could feel it flowing through her. The eagle had been sitting back for he was afraid of the fire. The eagle brought more wood so she could have fire through the night and stay warm. In the morning, when she awoke, he was gone, but her fire was still smoldering. For a time he had eased her loneliness, and she was grateful.

He returned in the middle of the day, this time with a rabbit. He said, "This is a fine day; it is good to be alive." The young woman was glad for the eagle's return. She skinned the rabbit, cooked it and ate. "There is a fine valley, there is water, and it is sheltered from the wind; perhaps you should go there," he said. "No," she replied. "I am here, and I will stay here. I can build a lodge here." The eagle could see that her sadness was great. He had flown far over the lakes and valleys, but he had found no other two-legged. She would grow old and die alone.

He continued to bring her food and firewood. He would circle over her hill, watching for any danger. She grew stronger with each passing day and began to worry about her appearance. Before the flood, she had been the loveliest young woman in the many villages. Now, of course, she was the most beautiful young woman anywhere.

One day she climbed to the very top of her hill. She saw across a wide valley and many lakes. There was beauty all around. What could she do alone, she wondered. Like any young woman, she had dreamed of marrying a fine young man and having children. He would hunt, and she would keep their lodge, and they would grow old together. Now

she was sitting on a hill, a cold, terrible truth within her. She was the last of her kind. What was she to do?

She heard the rush of wind under the great wings of an eagle. She marveled at the spread of his mighty wings and the power in them. But he also had a different power, the power to chase away her loneliness. “What am I to do,” she asked. “If only I could fly, I could see what you see from so high.” “Come, we shall fly. Grab my legs as I rise into the air.” She did, and they rose from the hill. She was afraid at first, but as they rose upwards, she saw the earth as she had never seen it before. She felt powerful. Trees, lakes, and rivers grew smaller. The earth itself grew larger, and the young woman was humbled by the wondrous sight of it all. She was reluctant to return to the hill. “Thank you,” she said. “I envy what you are.” “I am your friend and always shall be.” Their friendship became stronger. He brought her food, and she scratched pictures of him on the rocks. Every day she ventured farther from her camp and was soon talking about building a lodge somewhere. The eagle saw that the young woman was smiling more often; still, he could see the sadness in her eyes.

One day in late summer the eagle soared high above the young woman’s hill. Autumn was on the way and winter would not be far behind. Already cold breezes were coming from the north. The young woman needed to prepare for winter, or she would perish. He was troubled. “Grandfather,” he called out, “you who are most powerful, why have you not seen to her well-being?” “I have done so,” came back a voice. “I have sent you to her.” “I have helped her,” replied the eagle. “I can only bring her food; I cannot give her what she truly needs, others of her kind.” “There is a way,” the voice replied.

“Tell me, grandfather, and I will help her in any way I can.” “You have a kind heart, and you are deserving of your place in the great circle of life,” said the voice. “It would be difficult to lose your place, for that is what must happen if you truly want to help the two-legged.” “I do not understand, grandfather.” “To help her you must become a two-legged, but if you do you will never ride the winds again, you can never see the earth from above the highest mountains. You can become a two-legged, and as a male and female you can give to the earth more of her kind, or you can remain as you are.”

The eagle was very quiet that night as he sat with the young woman. He was troubled, his brown eyes had lost their usual sparkle. “Is there something on your mind?” she asked. “Yes, I must go away. There is much I have to think about.” “You will return?” she asked. “I could not bear it if you were lost to me.” “I will return, no matter what happens I shall always be your friend.” The next day the young woman climbed to the top of the hill and watched the sky. There were many hawks circling and a few eagles. The next day was the same and the day after that. She was impatient for his return.

The eagle soared higher than he had ever flown and saw more of the earth than he had ever seen. It was a sight that he never wanted to forget. “Grandfather, I am here.” “Grandson,” a voice replied, “you have been troubled for these many days, yet you have made a choice.” “Yes,” said the eagle, “I know what I must do.” “The choice you make is a road you can never turn back from,” said the voice. “There are still many of my kind; she cannot be the last of her kind. The earth and everything on it would feel the loss.” “So be it,” said the voice. “I tell you this, two-leggeds will find a place in their heart for your

kind. They will hold you high."

Summer was ending; the young woman walked the hillside to gather wood for her fire. Now and then she looked up at the sky, but as yet he had not returned. "Do you wait for someone?" came a voice from behind her. It was a voice she knew very well; he had returned. The young woman turned with a smile which became a frown; she could see no one. "I am here," said the familiar voice. From behind a rock stepped a tall, handsome young man. "How can this be?" she cried. "I thought all of us were taken by the flood." "That is true," said the young man. "Then where do you come from?" "From the sky," the young man replied. The young woman was shocked, yet the voice of the young man was familiar. It was the voice of the eagle, and there was something familiar in those deep brown eyes also. "Remember the day we flew together?" he asked. "I took you up far above the earth." "It cannot be," she cried. "It is you!" "I promised I would return, and so I have. Are you not happy to see me?" The young woman fell into his embrace.

Before that winter they built a lodge at the edge of a forest, and in time became mother and father to many children, to a new race of two-leggeds. She told her children what their father had been, so they would watch the sky as the great eagles flew. They were, of course, watching their relatives. They taught their children, who taught their children, and so on, to do the same. Perhaps now you can understand why we Lakota revere eagles. Each time we see one in the sky we pause to speak out thanks for their compassion.[97]

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[97] Joseph M. Marshall III, *The Lakota Way: Stories and Lessons for Living*, Reprint edition (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2002): 125.

Indigenous Meaning

The Story of the Eagle is one of many indigenous understandings of creation. It comes from the Lakota people of North America and engages the past by looking beyond the archives of western methodologies. As a tale of indigenous knowledge, it passes along a meaningful storyline of "as it was told to me." The participants of the story are not owners of the circumstances of the story. They do not just react to conditions. Instead, they learn their truth(s), turn inward and evaluate themselves and their ethics, reevaluate their place in the universe. The process demonstrates knowledge gathering and involves more than the gathering of facts that describe events. Rather than an inventoried accounting of existence and a reevaluation of the particularities of human creation, the power of "The Story of the Eagle" is its depth and resonance with the listener. The identity of the eagle and the understandings of the woman are fluid in the most extreme sense and leave open the possibilities of change. Also, the tale brings to life the idea of triumph over adversity through perseverance. As the story unfolds, it parallels the classic Arthurian legend of the hero's journey. I see it as suggestive of a multi-millennia theme that is present in transgender history.

Equally as relevant as the role of the actors and the allegorical content is the absence of claims to an agency. Neither the eagle nor the woman has dominance. As the eagle explores the possibilities of physical transmogrification, the woman explores her feelings of lost family and lost potential. Both players proceed along a path of discovery that connects them with each other and all things around them. The setting, time-frame, and imagery of an adaptable story utilizes an entire spectrum of academic disciplines

such as religion, philosophy, and sociology and intertwines them to produces a new landscape of knowledge. Thus, the stories of “as it was told to me” offer a critical assessment of some regions of western methodology. They seem to suggest that a revised way of gathering knowledge might be beneficial.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE ROAD LESS TRAVELED

Knowing Who We Are

Steven John Fry is an English comedian, actor, writer, presenter, and activist. In a July 8, 2006 article that ran in the US edition of *The Guardian,* a British news and media website, Fry asks, 'Why does history matter?'

> A better man might be able to answer with far more questions than answers. Whenever the importance of history is discussed, epigrams and homilies come tripping easily off our tongues: How can we understand our present or glimpse our future if we cannot understand our past? How can we know who we are if we don't know who we were? While history may be condemned to repeat itself, historians are condemned to repeat themselves. History is bunk or possibly bunkum. History is a comedy to those who think and a tragedy to those who feel. History is written by the victor. Historians are prophets looking backwards. Or we could paraphrase EM Forster on the novel. 'Does history tell a story? Oh, dear me yes, history tells a story.'

Fry continues his astute observation:

> Historians, more than any other class, spend a great deal of time justifying their trade, defining it and aphorising it, seeming to lavish more attention on historiography than history. After all, is there such a thing as history or are there only histories? For all the oddities of some arcane scientific research, we all know that science eventually leads to making light bulbs work, car engines run and failed hearts pump again. Can we test the value of history in the same way? Can we prove that a politician, a financier or a spot-welder is better, happier or more fulfilled for possessing a feel for history?
> But ... isn't history now just point of view, tribal assertion, cultural propaganda? After all, the days of Burke, Macaulay, Gibbon, Trevelyan and Froude are over. Historians are no longer grandees at the centre of a fixed civilisation; they are simply journalists writing about celebrities who haven't got the grace to be alive any more. Certainly, some people sense in our world, even if they can't prove it, a new and bewildering contempt for the past. In the high street of life, as it were, no one seems to look above the shop-line. Today's plastic signage at street level is the focus; yesterday's pilasters, corbels and pediments above are neither

> noticed nor considered, save by what some would call cranks and conservationists.[98]

If one is to understand the current path of transgender emergence, offer information, or provide knowledge concerning the directions of transgender identity it is first necessary to know where we came from. However, as we point one eye forward and look to the future it is vital that the other remains keenly trained on our past. History is a trickster, and if we ignore the lessons that trickster has taught us then we do so at our own peril.

We often tend to lose our focus on things if they do not affect our immediate state of well-being. For example, things such as personal finances, love relationships, employment, housing, and other forms of social survival are more likely to occupy our thoughts then our shared history. The principal occupation of history is to distance us from past events. However, having talked to many transgender people during the course of my research I have found it interesting to note that most are keenly aware that trans is neither a geographically isolated identity nor a recent phenomenon. While many may not know any specifics concerning things such as cross-dressing Ugandan priests or the third gender 'muxe' of Mexico, they nonetheless seem to be keenly aware that trans people are part of an emerging presence and that they signal a shift in social history.[99]

The colonial and post-colonial eras of America have all but obliterated the fact that well before Europeans set foot on the North American continent indigenous people understood the idea that there were multiple forms of gender. For example, a June 30,

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[98] Stephen Fry, "The Future's in the Past," the Guardian, July 8, 2006, http://www.theguardian.com/theobserver/2006/jul/09/featuresreview.review.

[99] Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, *Encyclopedia of Africa* (Oxford University Press, 2010). 568.

2016, article in *Indian Country Today,* an online National news source for and about Native American people, reports on Old Doctor, a Tolowa spiritual leader who dressed in both male and female garments and jewelry. Elsewhere in the same issue of the publication author, D.A. Navoti makes reference to Lozen, a female warrior who rode with Geronimo. Navoti references well-known author Will Roscoe who tells us that the chief of the Warm Springs Apache, Victorio, said, 'Lozen is my right-hand. Strong as a man, braver than most, and cunning in strategy, Lozen is a shield to her people.[100]

Transgender people have a unique identity, they also have a unique history. This author joins with the sentiments of Stephen Fry's question in asking, "how can we understand the present or glimpse our future if we cannot understand our past? How can we know who we are if we don't know who we were?"

Roots in Antiquity

Despite the efforts of some scholars who attempt to categorize unknown ideas, transgender is *not* part of a convenient academic theory; it is a lived reality. By intermixing biology, psychology, history and a multiplicity of other scholarly pursuits the relevancy of trans-identity is that it creates the character of a new social story. The tale tells of a dynamic journey across time and culture and dates to an era before the Pyramids, Stonehenge, or the earliest cave paintings. (Figure 19)

[100] D. A. Navoti, "Then and Now: 7 More Amazing Two-Spirit, LGBTQ Native People You Should Know," *Indian Country Media Network* (blog), June 30, 2016, https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/culture/arts-entertainment/then-and-now-7-more-amazing-two-spirit-lgbtq-native-people-you-should-know/.



Figure 19. Transgender Burial sites?[101]

Women as Warriors

An image of true gender acceptance comes from Scandinavia. The image of Vikings often occupies center stage as personifications of the masters of the sea. Feared as ruthless pirates, adventures, explorers, and conquerors, they are the stuff of myths. In history and legend, they evoke images of fearsome warriors crossing the violent waters of the North Sea in open longboats and portray an image of Norsemen who experienced life in one of the harshest environments on earth. Descriptions of Viking life until recently were based on assumptions of a patriarchal society, with anthropological artifacts underscoring evidence of their culture. The heavy reliance on the assumptive characteristics of Viking society might lead one to view the record without the involved

[101] Courtesy:Daily.co.uk. Excavation of 5,000-years old skeleton believed to be evidence of Bronze Age transgender presence. https://www.advocate.com/news/daily-news/2011/04/07/archaeologists-find-gay-caveman

understanding of the lived existence of the participants. Nonetheless, anthropological assumptions involving Norse warriors did not count on recent evidence found in a 10th-century Viking grave. An article reported in *The Local,* a Swedish newspaper, as well as in *TIME Magazine* indicate that the skeleton of a Viking warrior unearthed in the 1880s was like a figure from Richard Wagner's *Ride of the Valkyries*. (Figure 20)

The discovery was the grave site of an elite warrior buried with a sword, an ax, a spear, arrows, a knife, two shields, and a pair of warhorses, a Viking, a warrior woman. (Figure 21) A new study published in the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* indicates that she is the first high-status female Viking warrior to be identified.[102] *Science* magazine writer Michael Price, reporting on September 8, 2017, says:

> Excavators first uncovered the battle-ready body among several thousand Viking graves near the Swedish town of Birka, but for 130 years, most investigators assumed it was a man. The place of internment was known only by the identifier, Bj 581. Over the years other female Viking soldiers have been discovered, but none had the trappings of high rank found in the Birka burial. The grave stands out as exceptionally well-furnished and complete. Bj 581's prominent placement on an elevated terrace between the town and a hillfort and in direct view of Birka's garrison indicates the stature of the woman warrior. Not just weapons and armor, but also a full set of gaming pieces means knowledge of tactics and strategy and stresses the buried individual's role as a high-ranking officer. In recent years, reanalysis of skeletal characteristics had hinted that the corpse might be female. Now, the warrior's DNA proves her sex, suggesting a surprising degree of gender balance in the Vikings' violent social order.[103]

The *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* tells us that stories from the early middle ages contain tales about fierce female Vikings fighting alongside men.

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[102] "First Genetic Proof That Women Were Viking Warriors," accessed December 10, 2017, https://phys.org/news/2017-09-genetic-proof-women-viking-warriors.html.

[103] "DNA Proves Fearsome Viking Warrior Was a Woman | Science | AAAS," accessed September 15, 2017, http://www.sciencemag.org/news/2017/09/dna-proves-fearsome-viking-warrior-was-woman.



Figure 20. Valkyrie's Death, 1880.[104]

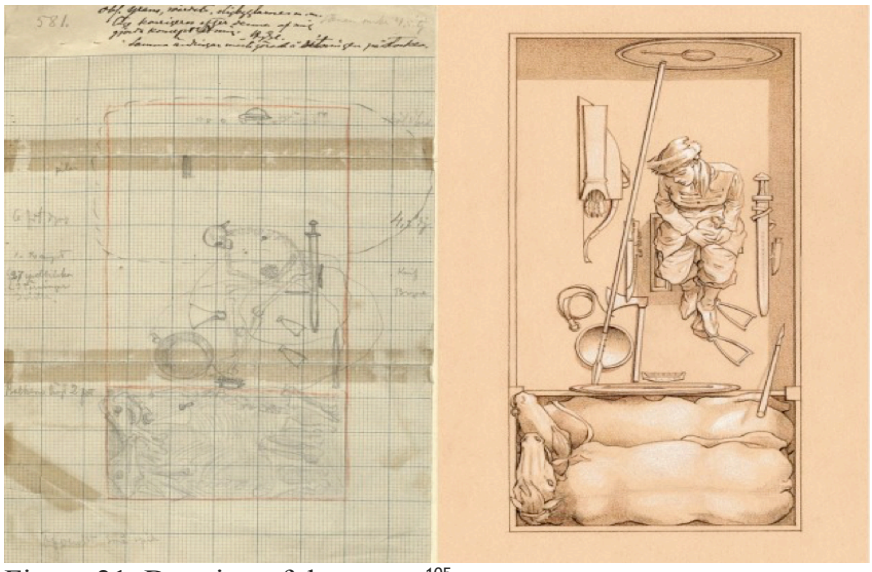


Figure 21. Drawing of the grave.[105]

The narrative of grave site Bj 581 tells the facts of a significant anthropological find. However, as important as this event may be in adding to records chronicling the past events of Viking culture it does not qualify as a story. Because the narrative of Bj 581

[104] Courtesy: Photo © O. Vaering / Brideman Images.

[105] Courtesy: Illustration: Þórhallur Þráinsson.

does not enter into the habitat of the imagination or the domain of experience it qualifies only an academic report.

Together, imagination and experience deepen cognition while building empathy that makes meaning of events that extend well beyond anthropological discoveries. Instead of recounted facts, stories convey personhood, the mechanisms of survival, and the methods of spiritual alignment. All three of these qualities can be seen in the Inuit story of White Whale Woman. The story is one of a transformed shaman. According to the tale, in order to become a shaman a person was either dedicated by his parents as a boy or called to location by the *ke'let* spirits as a young man. These boys were highly prized and their aptitude was noted early in life so that their gender transformation could progress easily with their training. White Whale Woman was an *angakok* who transformed herself into a woman/man to marry a woman of the Fly Agaric mushroom clan. This traditional Inuit story reminds us that earlier Inuit *angakok* were associated with shape shifting and use of the plant enthogen known as amanita muscaria.[106]

Indigenous Symbols: Berdache and the 'Soft Man'

A further example that calls attention to the historical roots of the transgender story can be seen in the tale of the Siberian Chukchi 'soft man.' The story of the 'soft man' is inscribed as historical narrative. However, while it addresses an important sector of past indigenous life, it also calls attention to the style of story. That is to say, the way a story is told may be as important as the actual tale. Thus, I propose that utilizing the

[106] Christina Pratt, *An Encyclopedia of Shamanism, Volume One: A-M* (The Rosen Publishing Group, 2007).

process of metho-theory must include awarenesses that preserve meaning and give depth to the actors.

> The Siberian Chuckchi 'soft man' (yirka-laúl), or 'transformed' shaman, known primarily from the reports of Vladimir Bogaraz, has been frequently cited as a parallel to the North American berdache. (Bogoraz also mentions women called qa´c ikicheca, 'similar to a man'.) According to Bogoraz, 'transformation — takes place by the command of the ke´let [spirits], usually at the critical age of early youth.' He goes on to describe various degrees of the transformation of which only the third and final stage is that of the soft. In language reminiscent of that used by natives and anthropologists to describe berdaches, Bogoraz reports that the young man who is undergoing it leaves off all pursuits and manners of his sex, and takes up those of a woman. He throws away the rifle and the lance, the lasso of the reindeer herdsman, and the harpoon of whale hunter, and takes to the needle and the skin scraper. He learns the use of these quickly because the spirits are helping him all the time. Like North American berdaches, 'soft men' did not cross genders from man to woman, literally or figuratively. They retained their male names, and the use of the label 'soft man' precluded their complete assimilation into the category of woman.[107]

Oral histories and Trickster tales from the indigenous people of North American are replete with stories of individuals who, by colonial standards, did not conform to traditional gender roles. The understanding of combinative gender is evident in some 19th-century ledger art as well as in the duties and expectations in tribes that range from Assiniboin to Zuni.[108] (Figure 22)

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[107] Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* (New York, N.Y.: St. Martin's Griffin, 2000), 203.

[108] Roscoe. 128.



Figure 22. Cheyenne hetaneman, or female two-spirit.[109] [110]

The Story of We'Wha

One of the many tales that relate to Berdache (transgender) presences is the story of the Zuni man-woman 'We'Waa.' Her life is well recorded by author Will Roscoe's book, *The Zuni Man-Woman,* and offers insight into the ways experience, history, and memory intersect to form the story. Additionally, Roscoe's narrative demonstrates that the methodology of the story allows an honoring of the past while moving forward, diversity within unity, and the usefulness of 'story' in relaying culture without disempowering the participants[111]

> We'Wha was born male in 1849 CE to the Zuni tribe [of New Mexico]. As the child grew, it became clear that he was more feminine than

[109] Courtesy: National Anthropological Archives. c 1889.

[110] "Two-Spirit Slideshow-6," accessed March 17, 2017, http://www.willsworld.org/twospiritslide/slide-06.html.

[111] "University of Manitoba - Arthur V Mauro Centre for Peace and Justice - Dr. Jessica Senehi," accessed December 10, 2017, http://umanitoba.ca/colleges/st_pauls/mauro_centre/about/Dr%20Jessica%20Senehi.html.

> masculine. From that point on, We'Wha was raised by women and taught the various skills of both men and women. He grew up to become a famous weaver and spiritual leader. Indigenous embodiments of male and female identity, 'two-spirits,' often held privileged and influential positions in native culture. During her life We'wha became an accomplished potter and weaver, and a recognized expert in Zuni religion. That such an individual could become a representative for their tribe underscores the degree to which individual differences in gender and sexuality were accepted. In many tribes, the ability to combine male and female skills is not a liability but a talent.[112]

We'Wha's story is part of the history of the American southwest. It is also a tale that could be remembered in a different way. By the early 1900s the truth of We' Wha's femininity became highly suspect. Roscoe tells us that:

> In the final flip to its campaign of morals, the Indian Rights Association, IRA, published the story of the Zuni berdache We'Wha as provided by a woman by the name of Clara True. In its [sic] February newsletter they report:
> The gullibility and unreliability of some scientists … is illustrated in the amusing incident of 'We' Wha,' the Zuni Indian who passed, during several years spent in the service of some eminent representatives of the Bureau of American Ethnology, for a wonderfully intelligent Zuni woman. 'We Wha' the is probably the best joke the American Indian ever played on men and women of trained minds. We'Wha' proved to be a man, and the father of four children.[113]

It is uncertain weather True's version of the We' Wha story is correct. However, the fact that the Zuni enjoyed a very close relationship with the U.S. government is a matter of record. The weaver and potter We' Wha saw himself as a representative of his tribe during a time that is earmarked by one of the largest land grabs in American history. Thus, it may be possible that the Zuni man-woman considered that the best possible tactic at his disposal for helping his tribe maintain their landholdings was to fulfill the

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[112] Will Roscoe, *The Zuni Man-Woman*, 1st ed (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 50.

[113] Ibid., 91.

expectations of mainstream Washington society.

This snippet of history demonstrates that the same narrative, whether it is from the frontier of 19th-century America or is a product of contemporary cyberspace, can have different endings. Therefore, one must consider that knowledge about history is A) an essential part of understanding contemporary life and B) can underscore various interpretations of history.

CHAPTER FIVE: BEFORE THERE WAS CHRISTINE

Soldiers, Artists, and Ladies

A well-documented story and source for a 2013 book concern the circumstances and legal precedent set by a court decision on April 29th, 1870 concerning the case of Boulton and Park.[114] Historian, author, and member of the women's studies faculty at Clemson University, Gypsey Teague, writes of the case:

> While fashionably dressed as young women, bank clerk Ernest Boulton, 22, and law student Frederick William Park were arrested as they left the Strand Theater. The charge was 'conspiracy to commit a felony.' When arrested, they were in the company of two gentlemen. One valiant escort fled into the crowd. The other was Lord Arthur Pelham Clinton, MP. The felony was buggery, a catchall for homosexual acts. The principal evidence was cross-dressing in public and affectionate letters to Boulton and Park from other men. Boulton and Park were held overnight in jail. The police assured the case's notoriety by not allowing them to change into men's clothing before the hearing. The next day Boulton and Park, still dressed as Stella and Fannie, their names when en femme, appeared in court. The Times relished on their drag:[115]

British author and journalist Roger Baker provides additional color to the Bolton and Park case in his 1968 book, *Drag: A History of Female Impersonation in the Performing Arts.* Baker says of the Bolton and Park trial:

> When placed in the dock, Bolton wore a cherry-colored silk evening dress trimmed with white lace; his arms were bare, and he had on bracelets. He wore a wig and a plaited chignon. Parks' costume consisted of a dark green satin dress, low necked, trimmed with black lace, of which material he also had a shawl around his shoulders. His hair was flaxen and in curls. He had on a pair of white kid gloves.[116]

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[114] Peter Ackroyd, *Dressing Up: Transvestism and Drag: The History of an Obsession*, 1st edition (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1979), 83.

[115] Gypsey Teague, ed., *The New Goddess: Transgender Women in the Twenty-First Century* (Waterbury, CT: Fine Tooth Press L.L.C., 2006), 6.

[116] Roger Baker, *Drag: History of Female Impersonation on the Stage* (London: Triton Publishing Co Ltd,

The case became notorious instantly. Boulton's mother was called to court to testify on behalf of her son and said that he had dressed up like a girl since the age of six. Also, that his favorite role was that of a parlor maid, in which he deceived his relations.[117] (Figures 23-25)

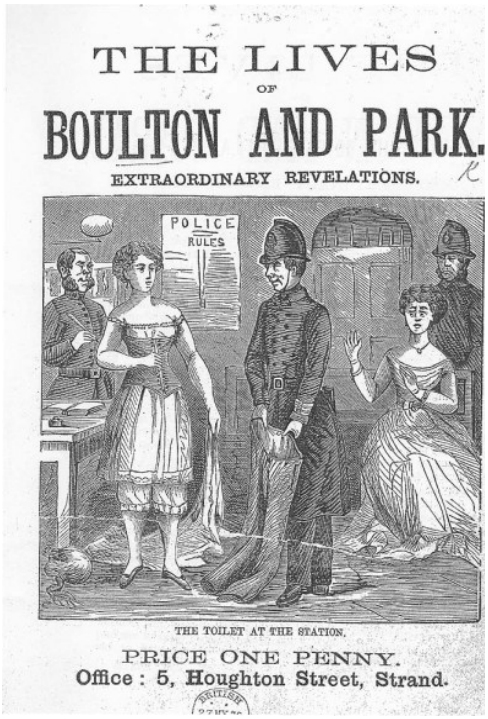


Figure 23. Bathrooms, an issue then and now.[118]



Figure 24. Boulton and Park as Fanny and Stella, 1868.[119]

1968), 123.

[117] Ackroyd, *Dressing U*p, *Transvestism and Drag: The History of an Obsession,* 84.

[118] Photo courtesy http://exeteramagazine.com/curious-cross-dressers-stella-boulton-and-fanny-park/.

[119] Photo courtesy https://bust.com/living/17043-drag-balls-19th-century.html.

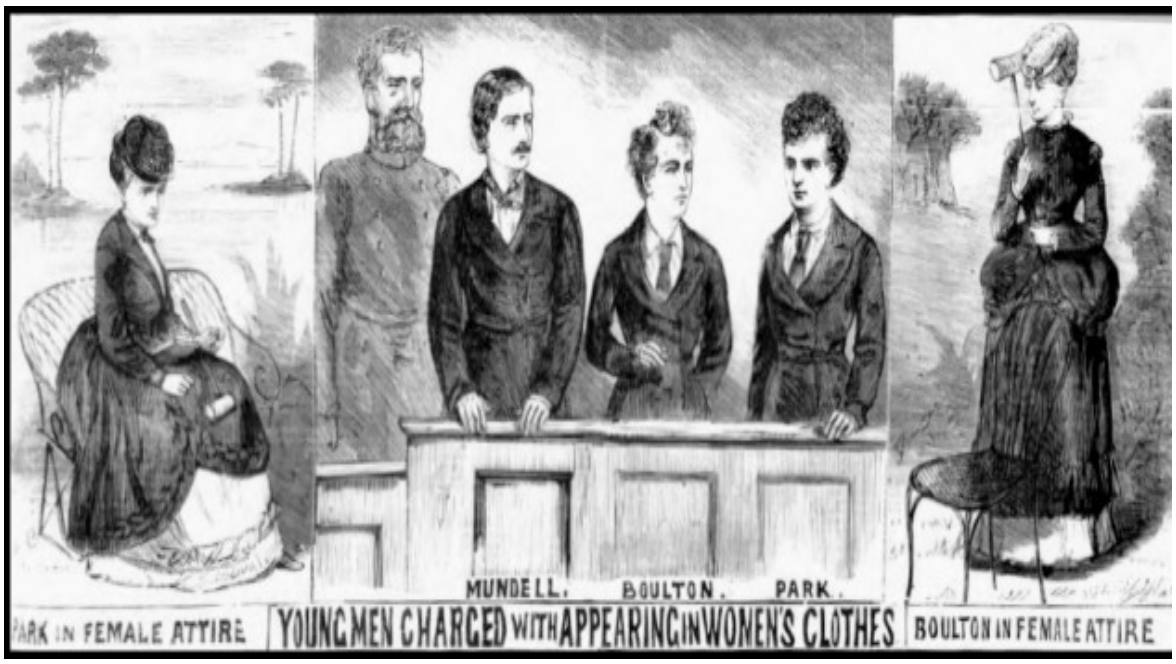


Figure 25. Boulton and Park feature, *Illustrated Police News*, May 1870.[120]

Having heard all of the evidence, the court concluded that Boulton and Park's public cross-dressing was not frivolous debauchery, but an integral part of their professional preparation. Tiegue tells us that the court's decision agrees with the advice of kabuki master, Yoshizawa Auame, (1672-1729), the most famous *onnagata*, or female impersonator, of his generation. Auame's instruction to his students was:

> You cannot be a good *onnagata* unless you are like a woman in daily life. The more you become conscious on the stage of playing a woman's part, the more unsuccessful you will be. You must be exact in your daily life.[121]

[120] Photo courtesy https://bust.com/living/17043-drag-balls-19th-century.html.

[121] Baker, *Drag*. 154.

Remembering Lily

Individuals who identified as outside of their birth-assigned sex had, before the middle of the 20th century, limited medical means to alter their physical characteristics. The most common modus operandi for male-born individuals to remove themselves, or be removed, from the traditional social role associated with their sex took place through the process of castration. The 'Castrati,' opera singers who were prevalent during the Baroque period, used sterilization as a means to keep their voices at a higher pitch. One estimate suggests that 70% of singers during this period were emasculated males.[122] Additionally, those who strayed from the socially endorsed symmetry of bimodal sex stretched the ethical boundaries of pre-20th-century medicine.

The lack of alternatives that could facilitate sexual transformation is dramatically illustrated in a 2015 movie starring Eddie Redmayne as *The Danish Girl*. Released as part of the 72nd Venice International Film Festival, the film depicts the life of Danish artist Einer Wegener before and after one of the first documented attempts at sex conversion surgery. The film's focus is on the physical transformation of Wegener into the persona of Lili Elbe. While the film has been criticized for its artistic liberties, its topic is significant. It tells a story that marks the beginning of a transitional period in contemporary transgender emergence. Although the surgical procedures used by Dr. Kurt Warnekros during his attempt to align the physicality of Einer Wegener with the ontologic conception of Lili Elbe ultimately resulted in her death, this experimental and controversial surgery also opened the door on one of the most enduring questions of

[122] "Castrati: An Unknown Musical Genre | History of Male Castration," accessed August 27, 2017, https://wgs340.wordpress.com/2012/12/03/castrati-an-unknown-musical-genre/.

gender transformation. The inquiry examines the relationships that exist between the physical body and the often contradictory psychological understandings of self on the spectrum of gender identity.

While her gender transition ended in tragedy, her 1931 demise opened a door for transgender research. Medical advances in gender transition throughout the remainder of the 20th century are recognizable outcomes of this first early attempt at surgical intervention.[123] (Figure 26) (Figure 27)



Figure 26. Einer Wegener before transitioning to Lili Elbe. c. 1929.[124]



Figure 27. Lili Elbe, first documented sex reassignment. c.1931.[125]

Despite mixed reviews, it is noteworthy that this two-hour film showcasing a transgender heroine was successful in its commercial release. Mainstream multiplexes

[123] "Lili Elbe," accessed May 23, 2017, https://www.revolvy.com/main/index.php?s=Lili%20Elbe.

[124] Courtesy: N. Hoyer, ed., *Man into Woman. An Authentic Record of a Change of Sex*. Photograph: Einar Wegener (Andreas Sparre), 1929, opp. p. 80.

[125] Courtesy: www.eonline.com.

reported that in December 2015, the film had grossed $64.2 million worldwide — significantly surpassinging the film's $15 million budget.[126]

Transgender Soldiers: A Wartime Army

The reluctant acknowledgment of transgender presences reached new levels during WW II. However, long before the United States became involved on the world stage of international conflict, cross-dressing 'in uniform' provided a means of expressing an internalized identity. A notable example is Hanna Snell, a British woman who disguised herself as a man and became a soldier.[127] (Figure 28) Also, in the more recent history of the nineteenth-century one notes the presence of Albert D. J. Cashier (Jennie Irene Hodgers), and Francis Clayton, aka Jack Williams, who were among an estimated 400 women who disguised themselves as soldiers during the American Civil War.[128] (Figure 29.)

It is important to remember that while Cashier and Clayton passed as men during pre-20th-century military encounters the facts of their sexual assignment were well hidden. Additionally, one does well to recall that a significant part of the transgender story occurred at a time when the cultural and scientific thought of the entire world was plunged into the chaos of WWII.

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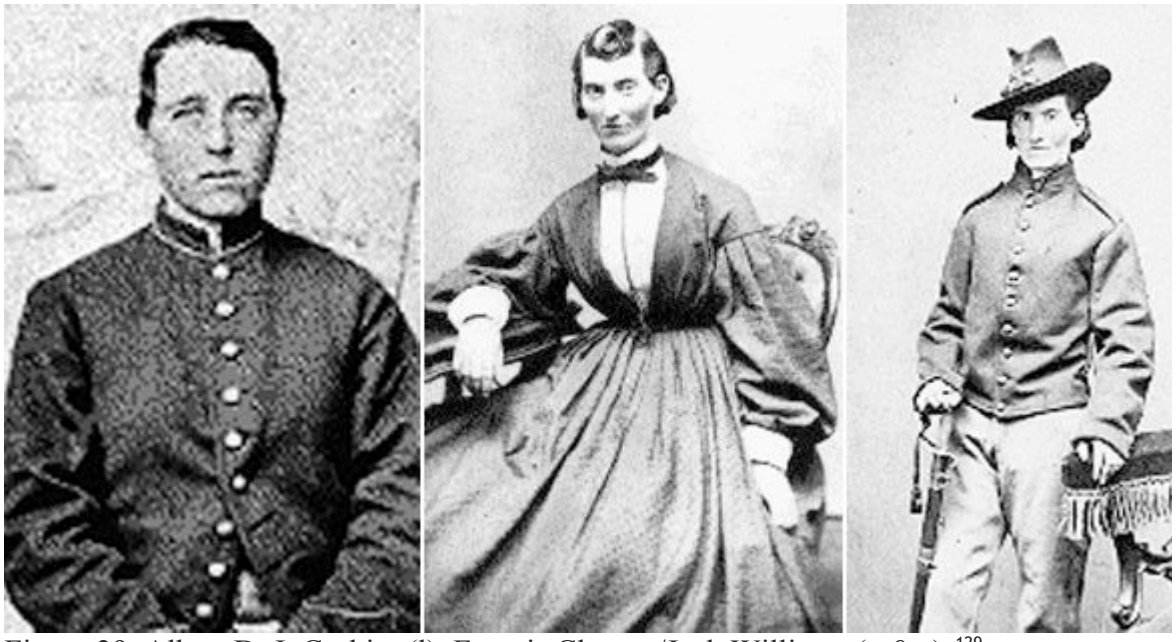
[126] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/*The_Danish_Girl*_(film).

[127] Stephens, Matthew. *Hannah Snell: The Secret Life of a Female Marine*, 1723-1792 (London: Ship Street Press, 2014), 259.

[128] Eggleston, Larry G. Women in the Civil War: Extraordinary Stories of Soldiers, Spies, Nurses, Doctors, Crusaders, and Others (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2009), 16.



Figure 28. Hanne Snell


Figure 29. Albert D. J. Cashier (l), Francis Clayton/Jack Williams (c & r). [129]

[129] Courtesy: pinterest.com *Women Dressed as Men Civil War Soldiers,*
Frances Clayton (center and right), who served in the Missouri artillery, disguised as a man.

Only eight years had passed since the death of Elbe when Hitler invaded Poland in 1939. Three years later the American military mobilized and entered the European theater. The public persona of the United States military during the Second World War was one that reflected strength, nobility, *and* hetero-normativity. As such, any untoward perception of activity detracting from the notion of military virtue and masculinity had to be met, at least on the public stage, with severe consequences.

> Regulations and anti-sodomy laws had limited gay service since the Revolutionary War, leading to dishonorable discharge, courts-martial, or imprisonment for men found having sex with other men. The massive manpower needs during World War II and the growing influence of psychiatry in America led the military to classify some homosexual troops as psychologically unfit for service. Still, among the sixteen million Americans who served in the Armed Forces during World War II were hundreds of thousands of gay and lesbian military personnel who proudly served.[130]

Extramarital sexual behavior, drunkenness, profanity, prostitution, lesbianism, and homosexuality all were addressed and condemned as behavior unbecoming armed forces military personnel and worthy of criminal prosecution or censure. Within military structures, however, a more liberal attitude toward male concupiscent behavior prevailed. The same tolerance of sexual activity could not be said of homosexual behavior. Military conscription, the draft, placed a vast preponderance of American youth into segregated military training facilities and gave them an entirely new template for daily activity. The new model was not designed to accommodate sexual contact nor facilitate alternative opportunities for eroticism. It is not surprising, therefore, that at the end of the war in May of 1945 there was a post-war boom of homosexuality that was far removed from the

[130] "WWII," accessed September 15, 2017, http://glbthistory.org/OutranksWeb/WorldWarII/World%20War%20II.htm.

pre-war expectations of military heteronormativity. Much to the chagrin of the military establishment, the entry of the United States into the Second World War acted as a national coming out process for gay men and women, as well as other uniformed personnel who self-identified outside the existing spectrum of social-sexual normality. In his book, *Out of the Past,* historian Neil Miller writes, "In the aftermath of the entry of the United States into World War II in December 1941, the weak sense of American gay and lesbian identity was significantly strengthened."[131] (Figure 30)

> Away from the small town authorities and conservative mores, young gay men found new identities and new communities. In the years after the war, gay and lesbian migrants joined what was already a thriving gay community in the City by the Bay.[132]

Military populations expanded exponentially during the early years of the war. Men and women who had been thrust into segregated military environments and away from the conservative social standards of small-town America and the accompanying expectations of heterosexuality, upon their return from the war created places of congregation in the port cities of America. On leave, the bars and parks of large metropolitan communities formed convenient meeting places for homosexual military personnel. Historian Neil Miller writes, "*Meet me at the Astor* became a prototype of wartime gay meeting places; one side of the bar was straight, and the other side was gay."[133]

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[131] Neil Miller, *Out of the Past: Gay and Lesbian History from 1869 to the Present*, 1st Vintage Books ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 210.

[132] "WWII." Courtesy: GLBT Historical Society collections.

[133] Miller, *Out of the Past*, 213.


HOMOS INVADE S.F.

The Truth

I Was A Racket Girl

A NEW SERIES OF ARTICLES PORTRAYING THE LIFE OF A GIRL WHO LIVED BY HER WITS . . . .

Perversion Accompanies Strange Characters As Citizens Fear Rights Loss

Figure 30. Homos invade San Francisco. [134]

Within the armed services, intimate same-sex erotic friendships developed at a rate that caused military psychiatrists to refer to the situation as "disruption in the natural order." Therefore, such activity was likely to provoke unnatural responses in both male and female soldiers.'[135] Although the military's response to homoeroticism during the early war years was to label it as an offense, an activity seen as sodomistic and punishable by imprisonment, there was also an unintended consequence that

[134] "WWII." Courtesy: GLBT Historical Society collections.
Not everyone in San Francisco welcomed the gay community that emerged during and after the war, but gays and lesbians have remained part of the fabric of San Francisco life.

[135] Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War II*, two editions (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 45.

accompanied the events of homosexual behavior. Miller writes that the action of singling out personnel who were attracted to members of the same sex gave to them, at least in the eyes of the military, a specific identity. In so doing, it created two distinct narratives. First, it recognized that there existed the possibility of an expanded sexual identity within the ranks. The second discussion was far more impactful. It laid the groundwork for the debates that were to occur within the military and political establishments in the latter part of the twentieth and early twenty-first century. The legacy of the homosexual soldier, an identity that became well-defined during the Second World War, produced institutional policies such as the 1993 Department of Defense Directive 1304.26 and the policy of "don't ask, don't tell," DADT. However, while the DOD directive allowed closeted homosexuality, it barred open expressions of non-heteronormative activity. The wording of the DADT policy specified that superiors should not initiate an investigation of any service members orientation without witnessing disallowed behaviors, could be used to initiate an investigation. Unauthorized investigations and harassment of suspected servicemen and women led to an expansion of the policy to "Don't ask, don't tell, don't pursue, don't harass." Thus, excluding the sexual/gendered other became a sanctioned U.S. government policy until its repeal in 2011.

It is curiously serendipitous timing that World War II also happened to occur at a time when there was a dramatic rise of interest within the psychiatric medical community concerning the prevalence and treatment of homosexuality. Psychiatrist William Menninger characterized the entire wartime arm as, "[in a] technical, psychiatric sense a

fundamentally homosexual society."[136] His observation might lead one to question whether he is referring to the unified alterity of the entire military, or solely the homosexual 'other' contained within the establishment.

With the close of the war in 1945 and the return of United States troops, the iconic image of the grizzled American fighting man, standing against all the odds, began to wane. Tired of war, America hungered for new heroes, not necessarily clad in army green, and Hollywood gave it to them. John Wayne, Spencer Tracy, Humphrey Bogart, and Gary Cooper emerged as two-fisted, hard-drinking, and hard-fighting American icons. They were bigger-than-life heroes with bigger-than-life causes. They personified virtues of the idealized masculine form and were complemented by a corresponding Tinsel Town construction of the idealized feminine woman. (Figures 31-32) It is interesting to note that several of these Hollywood icons were not sexually normative in their personal lives, despite their consistent portrayals of sexually normative characters on-screen. To 'come out' in the 1930s and 1940s would have cost them their careers as quickly as coming out ethnically would have cost Ramon Antonio Gerard Estevez his in the 1950s, if he had not adopted the stage name of Martin Sheen. It seems that Hollywood has a tradition of serving as a canary in a coal mine by reflecting social mores back to the American people, and occasionally stretching film to fit reality.

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[136] Bérubé, Allan. *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War II* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 45.



Figure 31. Katharine Hepburn.[137]



Figure 32. Jean Arthur.[138]

Unproductive Exclusion

For four years America had mobilized, enlisted, and fought in the national theater of global conflict. While many exclusionary measures were put in place to eliminate the possibility of sodomy within the ranks of the military they were ineffective.

> Only about 5000 of the eighteen million men called before draft boards, and medical inspectors during World War II were screened out initially because of homosexuality. Soldiers like Norm Sansome, (Figure 47), whose sexuality was discovered after joining the service received dishonorable blue discharges. With sexuality as a reason for separation, such releases made it difficult to find work or return home to small towns after the war.[139]

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[137] Courtesy: *Terri's Film Noir Home Page.* In the end, Katharine Hepburn's liberated heroines give up independence for love. "No Place for a Woman: World War II, the Traditional Family, and Classical Hollywood Cinema," accessed September 15, 2017, http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/MRC/noir/np02wwii.html.

[138] Courtesy: *Terri's Film Noir Home Page*. Jean Arthur's wisecracking career women are softened and cured of their cynicism by marriage to the hero."No Place for a Woman: World War II, the Traditional Family, and Classical Hollywood Cinema."

[139] "WWII."

American and British transgender World War II soldiers experienced intense pressure to remain closeted. A poignant example of these is Patricia Davies, a British WWII military photographer who stayed closeted until she turned ninety—she had continued covert since the age of three regarding her real identity because of the likelihood of being subjected to ostracism and electric shock treatment if she had been exposed. Current social norms and services in Great Britain have allowed her to pursue her transition with community support. Now ninety years old, she has not ruled out surgery as part of her transformation.[140] (Figure 33-34)

Also adding to the list of transgender soldiers is American transgender World War II Navy pilot combat veteran, Robina Asti, transitioned in 1976 at age 55 following her military service, marriage with children, and a career as the vice president of a major mutual fund. When Asti, then Robert Astey, flew combat planes, American women were not permitted to fly in combat, only to ferry combat planes to male pilots. At 95, Asti still actively works as a flight instructor. Divorced during her transition, she remarried four years later, to artist Norwood Patton, 65. (Figure 35-36)

[140] http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-4359556/World-War-II-veteran-comes-transgender-90.html



Figure 33. Patricia as Peter Davies.[141]



Figure 34. Patricia Davies at ninety.[142]



Figure 35. Robina Asti, victorious.[143]



Figure 36. Robina Asti and 'love of her life,' Norwood Patton.[144]

[141] http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-4359556/World-War-II-veteran-comes-transgender-90.html, photo courtesy Mikey Jones, *Mercury Press*.

[142] Photo courtesy Mikey Jones, *Mercury Press*. March 29, 2017.

[143] Photo courtesy Parker Marie Molloy, February 24, 2012.

[144] Photo courtesy Robina Asti, http://www.refinery29.com/2016/05/109265/transgender-ww2-veteran-robina-asti-interview. 2016.

Asti and Patton were happily married for 32 years, until his death at age 96. When Asti filed for standard Social Security widow's benefits, she encountered legal challenges from the U.S. Social Security Administration regarding her status as a widow. After a two-year legal battle, the Social Security Administration finally initiated widow benefits for her in 2012, thus creating a precedent that has helped numerous other transgender spouses in similar predicaments.

> Although Asti had legal documentation—including a passport and driver's license—that listed her as female, the SSA initially denied her claim for spousal survivor benefits, asserting that Asti was 'legally male' at the time of her marriage, rendering the widow ineligible to receive benefits usually granted to Americans when a spouse dies.
> Lambda Legal took on Asti's case, making the argument that Asti was legally female at the time of her marriage, as was supported by various pieces of government identification. Therefore, Lambda argued, she was owed the same benefits she would have received had she been a cisgender (non-trans) woman married to a cisgender man.[145]

Post War Reality

As the Second World War ended, America began to turn its attention away from the production and maintenance of the war machine and redirect its social gaze inward. The expectations of post-war idealism were not inclusive of the new social minority that had been facilitated because of the close-quartered isolation of American troops. Eroticisms that may have remained closeted in a pre-war society began to surface as soldiers returned home. (Figure 37)

[145] https://www.advocate.com/politics/transgender/2014/02/24/92-year-old-trans-widow-wins-social-security-battle; http://people.com/celebrity/robina-asti-wins-an-important-legal-battle-for-transgender-couples/; http://www.refinery29.com/2016/05/109265/transgender-ww2-veteran-robina-asti-interview.



Figure 37. Norm Sansome, one of many gay service personnel.[146]

The problem concerning how to deal with individual gender identity and innate human sexuality in military communities has proven to be an ongoing conundrum in the armed services. The notorious nature of highly segregated troop environments tends to provide fertile ground for non-heterosexual behavior. Nowhere else is this more evident than during World War II. Conspicuous presentations of transvestism and cross-sexual packaging of the American fighting man ran contrary to the embodied portrayal of the ideal soldier. One need only observe the fact that not all draftees came from transphobic, cisgendered backgrounds. New York's theater world and Hollywood's superabundance of thespian hopefuls supplied an often-overlooked portion of the U.S. military. In his book *Coming Out Under Fire,* Allan Bérubé writes:

> From Broadway to Guadalcanal, on the backs of trucks, makeshift platforms, and elegant theater stages, American G.I.s did put on all male

[146] Courtesy: GLBT Historical Society collections.

> shows for each other that almost always featured female impersonation routines.[147]

Although the official policy of the military was the denial of enlistment on the grounds of 'sexual deviation' a proportionate coexistent expansion in the number of homosexual and gender variant individuals occurred as troop numbers increased. Dealing with the tensions and relationships of trainee troops demanded that military officials during the Second World War develop not only an acute awareness of the 'problem' but also a series of different approaches in the management of their personnel. Spinning the reality of soldier-performers with cross-gender presentational desire, the military decided to use female impersonation, presented in the manner of drag shows, to reaffirm the masculinity of the military audiences. Drag shows became a form of relaxation of rigidly imposed gender roles that attested to the heterosexuality of the American G.I.[148] Bérubé writes that in 1942 the notion of cross-gender presentation of soldiers took on an added dimension.

> The impulse to put on shows and perform in dresses generally came from the men themselves. So prolific was the desire of cross-gender presentation during the Second World War that military officials, pressured by GIs, their morale personnel, and the leaders in the private theater world to sponsor an organized soldier show campaign, found themselves not only tolerating makeshift drag but officially promoting female impersonation as well."[149]

Blueprint Specials, as they became known, were soldier show handbooks published and distributed by Army Special Services Headquarters that contained soldiers' show scripts, music, and lyrics, stage directions, and the designs for sets and costumes,

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[147] Ibid., 49.

[148] Ibid., 68

[149] Ibid., Bérubé 68

including dress patterns for drag routines.[150] One of the more famous stage productions that emerged as a result of all male, female impersonation during World War II was *This Is The Army*.[151] The original stage show later became a Warner Brothers film starring Ronald Reagan and presented an interesting juxtaposition to the 40th American president's homophobic views.[152]

This form of relaxation created a space for the male-bodied, but womanish serviceman. It also implied stigmatization that the effeminate drag performer was homosexual and therefore established a non-masculine presence in a culture of masculine bravado, thus reinforcing a notion of alterity. So much was this that case that it prompted Captain Forest M. Harrison from the Navy Surgeon General's Office to write, in August of 1942, in a personal correspondence to Winfred Overholser,

> As you know, the problem of the homosexual in the Naval Service and what to do with him is ever before us…. It seems likely," Harrison predicted, "that under these circumstances homosexuality may become more widespread in the service as the war progresses.[153]

[150] Ibid., Bérubé 69.

[151] Ibid.

[152] Reagan during his 1980 campaign said that society could not "condone" the "alternative" gay "lifestyle" [He] could have chosen to end the homophobic rhetoric that flowed from his administration and most ardent supporters. Recalling Ronald Reagan's LGBT Legacy Ahead Of The GOP Presidential Debate, Igor Volsky. 2007.

[153] Letter, F.M. Harrison, BuMed, to Winfred Overholser, NRC, August 5, 1942, P 13-7, General Correspondence, RG 52.

CHAPTER SIX: AMERICA MEETS THE OTHER

The Fifties: Culture Conflict

The extreme focus on gender and gender classification of individuals in post-World War II America, driven in large part by the gender-driven marketing of post-war manufactured material goods, created a new and troubling focus on what had been a much more private and personal topic. The dazzling appearance of charismatic Christine Jorgensen in 1952, juxtaposed with the rise and fall of Senator Joseph McCarthy, aka *Tail Gunner Joe,* during the Army McCarthy hearings, and the growth of the FBI's Sex Deviates Program, mark the era as a pivotal turning point in history. The role that these events played set the stage for propagating the social upheaval and challenges to State hegemonic authority that took place a decade later.

A critical turning point in the transgender story occurred as mid-20th-century mainstream conservatives began to witness a shift toward the 'visible' social activism and militancy of the 1960's. The twenty-year period bookended by the rise of McCarthyism in the early 1950s and the tragic shootings that took place at Kent State University, aka, the Kent State Massacre in 1970 define a threshold. By the time the youth movement wound down during the early 1970s, it was evident that a new social structure had emerged. The idea of 'the other' was no longer an obscure part of the hysteria surrounding an unseen, but imminent, communist threat to America. Instead, the location of new forms of alterity shifted. (Figures 38-39)

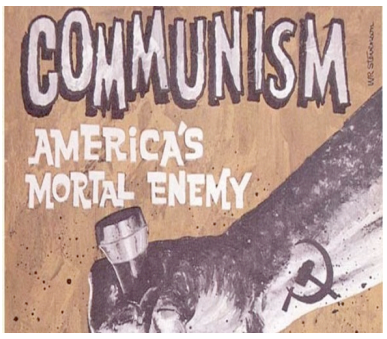


Figure 38. Anti-Communist warning.[154]



Figure 39. Sex predator film warning; 1961.[155]



Figure 40. Big Brother Surveillance.[156]

Similar to the manifestation of the mid-20th-century social and political reaction to the perceived Communist threat, the turn of the new millennia has been accompanied by a blanket demonization and distrust of alterity. Recently, the asserted superiority of biologically-based cisgender identity, and intrinsic notions of American hierarchical elitist privilege based on a shifting terrain of prescriptive factors such as race, gender, genealogy, and bank balance, have developed into social strictures of dominance, and the *natural right* of hegemonic ascendancy to the fabled 1%.

The 20th-century story of transgender history set in motion everything that comes after and provides poignant testimony concerning the changing face of America. The new characteristics of alterity seem to be well understood within Norman Rockwell's iconic images of small-town barber shops, pre-teen puppy love, and snow-covered lanes, all set amidst a backdrop of bucolic tranquility. If one examines the painter's earlier works, such as the Willie Gillis series, in comparison to his later efforts, works similar to *The*

[154] Courtesy: redscarethesequel.com.

[155] Courtesy: cinemagicon.com.

[156] Courtesy: opednews.com.

Problem We All Live With his insight is evident. (Figures 41-43) The six-year-old Ruby Bridges on her way to an all-White elementary school reflects a historical composite of the rescripted social contract.



Figure 41. Willie Gillis Food Package. [157]



Figure 42. *Rosie the Riveter* depicts 1940 feminism.[158]



Figure 43.*The Problem We All Live With*. (1964) New Orleans desegregation.[159]

By the beginning of the 1970s, on paper at least, the Civil Rights Movement had been a successful exercise in American democracy. 100 years after the Emancipation Proclamation people of color had achieved an equal foothold on the disputed landscape of equality. Practically, however, alterity was alive and well and was continually expressed in everything from Taco Bell television commercials to bus stop waiting rooms. (Figures 44-45)

[157] Image courtesy of The Saturday Evening Post.

[158] Encyclopedia of American Economic History. Image courtesy of *The Saturday Evening Post.*

[159] Image courtesy of *Look Magazine*.



Figure 44. A waiting room for white only. By order police dept.[160]

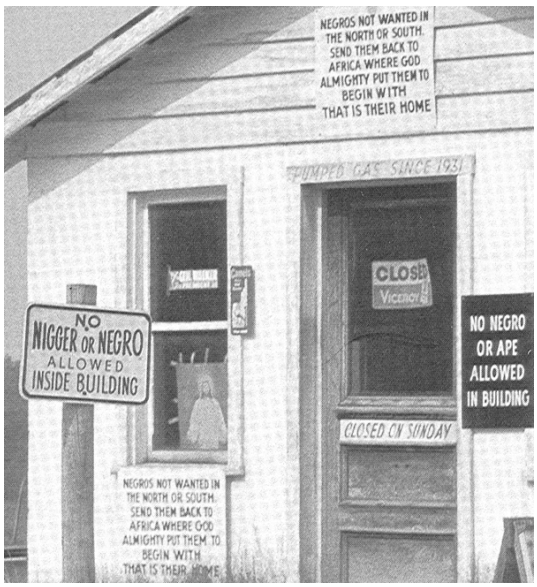


Figure 45. A country store in South Carolina: Negroes not wanted.[161]

Christine

Slightly more than three weeks before the nation celebrated Christmas Day of 1952 and a scant seven years after the end of the Second World War, a segment of the American population received an early Christmas present. For many, not associated with or even having a conception of physically changing one's sex, that Christmas 'stocking' was filled out by the shapely leg of America's most famous transsexual, Christine Jorgensen, and held surprises that are still being unwrapped in the second decade of the 21st century.

Jorgensen (Figure 46) had entered the United States Army in 1945 after twice attempting to enlist and twice being rejected for being underweight. Shortly after World

[160] Photo courtesy *BBC*. http://www.bbc.co.uk/newsbeat/article/30999175/warning-why-using-the-term-coloured-is-offensive.

[161] Photo courtesy http://www.crmvet.org/images/imgyoung.htm.

War II, amid the throngs of soldiers returning home to the United States, Jorgensen received a letter that began, "Greetings from the President of the United States."[162] The disbanding of America's wartime forces required a vast amount of clerical work and, according to Jorgensen, many men were inducted at that time for that purpose who were not the perfect physical specimens required during wartime. In her autobiography she writes:

> It was a gray morning when I joined hundreds of other draftees for my physical examination at Grand Central Palace in Manhattan. I was rushed shivering through the routine of being weighed, measured, thumped and [sic] stethoscoped, in rapid succession. My eyes, ears, nose, and throat were examined, and after answering a few quick questions, my papers were thrust back at me with the word ACCEPTED stamped across them in bold letters … if you could see lightning and hear thunder, they'd [the military draft board] take you.[59]

In 1946, fourteen months after being inducted into the military, and an undistinguished military career of filing papers at Fort Dix, New Jersey, Private First Class Jorgensen received an honorable discharge that contained the statement, *Recommended for further military training* and was returned to civilian life.[163]

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[162] This was a standard introductory greeting from the draft (selective service) board informing recipients of their requirement to report for a pre-induction physical into the U.S. Military.

[163] Ibid., 37.



Figure 46. George Jorgensen.[164]

After a series of brief interludes with college, photography school, medical and dental school, as well as a series of physical attractions with other men, Jorgensen settled on a course of action that she believed would resolve her conflicted feeling of gender and sexuality. She writes in her memoirs that the idea of a homosexual relationship held no interest to her as it clashed with her desire to be part of an accepted group that participated in regular heterosexual activity. What remained problematic for her was that she felt that her lack of masculine physical attributes precluded any normal physical relationship. Whether this psychological response was prompted by her brief contacts with the psychiatric community in the United States, encounters that she calls disappointing by their lack of resolution, by her innate desire to participate as the female

[164] Courtesy: dailymail.co.uk. George Jorgensen shocked the nation in December 1952 by returning from a trip to Denmark as a 27-year-old woman named Christine.

partner of a heterosexual role, or by her non-identification with a post-World War II stigmatization of homosexuality is unclear.

In 1949, through the association she had developed with Genevieve Angelo while still a student at Manhattan Medical and Dental Assistant School, Jorgensen became acquainted with Dr. Joseph Angelo. Several months passed in which Jorgensen became a frequent visitor at Angelo's house and an intimate and confidential friendship developed between the friends. Although Jorgensen had already decided to seek out surgical transformation alternatives before meeting Angelo, she had developed very few practical contacts that were capable of directing her. Angelo, both as a physician and as a confidant filled the void that allowed her to continue on her chosen path. Writing of one of the last conversations that she had with Dr. Angelo, Jorgensen recalls that Dr. Joe continued his efforts to try to dissuade her from the surgical option. Speaking of Angelo, she says:

> (J) Dr. Joe said, 'If you're wrong in your opinion George, [Christine before sex change], have you considered the tragedy that could result? The tragedy of attempting surgery and finding it unsuccessful, leaving you in the middle of nowhere.'
>
> (J) 'Yes I have considered that,' she replied, 'but how could any future life be worse than the past twenty-three years?'
>
> (A) 'Well, I guess you've examined it from every angle, and you're aware of the possibly grave circumstances. You're no doubt willing to risk anything to have peace of mind, but have you thought of the reaction of American medical men to your transformation?'
>
> (C) 'I'll just have to face that when and if it comes.'
>
> (A) 'There's another thing I want to warn you about. Never proceed to the point of surgery, should it even be possible, until you've made sure that you can get a new passport. Otherwise, you might find that you are

a person without a country.' [165]

Angelo's conversation with Jorgensen is particularly notable in that it displays the presence of several discernable hegemonic attitudes prevalent the era in which Jorgensen lived. The first is the physician's comment concerning whether she had thought of, "the reaction of American medical men to your transformation?" This portion of their exchange is disquieting as it illustrates the attitude of the agency that developed in the scientific and medical community following the end of WWII. [166]

The second comment that Angelo makes in his conversation with Jorgensen is equally as revealing. By telling Jorgensen to "Never proceed to the point of surgery, should it even be possible, until you've made sure that you can get a new passport," he underscores the agency of a political authority capable of suppressing transgender identity. It is worth noting that it was not until June, 2010, more than a half-century after Jorgensen's transition, that the State Department announced a new passport policy. That is, under the Obama administration it became possible to obtain travel documentation that reflected a person's current gender rather than birth sex.[167]

I see two additional subtexts contained in Angelo's remarks. First is his statement about, "the tragedy of attempting surgery and finding it unsuccessful, leaving you in the

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[165] Ibid.

[166] The dropping of the Atomic Bomb on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki heralded a new age of scientific superiority. Vying for a position of superiority, the American medical and psychiatric communities were frontrunners in establishing themselves as preeminent authorities, as well as gatekeepers, in all aspects surrounding the physical transformation of transgender people. This is exemplified in the subsequent decade by the position of the Stanford Medical Institute's refusal to allow the sexual transformation of any individual that did not fit the arbitrary category of femininity established by the Institute's physicians.[166]

[167] Under the new policy, a transgender person can obtain a passport reflecting his or her current gender by submitting a certification from a physician confirming that he or she has had appropriate clinical treatment for gender transition. http://www.tsroadmap.com/reality/passport.html#us Downloaded 02/07/13.

middle of nowhere." It is significant to reflect on a statement made more than thirty years after Angelo's comment by one of the premier theorists of transgender studies. Sandy Stone calls attention to the notion of transsexuality as a 'nowhere' position and that it exists outside of the binary. Angelo's comment implies that to exist, one must identify sexually in only one of two ways and that sex is the determining factor of gendered life.

Also, Angelo's remark stating, "Otherwise, you might find that you are a person without a country," draws a poignant parallel between Edward Everett Hale's 1863 short story in *The Atlantic Monthly,* "The Man Without a Country," and transsexual identity. In the case of Jorgensen, her risk was to end up not only without a country but, in a world steeped in the whiplash effects of Eisenhower's conservative political regime, a person without an identity.

An original premise of this dissertation is that most scholars writing about 21st-century transgender matters lag behind contemporary realities. This point is well-illustrated by a comment Jorgensen makes to Angelo. "How could any future life be worse than the past twenty-three years?" It seems to have taken sixty years for scholars to contribute sufficient input to The American Psychological Association's definitive tome, The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual, to warrant removal of the designation of "mental disorder" as a descriptor of transgender identity.[168] The implications of such long-term

[168] GID was a common diagnosis for cross-gendered individuals of Jorgensen's era and evidenced in early versions of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, versions I-IV of the DSM. It was not until the DSM V that the designation of a mental "disorder" was revised to reflect a different stance within the psychiatric community. This marks a historic milestone for people who are transgender and gender non-conforming, as their identities are no longer classified as a mental disorder. Homosexuality was similarly declassified as a mental disorder in 1973.

stagnant scholarship continue to produce voluminous amounts of toxic social residue that impacts all areas of contemporary life.[169]

Defining the Category: 'Woman'

When Christine Jorgensen stepped off of the Scandinavian Airways flight from Denmark on December 1st, 1952, it was unlikely that anyone but a scant few sociologists could have forecast the F5 tornado of social upheaval that descended the aircraft stairs with her.(Figure 47) Femaleness and femininity had always been defined by a woman's anatomical capacity to participate in sexual acts and physically reproduce children. Yale professor Joanne Meyerowitz tells us:

> From the earliest publicity in the 1930s, much of the public interest in and anxiety surrounding sex change had stemmed from its implicit connection to taboo forms of sexuality. Through the 1960s, both transvestitism and homosexuality stood well beyond the pale of mainstream proprietary, and to some observers, transsexuality seemed to compound the transgression by combining the two. No matter how they behaved, transsexuals could not entirely dispel the aura of illicit sexuality.[170]

It is unsurprising that Jorgensen's questionable female status in the collective mind of the American public generated *millions of words of press coverage* ranging from the fascinated to the skeptical.[171] As a result, a landslide of conflicting attitudes developed in both social and academic circles. On the one hand, Christine's sensuality, style, social

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[169] Mentally ill patients have traditionally received little care in most communities because of their unproductive value in the socio-economic value system. As a result of the growth of humanistic values, it is now admitted that a mentally ill person needs more care and concern for their treatment and well-being. (Excerpted in part from Lawyer in UAE) http://www.legalserviceindia.com/articles/mentai.htm. Downloaded 3/1/2015.

[170] Joanne Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004).

[171] Stryker, Susan. *Transgender History*. Berkeley: Seal Press, 2008, 25.

posture, body language, and interest in assuming all of the iconic symbolism associated with a 1950s woman left no doubt about what side of the gender divide she favored.



Figure 47. Christine Jorgensen, post-transition.[172]



Figure 48. Christine Jorgenson, at home.[173]

Historian and scholar Joanne Meyerowitz posits that the arrival of Christine Jorgensen, (Figure 48), conformed entirely to the gender norms of her time, perhaps even more so than did most cis-gendered women.

On the other side of the coin was the central question that focused on whether Jorgensen was a gay cross-dressing man or, because of her anatomical reconfiguration, a woman. Questions concerning chromosomal structure, the ability to procreate, religious

[172] Courtesy: transgriot.blogspot.co.uk. Christine Jorgensen was the first to deal with trans-celebrity status. http://transgriot.blogspot.com/2012/12/christine-jorgensen-sixty-years-later.html.

[173] Photo courtesy https://2.bp.blogspot.com/-Gfrtlcg5NYI/WR7nZS5XrXI/AAAAAAACrlk/vk_o4EqxB2IAMC5ivdrX1913xsWGGP6UQCLcB/s1600/christine-jorgensen-17.jpg. Original article published on *Wired*.

interpretation of her new status, and how to socially categorize her permeated the mainstream American media. So much did she dominate the mainstream media that stories and pictures about Miss Jorgensen eclipsed other events that had occupied the center stage of important world issues. The Korean War, for example, had reached a stalemate of post-war superpower interventionism. Armistice talks had stalled as the third Korean winter set in, and there was little newsworthy activity along the 38th parallel. The geopolitical tension of the Cold War era also referred to as the War of Proxies, that had begun in 1947, had lost much of its glittery intrigue concerning who would get the biggest piece of the European pie. It was not until the legacy of political opportunists such as Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy and his hunt for Communist infiltrators — Hollywood's newly discovered lucrative spy genre that became popular in the 1960s — that the American limelight began to dim on Christine. Although she went on to write several books and a screenplay, her most enduring accomplishment was to open a discussion that has unleashed more than a half-century of academic and social debate. The ever-present topic is, *Who is male and who is female, and why do we care?*

The identity debate was the stuff of dreams for those seeking newspaper copy in the early 1950s. Two bastions of middle American media, *The Chicago Daily Tribune* and *The Los Angeles Times*, grappled briefly with the social question of female identity but, in the end, settled for the lower road of sensationalism wrapped in a newsprint banner.

Although throughout much of her life she was haunted by inquiries concerning the true nature of sex, the more significant question is one that examines how society values its

members. This question must include not only the traditionally marginalized role of feminine members of a community but also searches for a more philosophical response that positions transgender individuals and the notion of alterity within the idea of pluralism. Jorgensen's history as a transgender woman calls into question elements that exceed the parameters of sex and gender and are still centers of discussion 28 years after her untimely death from cancer at age 62. Foremost among them is whetherthe U.S., as well as other global cultures, is capable of breaking free of the concept of the immutability of birth-assigned sex.

An additional question that emerges concerns the issue of gender autonomy. Jorgenson was born in 1926, the same year as the travel writer and transgender woman Jan Morris. What I find fascinating about the fact that both these women were born in the same year is that Jorgensen conformed entirely to the gender norms of her time, while Morris struck out on her own path. All the trappings of 1950s femininity are present in Jorgensen's persona, profession, and desire for a heteronormative life. Thus, Christine not only spearheaded the idea of gender transition in the mid-1950s, but she also embraced the gender role of the iconic mid-20th-century woman. This becomes evident in the news headlines of her time. Scholar and historian Joanne Meyerowitz writes,

> At the end of March 1959, a *New York Daily News* headline asked: 'What's a woman? City bureau baffled by Chris Jorgensen.' Since her public debut in 1952, Jorgensen had held the attention of the press in part by raising the question of how to define a person's sex. In 1959, the issue came to a head. With her fiancé, Howard J. Knox, a labor union statistician, Jorgensen applied for a marriage license at the New York City Municipal Building. By the custom of her day, which few questioned at the time, only a woman could marry a man. Where did Jorgensen, who had challenged her sex, fit into the categories of female and male? City clerk Herman Katz, with six staff attorneys, eventually

> pointed to Jorgensen's birth certificate, which designated her sex as male. Jorgensen, backed by a lawyer of her own, produced her passport, which listed her sex as female, and a letter from her doctor, Harry Benjamin, attesting that 'she must be considered a female.' The city of New York refused to issue the license. On April 4, *The New York Times* described the situation: Christine Jorgensen, an entertainer, was denied a marriage license yesterday on the grounds of inadequate proof of her being a female.' The more sensational *New York Mirro*r announced the news in a front-page headline: 'Bar Wedding for Christine.' Jorgensen's lawyer promised to petition the New York Board of Health to get the birth certificate altered. Within a few weeks, though, Jorgensen had parted company with Knox, and the question of how to determine a person's sex and who qualified for marriage vanished temporarily from the public stage.[174]

McCarthy

Of all the demigods who exploited the implications of the 'Second Red Scare' during the 1950s, no one ever matched the vehement accusations and rhetoric that spewed from the mouth of an obscure junior senator from Wisconsin, Joe McCarthy. While his representation in the historical record often centers on the regularity with which a continuing oration of commonly unfounded accusations concerning the presence of communist infiltrators in the U.S. government, there is another aspect to his vendetta:

> Former U.S. Senator Alan K. Simpson has written: 'The so-called "Red Scare" has been the main focus of most historians of that period. A lesser-known element ... and one that harmed far more people was the witch-hunt McCarthy and others conducted against homosexuals.'[175]

To appreciate this extended quality of McCarthyism, it is first necessary to twist the prismatic lens of historical influence to expose the man, the times he lived in, and his agenda. It is also necessary to keep in mind that the terminology concerning transgender

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[174] Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*, 51.

[175] Rodger E McDaniel and Alan K Simpson, *Dying for Joe McCarthy's Sins: The Suicide of Wyoming Senator Lester Hunt*, 2013, x.

identity as it is used in the 21st century was still in its infancy in the 20th. For the majority of the non-academic public during the 1950s, "transgender," as we know it today, was synonymous with homosexuality.

Tailgunner Joe, as McCarthy became known in the 50s era news media, was a tongue-in-cheek reference to his claims of military heroism. At one point during his military service as a U.S. Marine, he volunteered to be a gunner-observer on a 12-mission bombing rotation. In fact, there is no record indicating that McCarthy ever trained as a flight crew gunner and it is unlikely that he had anything to do with the firing of an airborne 50 caliber machine gun. Rather, it is more likely that the nickname Tailgunner Joe was part of an image crafted to serve his post-war political ambitions.[176] (Figure 49)



Figure 49. McCarthy is posing for a picture in a Douglas SBD Bomber.[177]

[176] McCarthy spent 16 months in the Solomon Islands, serving two tours from September 1943 to March 1944. He returned to the United States in July, 1944, assigned to various California military bases. McCarthy resigned from the Marines on December 11, 1944. Glenn Silber donated the original negative showing a similar view of McCarthy. He suggests Penn Kimball, a PR officer, and photographer sent out McCarthy's WWII press releases and photos. Ted Morgan, *Reds: McCarthyism in Twentieth-Century America*, Reprint edition (New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2004), 341.

[177] Courtesy: Wisconsin Historical Society. Marine Captain Joseph R. McCarthy.

What probably escaped the attention of the aspiring politician was that the appellation carried with it an unintended double-entendre. Rather than the carefully crafted persona of an iconic war hero, by the end of the Army/McCarthy hearings, the image of Tailgunner Joe became a signifier of cruelty, persecution, illegal activity, and opportunism, an image from which many within his own Republican party tried to distance themselves.[178] (Figure 50)



Figure 50. Republican party's response to the excesses of McCarthy [179]

The idea of McCarthyism is more important than the man that generated the term. Rather than the particularities of his highly publicized attacks on communist infiltrators in the U.S. government, or his duplicity regarding homosexuality, McCarthy's legacy is a

[178] Ibid.

[179] Courtesy: *Herblock's History - Political Cartoons from the Crash to the Millennium*.

political bequest. His name, for more than a half a century, has addressed the effectiveness of unsupported accusations and economic advantage. The concepts contained in the notions of McCarthyism manifest as poignant and pervasive elements throughout the last 65 years of mainstream-centered interpretations of history. Allegations, denunciations, blame, and above all, the fostering of unfounded paranoia about the 'other' are all questionable hallmarks of the opening years of Tailgunner Joe's rise to ignominy.

Whether topics of sociopolitical concern are focused on communism, race, ethnicity, gender, or sexuality, the method(s) of McCarthyism is a modus operandi and must be viewed as one of many complex routes to despotic power. Its presence in the 1950s represents a form of political bullying designed to focus attention on, and gather support for, rejecting all forms of 'the other' and any anti-nationalism not in keeping with a highly restrictive notion of Americanism. By broadly designating 'the other' as *what is not like us*, as a national threat or perversion, i.e., a communist or a homosexual,[180] McCarthyism became synonymous with the notion of unfounded fear concerning what is either manufactured or identified as 'the other.' During the era of tailgunner Joe, the representation of the other focused on communism and queerness. During the 1960's the characteristics of alterity shifted. The Great Red Threat of the McCarthy era transmogrified and became easily identifiable by the trappings of America's counterculture. In more recent years the same idea of a threat, perversion, racial and

[180] In January of 1950, following a poll of the 100 worst senators in Washington, a list upon which McCarthy was shown as number 96, it became clear that a front-page-worth campaign issue was needed if he were to win re-election. He chose the topic of communists in government. In February 1950 he made his famous Wheeling, West Virginia speech.

ethnic inferiority, queerness, and gender hierarchy continue to permeate the first two decades of the 21st century. Rejection of 'the other,' violence against religious minorities such as the followers of Islam, and the ongoing series of debates surrounding issues such as gay marriage, isolation and marginalization of the non-1% of the American economy, and the separation of socio-personal identifications such as transgender social presences serve as poignant examples of the legacy of 1950s McCarthy style alterity.

During his relatively short reign as the champion of cultural paranoia and purveyor of political terrorism, the great communist hunter, Joseph McCarthy, reinvigorated an atmosphere of extreme xenophobia. The landscape of America between 1950 and 1954 demonstrates rising disquietude emanating from a confused body politic that had suffered a mental loss following the end of World War II. On the one hand, America had little interest in breathing new life into the domestic privations associated with renewed foreign hostilities, and on the other, there was a perverse social desire to alleviate the feeling of 'mental loss' created by having no common enemy to fight. These factors, coupled with a skewed public sense of manifest global destiny, provided a ripe target for someone with McCarthy's astute sense of Cold War political gamesmanship.

There can be little doubt that both McCarthy and Jorgensen were opportunists; however, what seems to be of more immediate concern is how contemporary realities seem to reflect the immorality of alterity. Questionable ethics, arrogance, conceit, ambition, money, well-placed political connections, a gift for unfounded rhetoric, and a platform from which to expound hate provide fertile ground in which to plant the seeds of despotism.

While the physical presence of the Wisconsin senator has long since passed, the politics of 21st-century America indicate that it is worth examining the lessons derived from his infamous tenure.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE SIXTIES

The Mantra of Social Revolution: Tune In, Turn On, Drop Out

> …demonstrations were radical in their simple directness, and constituted an assertion of 'conscience' over 'rule and custom,' … they were acts of nonviolence, which challenge common expectations about human behavior.[181]

Over the course of time the term *The Sixties,* has accrued a vast number of reminiscent and nostalgic understandings. Generally, the term evokes mental images of San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury and the legacy of Allen Ginsberg's North Beach Beat generation, hipsters, bohemians, the hippie movement, mind-expanding psychedelic drugs, peace symbols, geodesic domes, the Vietnam War, street rebellions, civil demonstrations, and the Civil Rights Movement. On America's East coast, New York's Greenwich Village, like a seductress, called to the marginalized periphery of a restless and frustrated generation, echoing the sentiments of Marshal McLuhan's call to America's counterculture to, "think for yourself and question authority."[182] Reminiscences of time and place produce ghosts that draw the mind's eye to the tension and discontentment of Timothy Leary's "turn on, tune in, and drop out" idealism and the demands for collective social change in the American cultural paradigm.[183]

Manifesting in the lyrics and music emerging from a disenfranchised youth movement was an unambiguous message of radical defiance blended with the

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[181] David Burner, *Making Peace with the 60s* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997) , 14.

[182] Although often attributed to the rhetoric of Timothy Leary, anecdotal evidence suggests that this quote actually originated with McLuhan.

[183] Bill Minutaglio and Steven L. Davis, *The Most Dangerous Man in America: Timothy Leary, Richard Nixon and the Hunt for the Fugitive King of LSD* (Twelve, 2018) i.

romanticism of social mutiny. The new genre of "acid folk" and "psychedelic folk" filled the airways and ears of America's youth with explicit messages of social betrayal and oppressive "White Collar" conservatism, rousing an era of awakening consciousness within the swelling populations of frustrated activist and factionalized ideological movements. Like a drug, songs such as Barry McGuire's "Eve of Destruction" fueled the fire of antiwar sentiment and disdained American militaristic interventions on foreign soil.

> You're old enough to kill but not for votin', You don't believe in war, but what's that gun you're totin', And even the Jordan river has bodies floatin', But you tell me over and over and over again my friend, Ah, you don't believe we're on the eve of destruction.[184]

Insistent social discontentment echoed in the strains of the new brand of Sixties music that mingled electric guitars and hard driving beats with lyrical folk style melodies engendering anthemic backdrops of protest, social resistance, and anti-government sentiment in the emerging body politic of a surfacing countercultural underground.

> Don't forget the draft resisters and their silent, lonely plea, When they march them off to prison, they will go for you and me. Shame, disgrace, and all dishonor, wrongly placed upon their heads.Will not rob them of the courage which betrays the innocent.[185]

Triggering a series of reformative events, the sentiments of Sixties revisionist music has reverberated within the American cultural ethos for more than fifty years. It was at once a voice and a guide to a generation in search of meaning in a world that still echoed with the patriotic strains of post-Fifties nationalism in one ear and Creedence Clearwater

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[184] "Eve of Destruction (Song)," *Wikipedia*, April 1, 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Eve_of_Destruction_(song)&oldid=833506148.

[185] "Antiwar Songs (AWS) - Draft Resister," accessed May 7, 2018, https://www.antiwarsongs.org/canzone.php?lang=en&id=1753.

Revival's rendition of Fortunate Son in the other. Underlying it all was the protesters' chant of "We Shall Overcome." The music of the Sixties was more than entertainment; it was the unified personification of an iconic dream and the youth movement's call to action. It was identity in A minor.

While the various youth movements precipitated the groundswell of demands for social reform within the lingering conservative attitudes of America's post World War II population, the radical designs it proposed for social reformation were slow to insert themselves into the political arena of legislative activity. Treading on the political banana peel of institutional change has forever proven itself to carry the requirement feline caution as well as priestly discretion. Additionally, reformative legislative action has garnered a well-earned reputation for its glacially-paced momentum, advanced only by greasing the political skids of statecraft with an abundance of political and hard currency. This currency was, in the 1960s, generally in short supply within the coffers of the leaderless and disorganized countercultural movements and burgeoning groups of gender-diverse radicals who would come to be known as transgender.

The rhetorical affirmation of political goodwill, the stuff of "currency," and the product generated as a result of social class ideological agreement and empathy, relies on the concept of mutual benefit. Even if there existed any closeted cross-dressing Kennebunkport or Long Island politicos in the early 1960s, their presence would have been written off to eccentricity and not to a social or cultural statement. It is therefore unsurprising that the countercultural queer movement had little in the way of legislative support. Additionally, there was no significant queer voting block and thus no power to

provide any sort of serious financial resource to subsidize the career of a sympathetic reformist.

Ideologically, the progression of transgender identity had less than sterling character references. It had always been a fringe element of an already marginalized queer movement holding no ground in common with the American political establishment. Homosexuality, the perceived 'parent company' of transgender, had, in the post-World War II environment of McCarthy and Eisenhower, been reduced to a distasteful element of 'otherness' perpetrated on the American public by the evil ideology of the Communist bloc. To recognize transgender as a cultural entity was to embrace the 'redheaded stepchild' of the more celebrated gay and lesbian population.

Akin to a distasteful Monty Python skit, transgender was something completely different, carrying with it baggage generated by the conservative attitudes of the 1950s, without the virtues of invisibility or sexual anonymity. At the dawn of the 1960s, the notion of transgender as an autonomous sector of public identity had a public relations problem. Because of its lack of common parlance and meaning in the American lexicon, and the residue of Jorgensen's glamorized blond beauty media presence, an impression that may have been self-promulgated and supported by her subsequent show business career, the notion of transgender did not exist as a non-sexualized identity. Even the most peripheral references to sex or gender presentation as an openly discussed subject in the post-Eisenhower Ozzie and Harriet era in the U.S. carried with it an attachment to undesirable religious, political, and social overtones. The public was willing to turn a blind eye and a leering grin towards the media coverage of Kennedy's White House

sexual exploits. However, it was not prepared to include a chapter in non-standard sexual progressivism in the book of new moderate Democratic leadership. Despite this fact, Claire Bond Potter, writing for *Out History.org* has indicated in her article, *Looking Out of the Frame: Camelot's Queer Court*, that there exists strong evidence to support the idea that John F. Kennedy had an ongoing homosexual relationship with a longtime Choate Boys' Boarding School friend, Kirk LeMoyne "Lem" Billings. [186] [187]

With the Kennedy name on the line and the increasing intensity of America's stance concerning Russian foreign policy, the Cold War, and the escalating situation in Vietnam, Democrats were reluctant to pull the pin on the political hand grenade of gender identity or homosexuality. To do so not only would have been highly damaging to U.S. credibility but tantamount to party suicide. Subsequent administrations have also demonstrated the political wisdom of removing from their agenda any association with the 'queer movement.' Thus, advancing the agenda of transgender identity remained well-closeted in the unlit spaces of the political arena.

The P.R. Problem

The transgender community of the Sixties had a public relations dilemma. Christine Jorgensen had created a feeding frenzy of media sensationalism in the 1950s, and the instinctive impulses of middle-American social repression spilled into the new

[186] "Lem really never left Jack's orbit after boarding school and "the bond between Jack and Lem grew so tight that they really had no need for friendships with other boys." Pitts, David. *Jack and Lem: John F. Kennedy and Lem Billings: The Untold Story of an Extraordinary Friendship* (Jackson, TN: Da Capo Press, 2008, part 1, *The Choate Boys.*

[187] "Billings once admitted that he made a pass at Jack early on; he claimed he was rebuffed, and according to Pitts, it was then that the pair really became close and decided to share a room." Potter, Claire B. "Looking Out of the Frame: Camelot's Queer Court." *OutHistory. Org*. Accessed June 7, 2014. http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/looking-out-of-the-frame.

decade. Jorgensen's presence had thrust America into a global spotlight of sexualized over-determination that called into question the very nature of whether a woman was a biological, genetic or a socially constructed entity. The iconic image of cross-gender possibilities that Christine had created, coupled with the media based sensationalism of creative sexuality, fed the neo-genetic yearnings of an emerging population of self-identified, 'male-born women.'

By placing in the public eye a red carpet superstar who had, through scientific prowess and medical expertise, successfully changed sexual camps, the media had created a theoretical muddle of what constitutes gender and whether or not that construction was the same as sex. More abstruse were the abstract questions surrounding cultural violations of entrenched understandings of femininity. The large pink elephant in the room that, with the exception of some 'off stage' intellectual scrutiny, was being ignored was, can sex and its threateningly deformed stepsister, gender, be created?

The greater American public, unsurprisingly, centered its focus on the sensuality and physicality of sex and whether it was an immutable, biological imperative that existed beyond the possibility of change. The other more intellectual cabal speculated on the philosophical question surrounding the composition of gender and whether Simone de Beauvoir's positing of a 'created woman' was correct.[188] Two opposing speculative and intellectual camps emerged, one focused on sex and its conformity to gender, the other focused on the separation of sex and gender as uniformly inconsistent.

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[188] The statement by Simone de Beauvoir, "Women and men are made, not born," proposes that a person acquires the identity of a man or a woman over time, by means of complex social processes. Beauvoir's statement suggests that gender roles and behavior are not inherent and that social positioning should not be determined by sex.

The attempts to build an analytical abstract and advance a philosophical argument around this question produced a renewed consideration of the 1952 translation of Simone de Beauvoir's book *The Second Sex*. Expressing her French feminist ethic, de Beauvoir posited that, "One is not born but becomes a woman."[189] There is no indication of whether Beauvoir understood herself to be inaugurating a distinction between sex and gender that would reverberate into the 21st century, or only making a statement that validated her own lived body experience. What is evident however is that the conclusions arrived at as a result of de Beauvoir's statement provided a significant foothold for establishing a vocabulary from which the social constructions of gender may be critiqued.[190]

Although the context surrounding de Beauvoir's written narrative was considerably more complex in its scope, her assertion concerning the constructive aspect of womanhood served as an affirmation of transgender legitimacy and sexual transformation. It is unremarkable that a community, hungry for the legitimacy of recognition, grabbed at de Beauvoir's extracted narrative like a cultural lifeline. The creation of womanhood, at least in the manner that it was interpreted in the new transgender narrative, was defined in diametric opposition to the emerging worldwide movement of second-wave feminism. Its primary accompanying canon of "Womym-born womyn" [sic] stood as an antagonist to "Woman as a construction of physical and social characteristics." Consequently, the dilemma for the Transgender community in the wake

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[189] Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), xv.

[190] Malpas, J., "Donald Davidson," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2012 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL<http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2012/entries/davidson/>.

of Jorgensen and the disputed aspects of her feminine identity, was how to de-stigmatize the sexual aspect that her media sensationalism had created, while at the same time placating a passionate opposition from radical feminists who regarded creating womanhood medically as dishonest, immoral, and essentially a repugnant attempt at encroachment on sanctified female territory by misguided men utilizing their entitlement. Robin Morgan, (Figure 51) keynote speaker at the 1973 West Coast Lesbian Conference held in Los Angeles, exemplifies the radical feminist perspective on male-to-female transgender women in her comments responding to the inclusion of a performance at the conference by a transgender woman musician, Beth Elliott: (Figure 7)

> I will not call a male 'she'; thirty-two years of suffering in this androcentric society, and of surviving, have earned me the title 'woman'; one walk down the street by a male transvestite, five minutes of his being hassled (which he may enjoy), and then he dares, he *dares* to think he understands our pain? No, in our mothers' names and in our own, we must not call him sister.[191]

Radical feminists' perspectives on female-to-male transgender men have been characterized by accusations of 'gender treason,' of women abandoning their sisters, knuckling under to the patriarchy and joining up with the misogynistic oppressor. Despite fierce opposition from both Radical Feminist and right-wing culture, the key question was how to accomplish cultural integration in a way that did not disproportionately alienate the understandings of a white-picket-fence, non-academic, suburban bourgeoisie. Additionally, true transgender persons almost always regard themselves as far more concerned with the recognition of personal gender identity than the more sexualized agenda of much of the gay and lesbian population.

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[191] https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2014/08/04/woman-2.

Pragmatically, the ever-increasing population of the homosexual community and the political power that accompanied it was a tempting apple providing motivation for joint street actions of gay and transgender social activist forces. Although this unification can be seen throughout much of the recorded incidences of queer civil disobedience during the Sixties, it is important to remember that the joint resistance that transpired was a marriage of convenience, not of ideology. The points of intersection that exist between the two do so inconsistently, have historically exhibited as sites of activism, and are unreliable as a measure of characteristic cohesion.

There are numerous factors that have influenced both the unification and separation of gay and transgender groups. Some center around, but are not limited to, sexual preference, some around street economics, and some around various subcultural hierarchies. If, for instance, a transgender woman is identified as a ‘fag’ or ‘hair fairy,’ she essentially becomes fair game for an aggressive homosexual male within the social rules of that culture. Often, the same transgender female will come into conflict with a homosexual female who identifies either as butch or identifies the transgender woman as an insignificant ‘pathetic’ or a ‘deceiver.’ In either case, within a subcultural scenario, the transgender person is at risk. This has produced one of two main splits between homosexuals and transgender people. The second reason being ‘street hierarchy.’ This can be seen in the simplistic nature of a hang-out space or the more complicated drug culture. In either case, transgender people do not occupy the top rung of the food chain.

The anonymity of working-class neighborhoods in major cities routinely serves as a highly attractive draw for a population of transgender individuals. Their presence has

habitually been conflated with the homosexual populations despite the ideological differences that surround their separate notions of sex and gender. The fact that both groups of people tend to congregate in the same social spaces is coincidental to their shared mutuality and subcultural understandings of existence as the 'other.' These feelings are the unifying factors that bind populations in their resistance to oppression and manifest as a cohesive street presence. The street protests have, however, had a history of limited and inconsistent benefits within the queer movement. It is the lack of a defined, achievable, and unified political agenda consistent with both groups that has presented the principal barrier in attempting to bridge transgender identity with mainstream consciousness and caused both the gay and the trans populations to appear as radical pseudo-activists within fringe element politics.

Footholds did, however, begin to develop. Individuals surfaced from within the rank and file of the homophile population who assumed positions of leadership as occurrences of civil disobedience within the 'lavender spaces' of activism became increasingly frequent. [192] While the transgender movement has always been a minority and has often fallen under fire from both within and outside of the homosexual population, it claimed pivotal ground in the 1960s. Riding the wave of the greater activist movements that continually defined and redefined themselves, places like the inner cities of Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and San Francisco became meccas to the transgender

[192] The term 'lavender' references spaces generally associated with the queer and transgender movement and are evident in the work of several authors such as Karla Jay's, *Tales of The Lavender Menace: A Memoir of Liberation* (New York: Basic Books, 1999) and David Johnson's *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004). It is also represented as a prominent color in the transgender flag that was created by Monica Helms in 1999 and endorsed by the varying transgender individuates, organizations, and communities.

population. [193]

The accounts that follow are, from a strictly academic standpoint, inadequately documented narrations., However, they carry the authority of later events that tend toward situational analogs. Although the cities and the actors change, and the specific circumstances of each incident vary, the universal tone of opposition to authoritarian oppression and a youth-oriented cultural rebellion remains constant in what has become known as the 'Coffee and Donut Riots.'

The Coffee and Donut Riots

On a May evening in 1959, Cooper's Donuts, an all-night Los Angeles hangout, infamous in its reputation as a gathering spot for disenfranchised street queens, hustlers, prostitutes, cross-dressers, gays, transgender people, and homeless youth, gained historical notoriety as a place of transgender resistance. [194] Cooper's (Figure 51) was an all-night haunt, place of refuge, and neutral meeting point for the socialization of patrons emerging from two of Los Angeles' gay bars centered around 5th and 6th street, The Waldorf and Harold's. The impetus that spurred the riot occurred when police officers entered Cooper's, purportedly to check ID cards. This behavior was a repetition of police policy, usually limited to gay bars and designed to harass and single out homosexual clientele during the 1950s and 1960s. The usual scenario involved, "marching the queers

[193] In 1971, a participant defined the movement of the sixties as, "a grand geodesic dome fitted together from pieces of Marx, Freud, Zen, Artaud, Kesey, Lenin, Leary, Ginsberg, Che, Gandhi, Marcuse, Laing, Fidel, and Lao Tzu … with a 40-watt rock amplifier strapped to the top—a gaudy, mind-blowing[sic] spectacle and an impossible intellectual synthesis." Anderson, Terry H. *The Movement and the Sixties: Protests in America From Greensboro to Wounded Knee* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

[194] University of Michigan OUTbreak: Trans Awareness Week E-Series: Part 5: Landmark Moments in Transgender American History 2012.

out in a line and arresting anyone whose perceived gender didn't match what was on their ID. Occasionally, they'd even single out a few lucky victims for special attention in the form of insults and beatings."[195] Accounts of the incident indicate that:

> [the cops] picked up two hustlers, two queens, and a young man just cruising and led them out. As the cops packed the back of the squad car, one of the men objected, shouting that the car was illegally crowded. While the two cops switched around to force him in, the others scattered out of the car…. From the donut shop, everyone poured out. The crowd was fed up with the police harassment, and on this night, they fought back, hurling donuts, coffee cups and trash at the police. The police, facing this barrage of [pastries] and porcelain, fled into their car calling for backup. Soon, the street was bustling with disobedience. People spilled out into the streets, dancing on cars, lighting fires, and generally wreaking havoc. The police return [sic] with backup and a number of rioters are beaten and arrested. They also closed the street off for a day.[196]



Figure 51. Cooper's Donuts, Los Angeles.[197]

[195] Villarreal, Daniel. "Before Stonewall, There Was the Cooper's Donuts and Compton's Cafeteria Riots," *Queerty*, October 7, 2011, 1-3 Accessed June 14, 2013.

[196] Ibid.

[197] Photo courtesy https://www.amoeba.com/blog/2013/06/eric-s-blog/the-cooper-donuts-uprising-lgbt-heritage-month.html

The significance of the incident at Cooper's Donuts is two-fold. The first is that it exists in concert with two other similar occurrences that unfolded in much the same manner; the 1965 Philadelphia sit-in at Dewey's lunch counter, and the riot at Gene Compton's cafeteria located in San Francisco's Tenderloin district. Most noteworthy, however, in the free-for-all encounter that took place at Cooper's, is its infamy as the earliest known site of transgender resistance to police brutality.[198] As such, the happenings that occurred on a warm May evening in 1959 exist as a little known historic icon, lacking in eloquence and recalled only through the presence of an engraved rectangular mirror located a few blocks from the Pershing Square parking structure, the site that once marked the location of Cooper's Donuts.

The riot that occurred at Cooper's was not an isolated protest of transgender activism. According to scholar Susan Striker, it is probable that it represented only one of many such undocumented acts of civil disobedience that were related to LGBT activism that went largely unrecorded. [199] Also, while Cooper's has drawn some attention as the first location of trans-activism, there is some disagreement about the facts. In 1965 another incident of activism took place took place at Dewey's lunch counter in the gritty working-class neighborhood of downtown Philadelphia. (Figure 52)

Dewey's was a small chain of family-owned lunch counters that, during its operating years between 1940 and 1970, specialized in what the owner, Farrell Yester, described as 'comfort food' for its customers. Its 13th street and 17th street locations were notable in that they attracted gay and transgender clients and became referred to locally

[198] Ibid., University of Michigan OUTbreak.

[199] Stryker, Susan. *Transgender History*, (Berkeley: Seal Press, 2008), 62.

as the 'Fag Deweys.'[200] On April 17th, 1965, the restaurant's staff tried to force three patrons who were ostensibly wearing "non-conformist clothing" to leave the eatery. When they refused, the police were called, and a confrontation ensued that ended in the arrest of the three patrons along with a fourth patron, Clark Polak. What is most significant is that Polak was not present at the time the confrontation began but rather, he was hurriedly called and showed up in a post-facto manner to join the faceoff. Interestingly, Polak, as it turns out, was a gay rights activist and responsible for the publication, *Drum*.[201] Following his release, Polak formed an organized picket of Dewey's and distributed a large amount of literature in the ensuing five days.



Figure 52. Dewey's lunch counter, Philadelphia. [202]

[200] Simon, Ray. "Revisiting Dewey's, A Pre-Stonewall LGBT Sit-in," *Edge Media Network*, November 4, 2014, 1-3 Accessed December 5, 2014.

[201] The magazine took its name from a quote by Henry David Thoreau: "If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears the beat of a different drummer."

[202] Photo courtesy Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries.

On May 2nd, a second sit-in began and, once again the police were called. This time, however, the situation was defused, and there were no reported arrests.

What is most compelling during the entire incident at Dewey's is not the direct observable circumstances of the arrest and police capitulation following the second sit-in but rather that of Polak's involvement as the publisher of *Drum*. His involvement was part of a collective organization of two other homophile organizations, The Mattachine Society, a homophile organization founded by Frank Kameny that had chapters in both New York and Washington D.C., and the New York chapter of the Daughters of Bilitis, DOB, the first lesbian civil and political rights organization in the United States.[203] Collectively they were known as the East Coast Homophile Organization (ECHO). [204]

A reflective look at the incidents that took place at Dewey's reveals a shift in the tactical modus operandi of activist protests. Whatever else can be said regarding the 1959 riot at Cooper's Donuts, at its core it was a spontaneous reaction to the harassment techniques of the overzealous policing of the homosexual and transgender community. This spontaneity cannot be attributed to the Dewey's incident. The fact that Polak was telephoned and arrived after the conflict started, along with the fact that he was heavily involved with the Janus society and that upon his release he used the same method of picket line protest utilized by ECHO is indicative of what must be described as a homophile 'setup' that was designed to call attention to the gay and lesbian movement.

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https://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/deweys-lunch-counter-sit-in/.

[203] The President of the New York chapter was Barbara Gittings. During her tenure as President, she was responsible for editing the national DOB magazine, *The Ladder*.

[204] "Eastern Regional Conference of Homophile Organizations," *Wikipedia*, October 17, 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Eastern_Regional_Conference_of_Homophile_Organizations&oldid=744776200.

What is even more telling is that during the distribution of picket line literature photographic evidence indicates that there was an adherence to ECHO dress codes amongst the protesters. These dress codes required that men dress appropriately in ties, coats and jackets and that women wear skirts. The goal was to portray homosexuals as presentable and employable.[205] Additionally, the editor of the Janus Society newsletter, Barbara Horowitz, is quoted as saying, "There is no reason to assume that this cannot be called a job well done."[206]

In *Transgender History,* Stryker states her position that the Dewey's incident, like the one at Cooper's, demonstrates the overlap between gay and transgender activism in the working-class districts of major U.S. cities in spite of the tensions and prejudices within both groups.[207] In spite of what Stryker sees as an overlap, there is also evidence of a split in philosophical idealism evidenced in the Janus Society May 1965 newsletter. Horowitz writes:

> All too often, there is a tendency to be concerned with the rights of homosexuals as long as they somehow appear to be heterosexual, whatever that is. The masculine woman and the feminine man often are looked down upon by the official policy of homophile organizations, but the Janus Society is concerned with the worth of an individual and the manner in which she or he comports himself. [208]

This position contradicts the strict dress codes of ECHO. While appearing to be inclusive of the transgender population, it is problematic in consideration of cross-gender modes of dress.

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[205] Loughery, John, The Other Side of Silence – Men's Lives and Gay Identities: A Twentieth-Century History (Henry Holt and Company, 1998) 53-55.

[206] ibid., Simon.

[207] ibid., Stryker.

[208] ibid., Simon.

What stands out as worthy of attention surrounding the incidents at Dewey's is that it signals the use of an activist technique frequently associated with racial segregationist movements in the South, the sit-in. However, as Stryker states:

> It would be a mistake [however] to think that the African American civil rights struggle simply 'influenced' early gay and transgender activism at Dewey's, for to do so would be to assume that all the gay and transgender people involved were White. Many of the queer people who patronized Dewey's were themselves people of color, and they were not 'borrowing' a tactic developed by another movement.'[209]

San Francisco

In 1966, according to police department figures, the homosexual and transgender population of San Francisco numbered around 90,000. Many within this population, due to the prevailing standards of gender and sexual presentation were, in the traditional sense, either unemployed or unemployable. To survive, a great many turned to the underground economy of drugs and prostitution that had developed near the waterfront areas of working-class neighborhoods Northeast of the central city. The actors whose lives played out on the gay stage provided by the 'stroll' in San Francisco's Embarcadero and North Beach areas sustained themselves on a day-to-day basis of life founded on the perimeters of social and physical survival. [210]

Located just North of San Francisco's Market Street business district, Turk and Taylor avenues became the city's center for many of the more fortunate members of the transgender and transvestite population. Those with natural effeminate qualities of

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[209] ibid.

[210] Slang parlance for a place of meeting, socializing and taking part in the street economy of drugs and prostitution.

presentation and an inclination toward stage performance found refuge as female impersonators in the bars and clubs that catered to the newly formed influx of the displaced homophile population. (Figure 53-54) The 'queens' had traditionally been protected by club owners since the prohibition era of the 1920s. [211] Establishments that were desirous of a more liberalized police force had provided payoffs to police who were willing to overlook the indiscretions that often accompanied the inner-city economy.



Figure 53. Finocchio's performers. [212]



Figure 54. Finocchio's patrons. [213]

While the practice was commonplace, it was also limited to the more elite sector of drag queens who were able to find work at iconic bars such as Finocchio's. A participant recalls a sign above Chuckers Club, a watering hole for the gay community located near Finocchio's that was indicative of the inner-city atmosphere. It read, "Enter

[211] Defined here as male to female transgender individuals and transvestites who live socially and perhaps sexually as women, some with a proclivity for performance.

[212] Image courtesy http://www.queermusicheritage.com/oct2002f.html.

[213] Image courtesy http://www.queermusicheritage.com/oct2002f.html.

at your own risk, this establishment is due to be raided at any time." Those who operated outside of the protective cocoon of police graft became the ongoing target of arrests and harassment.

The spread of San Francisco's urban renewal projects during the mid-sixties took its toll on the availability of low-income housing. The drag queens and the accompanying nominally attached groups of social isolates were forced to migrate inward toward the Tenderloin, which became known as the 'gay ghetto.' This prompted a local minister, Reverend Ed Hansen, to speak of the Tenderloin by saying:

> The central city is the human dump heap of San Francisco. It is the place where the social outcasts, the aged, the poor, the infirm, the youth with sexual problems, persons of all races and religions, go and are out of sight. Here they are forgotten, ignored, and ultimately die, first emotionally and then physically.[214]

For some, the Tenderloin district of San Francisco represented nothing more than a lawless, out-of-control section of the city that was run by corrupt police who demanded payoffs from the prostitution and drug activity. Reminiscent of the old vice rackets, drag queens were allowed to work, and individuals were allowed to patronize the bars of the Tenderloin because of the payoffs. As one of the ex-queens put it, "you knew not to take risks, not to offend [the police]." While the gay population and party crowd that appeared nightly in the Tenderloin came and went, the unmistakable message to the transgendered community was to live from day to day, do what you have to in order to survive, but do not leave there, "stay with your own kind."[215]

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[214] "MTF Transgender Activism in the Tenderloin and Beyond: Commentary and Interview with Elliot Blackstone." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 4.2 (1998): 349-72.

[215] Personal interview between Susan Stryker and SFPD community relations officer Elliot Blackwell.

Not all saw the move to the inner city in the same light, however. Some individuals considered the migration to the Tenderloin as creating a new heartbeat for San Francisco's queer culture. The bars and places of socialization formed a presence that represented a space of queer genesis that pumped blood into the collective body of gay activism. One interviewee describes the atmosphere of the Tenderloin differently than many of the Sixties social reformers.

> [The Tenderloin] was a party time, it was before the war really got started, … it was [like] Camelot back then, [and] it was still wonderful, there was so many beautiful people that came through there. We had Hells Angels who would line their bikes up and down the street and party with the girls. [216]

Compton's Cafeteria

To many of San Francisco's gay and transgender population, Compton's (Figure 55) was a place separated from the bars. It was clean and accessible in a world of social marginalization and violence. It was a social space and a place to see and be seen. "Every time the door opened everyone would turn to see who came in. Everyone wanted to parade their fashion." One participant remembers it as "a beautiful fairyland where waitresses would wear little white doilies on their chest, and people would die just to get a window seat." [217] Another participant recalled Compton's as:

> It was something like Oz, something like the Wizard of Oz. Jehovah's Witnesses would drag burning crosses down the street and tell us that we were all going to burn in hell. It was fabulous! It was a place where you could sit around and get a poached egg, toast, bacon and juice for $1.99, everyone that lived in the Tenderloin ate at Compton's; it was just packed… it was also a place that you could let everyone know that you

[216] *Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's*. DVD. Directed by Susan Stryker. , 2005.

[217] Ibid.

had survived the night. [218]



Figure 55. Compton's, San Francisco. [219]

The perception of a Camelot was only part of the compositional attitude of Compton's patronage. Many who lived in the Tenderloin harbored a resentment directed toward the police that stemmed from an ongoing series of harassment policies. Transgender people, queens, and gay people were the continuing subjects of arrest on the grounds of their 'suspicious nature' and dressing in the clothes of the opposite gender.[220] Like a slowly bubbling cauldron of discontent, police coercion in the poverty-plagued 'TL' challenged the very rights of the gender variant population to exist.

The Compton's riot, however, was indicative of a greater social discontent.

[218] Ibid.

[219] Photo courtesy https://www.lgbtqnation.com/2017/02/san-francisco-name-part-tenderloin-first-transgender-historic-district/.

[220] This catchall accusation became standard parlance within the police department and could range in definition from the perception of having excessively long hair to wearing an immoderate amount of jewelry.

Scholar Susan Stryker suggests that the melee that took place should be considered as the actual start of gay militancy.[221] While her point is valid insofar as goes, and it addresses the importance of Compton's as a landmark in transgender militancy, it is also local-centric and therefore presents an incomplete image of trans-militant action. Although Compton's represented a major turning point in transgender history, Stryker's position that it was the start of gay militancy leaves a flawed impression regarding the origins of transgender activism.

It is tempting to look at single events as monumental in the formation of transgender recognition. Seeing only one visible flame of militancy, such as Compton's however, does not address what fanned the bonfire embers of gay, transgender, and gender-centric sociopolitical confrontation throughout the era. Instead, it is necessary to confront the entire notion of transgender equality and identity in regard to a place and a time. Liberalism is as formative of the 'idea' of transgender as it is formative of the 'idea' of San Francisco. In the 1960s, the idea of a liberal environment was a major enticement for all kinds of countercultural groups that swarmed to the Bay Area in search of an empathetic and supportive community of similarly alienated individuals. Queens, transvestite, transgender, and gay populations migrated to San Francisco's inner city and took up residence in the Tenderloin, hoping for both raw survival as well as for the liberation of their personal identity. However, police policies of isolation and concentration eroded both aspirations. The frustration that the transgender population sought to shed as the result of being part of a community with a mutual understanding,

[221] Ibid., *Screaming Queens*, Stryker.

intensified instead. The Compton's riot should have come as no surprise given the lack of housing, jobs, and a paradigm of continual police harassment. There is, however, another side of mid-1960s transgender San Francisco that needs to be examined.

Compton's has been commemorated as a grassroots stand in the face of marginalized oppression. In some sectors, it is representative of heroic opposition within the mythopoeic annals of transgender culture. Historically, however, it is isolated from the reality of lesser-known San Francisco transgender activism and even more removed from a large segment of the homophile movement. For example, The New Year's Ball Raid took place in San Francisco in January of 1965; however, many tend to overlook its significance. According to the *Mattachine Review*, the raid was:

> A most lavish display of police harassment as it egregiously violated the right of homosexuals and all adults to assemble lawfully without invasion of privacy.[222]

One of the results of the New Year's Ball Raid was that gay rights activists, following this incident, met with police and convinced them to stop harassing the patrons of gay bars. San Francisco activists saw it as an event that was solved fairly by the police. However, it passed with little to commemorate it, little media opportunity to report it, and no significant national recognition. It appears that the main reason that an agreement was reached diplomatically, that is to say, without any violent episodes, can be attributed to more than good-will. Long known for its liberal social politics, even in the 1960s, San Francisco's gay, lesbian and transgender people had much more clout than in other parts of the United States. Thus, it seems that population presence may have been a significant

[222] Extracted from: Armstrong, Elizabeth A., and Suzanna M. Crage, "Movements and Memory: The Making of the Stonewall Myth," *American Sociological Review* 71, no. 5: 724-51.

factor in fostering a peaceful resolution rather than a riotous open protest. Also, it is notable that there was a significant shift that occurred between the more convivial accords of January 1965 and the tumultuous hostilities of August 1966.

The shift in attitudes that happened in the short period between the New Year's Ball Raid and Compton's did not happen in a vacuum. San Francisco had over the years developed a reputation as a center of homophile activity. In May of 1966 homophile activists staged a protest over gay exclusion from the military and the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB) held their fourth annual conference in San Francisco. Accompanying these two events, The North American Conference of Homophile Organizations (NACHO) held its second planning meeting in conjunction with the DOB. Additionally, within this same span of time, the first ecumenical organization devoted to the issue of homosexuality, the Council on Religion and the Homosexual (CRH) was formed under the auspices of Glide Memorial Methodist Church, which was itself a center of activism and located just two blocks from Compton's.[223]

In order to place the events of transgender activism that occurred during the 1960s, it is first necessary to propose a unified definition of what activism is. I recognize its definition in fundamentalist terms; that is, I see activism as a response to either a real or a preconceived event. For example, if I happen to live on a noisy street, my personal activism may be to write a letter of complaint to a civil authority asking for traffic to be rerouted. If other people who live near me become equally annoyed at the noise level, they may elect to be signatories to my letter. If there is no adequate response to my initial

[223] Ibid., GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies.

letter, I may elect to take direct action by organizing a blockade of the street. In this way, I exhibit resistance and force a response from a civil authority. The reaction to the blockade takes place because a *critical mass of collective awareness*, that is distress over the noise, *has been achieved*.

Individuals, or groups of individuals, often openly rebel against oppression prior to gaining significant support from other members of a prosecuted or ignored class. This faction of society, either individuals or accumulations of individuals are cultural outliers, people who have never been fully assimilated into the dominant ideology and therefore when forced into conformity resist by refusal. Such is the atmosphere that was generated one night in a small cafeteria in the Tenderloin district of San Francisco. Three years prior to the infamous Stonewall riots of New York's Greenwich Village, Gene Compton's cafeteria became the site of a critical mass consciousness that collectively refused oppression.

Then, as now, San Francisco has reverberated an ethos of liberalism lacking in Los Angeles and New York. The homophile movement in Los Angeles had a very hostile relationship with the police, with little opportunity for redress for police entrapment or assault on the queer population. According to Armstrong and Crage, authors of *Movements and Moments*,

> While San Francisco was liberal and Los Angeles was repressive, New York City was inconsistent. Although activists in New York had successfully blocked police from denying gay bars licenses or entrapping gay men on false indecency charges, the mayor still ordered raids on gay bars.[224]

[224] Ibid., Armstrong and Crage. *"Movements and Memory"*.

Compton's exists as a significant moment in Sixties transgender activism because the riot that occurred there in 1966 challenged the authority of the 1960s moral certitudes concerning sex and gender. It also directed public attention to the inequities of alterity directed toward an entire population.

To understand the events that transpired at Compton's in August of 1966, it is essential first to know that the individuals who defined the population of San Francisco's TL district were not members of the cities more elite circles. Instead, they consisted primarily of gay, lesbian, transgender, street queens, runaways, and hookers. In combination, they represented a community that had been politically, socially, and economically bypassed. The U.S. government's War on Poverty had addressed the needs of some inner-city minority groups in San Francisco, but the residents of the Tenderloin were left to fend for themselves. The reason for this is that transgender, as an identity, exists outside of the common expressions of a defined minority. It is a psychological identification and is therefore not subject to the limitations of skin color, race, or ethnicity. Because of this, there was no notice paid to the needs of a group based on social expression or distinctiveness. The disregard for the Tenderloin and its transgender population was directly responsible for a rise in the number of new activist movements that aimed at calling attention to inner-city poverty. One such movement emerged as a highly militant organization.

Vanguard, formed in July of 1966, was a countercultural gay rights organization whose members were primarily composed of hard-core, anti-establishment, White drag queens and hustlers drawn from the streets of the Tenderloin. The roots of Vanguard's

formation extended beyond the more usual expressions of militant dissatisfactions associated with race and skin color. Instead, the organization sprang from the street population that they represented. This created a deep understanding of the expressions of alterity derived from a society that looked askance at the invaders of conventionality. The target painted on the social back of transgender and queer culture was one that challenged the innate right of existence.[225] The objection to an expressed personal identity spilled out of the psychological pot and created an unexpected multicultural assertiveness that fueled the militancy of Vanguard's personality. Compton's cafeteria was where the organization met.

Compton's management, recognizing the change in attitude and actions of their primary patrons began kicking them out. As a result, picket lines were organized against Compton's to protest what was perceived as unfair treatment. An account from the *Cruise News & World Report* relates the circumstances surrounding the picket line. [226]

> Young Homos Picket Compton's Restaurant
>
> Vanguard, the organization whose membership is drawn from 'kids on the street,' tested out its muscle on one of the worst offenders against human dignity in the Tenderloin area of San Francisco.
>
> Compton's at Turk and Taylor has long treated the younger residents as if they were not at all human.
>
> On various occasions, according to spokesmen of Vanguard, the Rent-A-Cop (Pinkerton Men) have manhandled innocent customers because they did not drink their coffee fast enough to suit the Rent-A-Cop.
>
> On the 18th of July Vanguard had about 25 persons carrying picket signs from 10 pm till 12 pm. The action was televised by ABC, and a fair presentation of the cause of Vanguard was telecast.
> Specifically, Vanguard was protesting:

[225] Ibid.

[226] "Young Homos Picket Compton's Restaurant," *Cruise News & World Report*, August 1966.

> We of the Tenderloin are picketing and boycotting this Gene Compton Restaurant for the following reasons:
> 1. We of the Tenderloin are continuously subjected to physical and verbal abuse by both the management and the Pinkerton Special Officers assigned there.
> 2. We feel that the 25 cents 'Service' charge was put into effect to keep out those of us who have little or no money.
> THEREFORE: Until the management of this restaurant changes its policies of harassment and discrimination of the homosexuals, hustlers, etc., of the Tenderloin Area, we will boycott and picket this restaurant.[227]

Instead of resolving the conflict at Compton's, Vanguard's pickets set the stage for San Francisco's constabulary. (Figure 56) Police Lieutenant Elliot Blackstone is quoted as having said, "We have an old expression in the police department, clubs are trump". [228]

Amanda St. James, a resident of the Tenderloin, was at Compton's cafeteria on the night of the riot. She recounts what happened:[229]

> They come [sic] down there to raid Compton's to begin with, that's what it was all about. Someone had throwed [sic] coffee in his face, and there was tables turned over. The sugar shakers went through the windows and the glass doors; I think I put a sugar shaker through one of those windows.[230]

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[227] "Young Homos Picket Compton's Restaurant." *Cruise News & World Report*, August 1966.

[228] Ibid., *Screaming Queens*, Stryker.

[229] Ibid.

[230] Interview excerpt from *Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's Cafeteria.* Directors Victor Silverman and Susan Stryker. 2005.

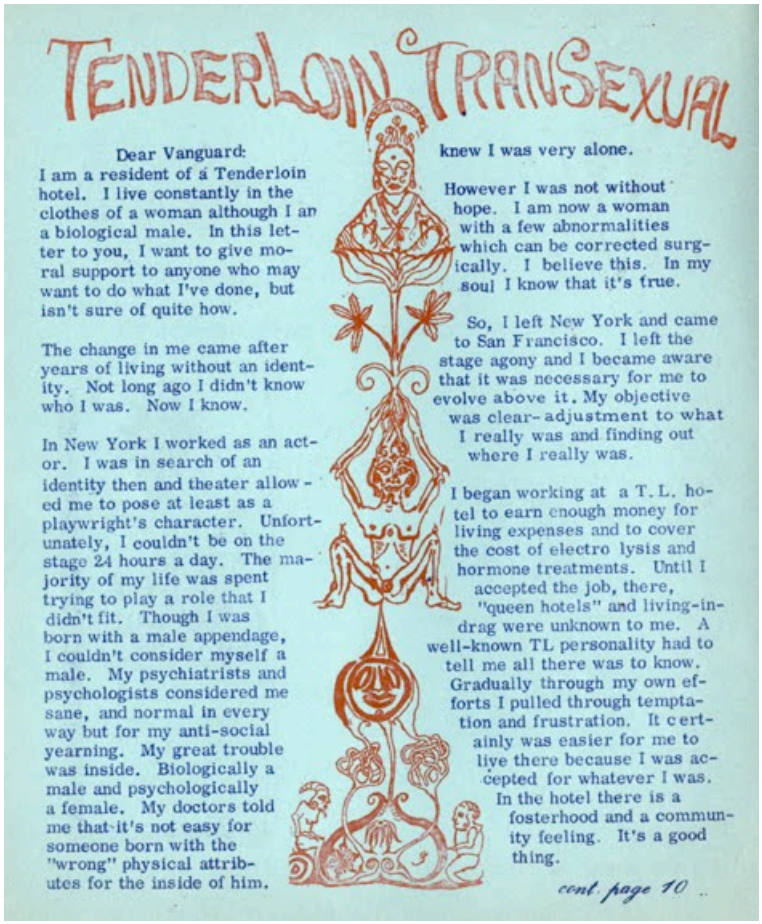


Figure 56. Letter to Vanguard.[231]

> According to scholar Susan Stryker:
>
> Compton's erupted. The hustlers kicked the police and punched them, and the drag queens beat them with their heavy purses. The cops retreated outside to call for backup but cafeteria customers, maybe sixty in all, poured into the streets through the broken doors and windows and kept fighting as the paddy wagons pulled up … before it was over a police car was destroyed, the corner newsstand was set on fire, and years of pent-up resentment boiled out into the night.[232]

A month before the Compton's riot a book was published by Dr. Harry Benjamin, a San Francisco medical reformer. *The Transsexual Phenomenon,* was, in the words of

[231] Courtesy: pinterest.

[232] Ibid.

one queen a 'guidebook.' More importantly, Benjamin's book offered a lifeline of identity that was previously unavailable. Additionally, because of Benjamin's work, the first center for surgical sex reassignment in America opened in late 1966.[233] Equally as important as Benjamin's book to the new-found militancy of the occupants of the Tenderloin, was the Civil Rights activism of Cecil Williams, founder of the Glide Memorial United Methodist Church, which was formative of a new militancy within the transsexual population of the Tenderloin.

The riot marked a turning point in the local LGBT movement.[234] In the aftermath of the riot at Compton's, a network of transgender social, psychological, and medical support services was established, culminating in 1968 with the creation of the National Transsexual Counseling Unit [NTCU], the first such peer-run support and advocacy organization in the world. Serving as an overseer to the NTCU was Sergeant Elliot Blackstone, designated in 1962 as the first San Francisco Police Department liaison to what was then called the homophile community. According to Susan Stryker, the Compton's Cafeteria riot was the first known incident of collective militant queer resistance to police harassment in U.S. history.

The whiplash response to the oppressive atmosphere of 1950s political policies became expressed as social dissidence during the 60s cultural revolution. Hippies and dropouts, the mid-century symbols of alterity became victims of time, and social apathy as the flower children moved closer to middle age. As the glowing light of the discordant bohemian generation dulled in its intensity and eventually gave way to the pragmatism of

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[233] The first male-to-female surgeries took place in 1966 at the Johns Hopkins University Medical Center.
[234] *glbtqarchive.com. Retrieved 29 August 2015.*

daily survival the trappings of cultural uniformity overwhelmed social nonconformity. Idealistic causes such as embracing the notion of diverse gender identity and alternate forms of sexuality became lost in the wastelands of unfashionable motivations. As ontological social evaluations were forced back into the closet of obscurity in the post-60s culture, a cultural void developed that was quickly filled by reinvigorated notions of alterity. 'The other' however has, as in centuries past, refused containment. In the 21st century the possible alternative forms of the gendered self, as well as other expressions of alterity continue to produce confusing intellectual and social roadblocks. The obstacles seem to be especially evident among Millennials immersed in generational preconceptions. Without new leadership coming from within the academic community that offers direction to the complexities of transgender alterity, 21st-century society may face a formidable cultural challenge.

Two Interesting Ladies Separated by Time

Before moving on, it is worth noting one of the most interesting juxtapositions of mid-20th-century transgender history. It is the one that places Christine Jorgensen alongside the Welsh historian, adventurer, author, journalist, freelance writer, and awardee of the Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire, Jan Morris. (Figures 56-57) The significance of her presence during the middle of the 20th century is that Morris was able to define her own womanhood rather than adapt to the expectations and stereotypes of her generation. Whereas Jorgensen, adorned in mink and well-practiced mannerisms 'out-femaled' the majority of cis-gendered women in 1952 America, Morris leads a life of adventure. Born in the same year as Jorgensen, Morris

volunteered for military service in 1942 and was assigned to the Queens Royal Lancers. Of her time in the British military she writes:

> In the army as a lancing, I was never short protectors. … Such kindnesses were seldom exactly homosexual. I still did not look effeminate, and certainly did not feel myself to be homosexual. … It was a harmless quixotry, part of a game, part I suppose a compensation, and if it ever went beyond the platonic, I never experienced it myself.[235]

Morris left military service in 1947 and married Elizabeth Tuckniss. In 1953, while working as a correspondent for the *Times,* and not yet transitioned, 'he' made a name for himself by accompanying Edmund Hillary and Tenzing Norgay on the British Mount Everest Expedition.



Figure 57. Jan Morris on the Dick Cavett Show, recorded April 30, 1974.



Figure 58. Jan Morris at the microphone during a book reading.[236]

[235] "A Gender Variance Who's Who: Jan Morris (1926 -) Part 1: Youth and Journalism," accessed September 25, 2017, https://zagria.blogspot.ca/2013/11/jan-morris-1926-part-1-youth-and.html#.WciDroprwUE.

[236] http://www.irishexaminer.com/viewpoints/columnists/terry-prone/it-was-jan-morris-who-transformed-the-world-for-transgender-people-335139.html.

Journalist Terry Prone observes:

> It took enormous courage for James Morris to change gender in 1972. Morris was a historian who had produced a definitive work about the British Empire. He had accompanied Edmund Hillary's climb of Everest. He was in his mid-40s and married with children when he made the same decision that Jenner more recently made: That he could not live the rest of his life as a man. As Jan Morris, she broke down all of the barriers, created all the precedents and re-established herself — in today's terms — as a respected and celebrated brand. Nobody at Jan Morris's level of fame had ever made the gender transition in a public way. She wrote about it. She talked about it. By so doing, and by sustaining the inevitable bigotry, she created a new possibility in the minds of a generation that had never envisaged the possibility of sex change, no matter how grievously mismatched they felt with their assigned gender. Admittedly, Jan Morris made her transition prior to the invention of the internet, never mind social media, This gave her advantages and disadvantages. The market for her books was a reasonably elite, educated, literate, and reflective one, likely to continue to accept her offerings because of their intrinsic value.[237]

Morris did not transition into her female persona until 1972, two decades after Jorgensen. What makes this significant is that during the 20-year span of time between Jorgensen's transition and that of Morris, both gender roles and access to information concerning gender transformation changed dramatically. Obtaining access to hormone replacement therapy, HRT, as well as surgical interventions in 1952 were very different than when Morris went to Morocco to see Dr. George Burou for her sexual reassignment surgery in 1972. Legally, Morris could not obtain SRS surgery in England without first obtaining a divorce from her wife, Tuckness, which she refused to do, compelling her to seek surgery in Morocco with Burou. In combination, the period that separates the gender transitions of Jorgensen and Morris represents an important turning point in social

[237] http://www.irishexaminer.com/viewpoints/columnists/terry-prone/it-was-jan-morris-who-transformed-the-world-for-transgender-people-335139.html.

thought. It is important to remember that the cultural upheaval that marks much of the rhetoric concerning the 1960s era was not limited to protest marches and anti-war rallies, nor was this social turbulence confined to the United States. In the subtext of peace marches and pot, the message of the 60s generation was one that rejected conventional conformity. The adventures of Jan Morris as a soldier, mountain climber, and award-winning writer indicate that she fully understood and embraced the concept of nonconformity. Instead of underscoring the desire to negate the stigma of alterity by fitting into an established sexual role the way Jorgensen had, Morris was able to embrace her transition to womanhood in an atmosphere of reassessed values; she was bestowed the CBE in 1999, 35 years after her transition.

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE SEVENTIES AND BEYOND

New Strategies

This dissertation focuses on several principal areas of investigation that surround the emergence of LGBT presences since the end of World War II. In the introduction to this work, I located the current social and cultural position that transgender identity occupies. I called attention to the political landscape that transgender people are forced to navigate on a daily basis. In chapter one I noted that different categories of bimodal perception exist. Things such as assumptions, kinds of research used to evaluate transgender people, and symbols that designate transgender as the undesirable other need to be re-evaluated. I proposed that the processes of providing pathways that look beyond the social and cultural structures of presumptive identity need to be part of the fundamental framework that defines transgender scholarship. In chapter two I continued my critique of transgender alterity and discussed several theoretical models that have developed since the middle of the 20th century. Additionally, I proposed a different way of examining theory. By using the idea of the story and The Knowledge Wheel, I put a 21st-century philosophical spin on the process of knowledge gathering.

In the second section of this dissertation, Checking Our History, I began the discussion by calling the reader's attention to several examples of the historical roots of transgender. Also, I point to examples of traditional acceptances that date back thousands of years.

My discussion concerning transgender presences in the 20th-century begins in chapter 5. By pointing out specific examples of transgender people before America's

dramatic mid 20th-century social shift, I underscore the 30-year post-war period. Its role as one of the most critical times in American history is often forgotten. During that period America witnessed a period of unimaginable turmoil. Things such as the rise and fall of McCarthyism and the influence of the high profile arrival of Christine Jorgensen had a dramatic impact on American life. The continuation of the Cold War with Russia and the very hot war in Vietnam provided a confusing backdrop for the assassinations of John F. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King. Additionally, the civil rights movement, the break-in at the Watergate Hotel, and the resignation of President Richard Nixon served to undermine faith in the American political system. The American Indian movement and the occupation of Alcatraz Island focused attention on the process of colonization. Adding to the melee of mixed social attitudes was Lyndon Johnson's war on poverty and the advance of the political right-wing's 'silent majority.' The shootings that took place at both Kent State and Jackson State University highlighted

an era in which the dominant forces of American government became very public.

The different factors that coalesced during the middle of the 20th-century prompted an open rebellion in many cities across America. The cumulative causes of the social revolution are much more profound than any single factor. If one looks outside of the framework of the more obvious symptoms of social unrest what becomes clear is that those who questioned America's social structure reached critical mass during the 1960s.[238]

Open confrontations with authority figures became common strategies during the 1960s and are reminiscent of similar historical scenarios that sought to implement social

[238] Martin B Duberman, *Stonewall* (New York: Plume, 1994), 75.

change. For instance, the circumstances surrounding the Nat Turner Slave Rebellion that took place during the early 19th-century plantation era of Virginia have been well recorded in the annals of Southern slave history. Turner, the property of a Virginia plantation owner, is reported to have gone house to house recruiting other slaves and free men of color. His small army reportedly killed about 60 white people before they were stopped. Turner was eventually captured and when questioned indicated that he aimed to wake up White people about the brutality and oppression associated with slavery. However, to frame the Turner Slave Rebellion as a simplistic response to White domination is reductive. While history records that Turner's rebellion failed and his fate included hanging and decapitation, one must look beyond the backdrop of a 19th-century Virginia plantation.

A more valuable interpretation of Turner's actions must include the possibility that he acted in a way that responded to the reality of his situation. That is, that he was considered to be chattel, a person socially designated as less than a second-class human. I see Turner as an individual who recognized himself as the other and as such without the possibility of human recognition. His identity was a designation dictated by the color of his skin and the approval of White mainstream culture.

I have called attention to the Nat Turner Slave Rebellion, aka, The Southhampton Insurrection, to demonstrate the efficacy of strategic restructuring. Turner's 'methodology' of open rebellion leads to his demise. However, part of his unintended legacy may be a message about changing strategy. In the wake of the Turner slave rebellion, a rash of *passive resistance* techniques developed. Broken tools, work

slowdowns, and feigned sickness became standard tools of defiance. Thus, one of the lessons that can be learned from the history of direct and forceful confrontation such as the Turner rebellion is that the strategies of social change need to reflect on and anticipate the responses of those who would restrict that change.

Stonewall

There is not now, nor is there likely to be in the foreseeable feature, any consensual agreement concerning which group of bar patrons championed the iconic event known as Stonewall. Of more importance is that the incident set the stage for a new direction in transgender advocacy and law. Larger then life personalities such as Sylvia Rivera, one of the founders of the Gay Liberation Front, and her close friend Marsha P. Johnson, are both emblematic personalities of 1960's transgender activism and instrumental actors in early days of the transgender movement. Also, organizations such as *One*; the *Street Transvestites Activists Revolutionaries*, (STAR); *The Young Lords*; and the *Black Panthers* created an environment that rejected the notion of marginalized identities. The small disreputable mafia-owned bar known as the Stonewall is notable in the record of transgender history not as the birthplace of the sexual revolution, but as a place where decades of abuse based on 'queer' gender identity was repudiated. Rather than the beginning of the Gay Rights Movement, for the transgender community it was the birthplace of a new kind of activist, the modern legal revolutionary.

One of the problems concerning the stories of transgender activism and those who chronicle the circumstances of an event is their failure to see beyond the present moment. For example, the infamous June 28, 1968 'Stonewall riots' have far more significance for

transgender people than a street debacle that took place between the LGBT community and New York's finest. Although some gay activist claim Stonewall as the start of the gay rights movement, for transgender people the incident underscores an ongoing era of 'fight back' mentality that started a decade earlier at a small donut shop in Los Angeles called Cooper's. Those who study the history of 21st-century transgender people need to realize that the idea of transgender has left the closet, crossed the street of open bottle-throwing activism, and is now seated comfortably in the front row of many U.S. courthouses.

Legal Legacies

Police use of power within 1960s LGBT communities was not marked by a reasonable or objective application of the letter of the law. Instead, as civil unrest became more intense local constabularies, such as the New York Police Department, took upon themselves the role of lawmakers rather than law enforcers. This allowed for extensive amounts of latitude regarding their targets and the stringency with which they utilized their authority. One example of this 'extended latitude' can be seen in the order of New York Mayor Robert F. Wagner, Jr., who in the early 1960s initiated a campaign to rid the city of gay bars, (and presumably their clientele), in preparation for the 1964 World's Fair.

In the era leading up to 'Stonewall,' incidents of police entrapment, payoffs, and corruption became commonplace. In one such incident, according to *The New York Post*, there was an arrest in a gym locker room that was made following the police officer feinting a severe pain in his groin, grabbing his crotch, and moaning as if in severe

agony. After the officer's spectacular performance a man asked him if he was all right.[239] The individual making the inquiry was arrested and hauled off to jail. In the 1960s incarceration on the charge of homosexuality meant that one might be held off in a judicial system wherein lawyers regularly refused to represent clients accused of being sexually deviant. An attorney who elected to undertake a case where charges of homosexuality were involved was often expected to kick back legal fees to the arresting officer.[240] Rampant corruption and a political agenda directed toward the assumption of transgender homosexuality guided an ongoing series of police harassments throughout the 1950s and 1960s. The pursuit of a remedy provided the foundation upon which the creation of transgender law came into being.

Problematically, accounts regarding conflicts between transgender individuals and the law are incomplete. Often newspaper clippings do not contain biographical information, authors, dates, or titles of publications. Since reporters were free to write descriptions of the events that reflected prejudices, preconceptions, and notions that engaged the fantasies of their readers, factual information is often anecdotal. However, since the focus of reporters centered more on the sensationalism of cross-dressed individuals than on facts, much less homosexual stigmatization appeared than we see later in the century. Interestingly, at the same time the stigmatization of homosexuality was decreasing there was an upturn in the assumption of immorality associated with cross-dressing. By the middle of the 20th century, the idea of artistic 'Drag' of famous

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[239] David Carter, *Stonewall: The Riots That Sparked the Gay Revolution*, 2 Mti edition (New York, NY: St. Martin's Griffin, 2010), 46.

[240] Martin B. Duberman, *Stonewall* (New York: Plume, 1994), 116.

performers such as Julian Eltinge had fallen into disrepute. Dressing in a manner that was inconsistent with one's birth sex assignment was grounds for detention. The reasoning behind this seemed to be the notion that anyone who dressed as a woman but was anatomically male was either a lunatic, a criminal, or a sexual predator. Gypsey Teague, a member of the Women's Studies Faculty at Clemson University and author of *The New Goddess: Transgender Women in the Twenty-First Century,* writes about Homer Davis in a section of her 2006 book. She says Homer Davis was accused of molesting one woman and raping another. In a description of the event, one finds the following quote.

> Then the 'girl' pulled June's (the name of the second victim) pantyhose down around her knees and proceeded to ravish the thrashing victim. That's right. June insisted it to the cops: she was raped. Really raped. Like in Pappa-balls Mama … then the weirdo was seized on a Bronx Street, wearing women's clothing right down to panties. The transvestite was obviously out looking for another Tootsie to assault. He admitted the dressing as a woman gave him one perverted thrill. And using that perfect cover to waylay girls to ravish gave him another.[241]

Teague goes on to say that Davis is portrayed as a monster and, by extension, so are all cross-dressers. Since he had only been sent for psychological evaluation at the time the article appeared, the writer reminds the reader that justice has yet to be served. Teague also says Davis was committed to a mental hospital for observation. If the shrinks decide he's sane enough to stand trial, the 'girl' who attacked two women on the street will be tried on a charge of rape.

Teague's recounting of Davis's assault lends credence to the idea of mid 20th-century tabloid attacks on transgender women and cross-dressing men. Teague also

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[241] Gypsey Teague, *The New Goddess: Transgender Women in the Twenty-First Century* (Fine Tooth Press, 2006), 13.

reminds us that:

> The article has all the fascination of a train wreck, horrible to view, yet impossible to ignore. If the story is contemporary with the mini dress in the photo, this clipping probably from the late 1960s or early 1970s, the era when those who identified as transvestites, drag queens or male to female transsexuals would have found it particularly disturbing. They were defending themselves from attacking feminists, who considered any form of cross-dressing or drag was belittling to women. (Figure 59)



Figure 59. Cross-Dresser as lunatic, predator, and criminal.[242]

The Birth of Judicial Challenges

Those who are transgender challenge mainstream assumptions that an individual may aspire to be nothing more than what the limitations their birth-assigned sex allows. During the 1960s these challenges took the form of street activism, bar riots, police payoffs, social exile, and existed as oppositions to the subjective imposition of legalities imposed on transgender actors. While numerous legal cases test the notion of transgender identity, two court findings took place in the 1970s that are highly significant. The first is

[242] Courtesy: Gypsey Teague, The New Goddess: Transgender Women in the 21st-century, 14.

a precedent-setting case that took place in England.

Corbett v. Corbett: A 1970s Landmark

The Corbett case is a 1971 legal decision concerning the divorce of a transsexual couple. Details of the case are far less critical than the court's findings concerning the litigants. The verdict of the court was that sex is determined at the time of birth. Conservative courts have, for more than 40 years, allowed this ruling to be cited as legal precedent and its detrimental effects have influenced rights of inheritance, retirement benefits, and death benefits. When adhering to this precedent, the courts extended their authority and took it upon themselves to decide that the impact of chromosomes on one's physical and psychological being were the determining factor concerning a person's gender.[243] This ruling legally classified April Ashley, a transsexual woman and the wife of Lord Arthur Corbett as male. (Figure 60)

The second highly significant legal decision involves the case of Dr. Renée Richards and her challenge against The United States Tennis Association. An extensive accounting of her experience is presented in her book:

[243] Andrew Sharpe, *Transgender Jurisprudence: Dysphoric Bodies of Law*, 1st edition (London: Routledge-Cavendish, 2007), 99-104.

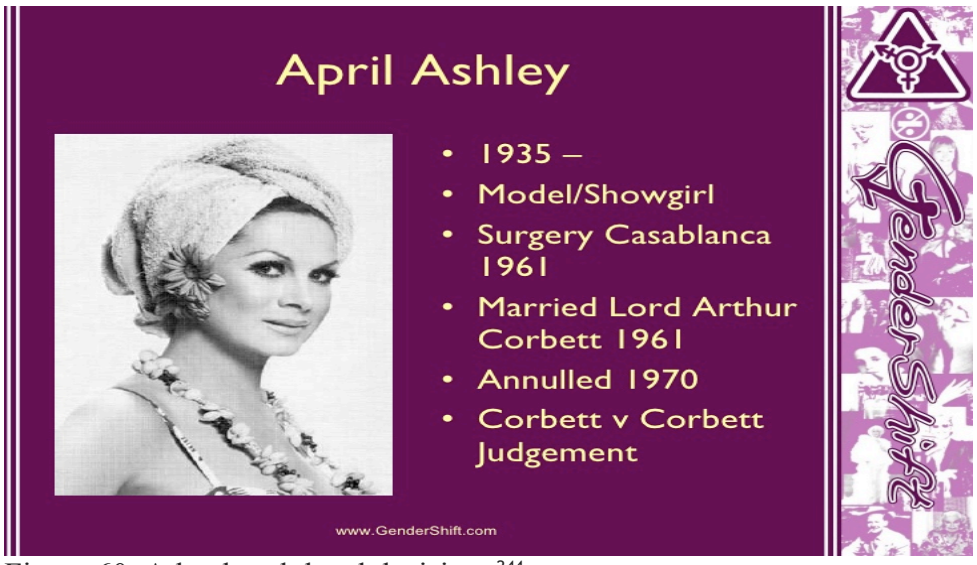


Figure 60. A landmark legal decision. [244]

Second Serve[245]

Despite the devastating impact of the Corbett decision during the opening years of the 1970s, by 1977 the fluid nature of transgender law had taken a shift in direction. An American ophthalmologist and tennis player, Dr. Renée Richards, (Figure 61) underwent male-to-female sex reassignment surgery.

Having had some success as a tennis player, she tried to register as a contestant in the U.S. Open and was denied by a policy that required genetic screening for female players. Richards challenged the system, and the case ended up on the doorstep of the New York Supreme Court. Sandy Harwitt, the author of *The Greatest Jewish Tennis Players of All* Time, writes of Renée Richards:

> Unless someone was living under a rock in the late 1970s, they knew who Renee Richards was even if they weren't a tennis fan. After all, it was kind of hard to miss — or ignore — the headlines about the man

[244] Courtesy: GenderShift.com.

[245] Renee Richards, *Second Serve*, Illustrated edition (New York: Stein & Day Pub, 1992), 271.

> who became a woman and was suing for the right to play the 1977 U.S. Open as a woman. When Richards won the right to participate, as a woman, in that 1977 U.S. Open, and other women's tournaments, she became the only player in history to play top-level tennis like a man and a woman.[246]

The legal victory of Renée Richards in the New York Supreme Court opened unforeseen doors concerning queer, and transgender rights. Her legal challenge marks a crucial turning point in gender activism. Additionally, it opened the door to future legal battles in the field of family law. Of particular note are the issues of same-sex marriage, insurance money paid out to a partner, and social security survivor benefits. A sampling of four significant court cases includes:

• A) *Romer v. Evans*: A 1996 case concerning anti-discrimination laws in Colorado.

• B) *Baher v. Miike*: A 1998 decision regarding same-sex marriage.

• C) *Benitez v. North Coast Women's Care*: Regarding same-sex parenting.

• D) *Cammermeyer v. Perry*, Sexual orientation, and the U.S. military.

[246] Sandra Harwitt, *The Greatest Jewish Tennis Players of All Time* (New York: New Chapter Press, 2014), 76.



Figure 61. Dr. Renée Richards[247]

More recently, in the wake of a record number of transgender murders, the courts have initiated hate crime laws and therefore have considerably more latitude to impose significantly more severe punitive measures on offenses directed at transgender individuals.[248]

[247] Courtesy: Tribeca Film Festival 2011 portrait studio.

[248] "Transgender Murder Victims: Why the Homicide Rate Is So High | Time.Com," accessed September 28, 2017, http://time.com/3999348/transgender-murders-2015/.



Figure 62. Obama signs Hate Crimes Law[249]

President Obama Signs Trans-Inclusive Hate Crimes Law (Figure 62)

President Obama today signed the FY2010 Defense Authorization Bill, which includes the Matthew Shepard/James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act. This historic legislation is the first federal law to recognize the existence of and provide civil rights protections for, transgender people. It provides for the tracking of hate crimes based on sexual orientation, gender identity, gender, and disability, providing assistance to local authorities and gathering information about these crimes.[250]

[249] "President Obama Signs Federal Hate Crimes Law under Banner of Change," *Catholic News Agency*, accessed April 21, 2018, http://www.catholicnewsagency.com/news/president_obama_signs_federal_hate_crimes_law_under_banner_of_change/.

[250] "TLPI: Hate Crime Laws," accessed September 28, 2017, http://www.transgenderlaw.org/hatecrimelaws/index.htm.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSIONS - THE ROAD AHEAD

A Cultural Crossroads

This concluding chapter summarizes the research that I have been formally engaged in since 2009. I began this journey by questioning where the then-current path of transgender scholarship might be heading. It seemed to me that there was no clear goal in mind and that numerous scholars were writing about issues that advanced their agenda. For example, the stories of the trans-indigeneity tended to focus on the evils of colonization and the idea of native exclusion from the transgender narrative. The stories of the 'trans-feminine,' in a similar way, seemed to focus on A) the elimination of trans-women from the discussions of feminine identity, or B) trans-women who circled the fact of chromosomal difference and focused on the parallels that their struggles had to natal femininity. Although these, and similar issues are necessary discussions that orbit the topic of 'transgender,' they are not its nucleus.

Instead, the stories of brutality and marginalized identities of the estimated 9 million people worldwide who identify as either transgender or gender nonconforming are what unify the subject. Problematically, I noticed that the periphery of transgender narrative, that is subplots that surround the topic, encroach on the central story. As I see it, instead of adding theoretical dialogue about the particularities of trans-people, scholars should focus their attention on the idea of social detachment.

It seems unlikely that the idea of the trans-alter is suddenly going to undergo a dramatic conceptual shift. Instead, the notion of trans within mainstream ideas of selfhood may always pose a challenge to the idea of identity. The problem, as I see it, is

located in the conflation of *uncertain* meanings associated with the words sex and gender. The concept of reproductive bimodality isolates man and woman as sexual entities and sources of recombinant chromosomal possibilities. For example, 46XX, 46XY, (45X, 45Y) (sex monosomes), and (47XXX, 47XYY or 47 XXY, etc.) (sex polysomes) are part of a range of pheonotypic variations that determine sex.[251] Gender, on the other hand, desegregates sex. Studies that research sexual role models and same or 'opposite'-sex attraction under the heading of transgender scholarship reinforce the notion that sex and gender are a fused idea instead of symbiotes. Scholars who gravitate toward the type of research that focuses on the particularities of feminism, queer theory, and other related frameworks need to examine a larger picture. Because I saw the idea of transgender defined by its periphery, I became curious concerning whether the topics represented the overall scope of transgender scholarship. I began to wonder if there might be an expanded interpretation of gender marginalization. If what I suspected was true, why was that sector of the investigation overlooked?

I decided to draw upon the insight of a statement that I had heard during my undergraduate studies more than half a century ago. I do not know the author's name, and thus I cannot attribute the wisdom to a specific individual. I therefore lay the words open to the first claimant. To me, they represent my interest in the transgender topic. The greatest arrogance of the present is to forget the knowledge of the past. (Author unknown)

Over the course of my investigation I have traveled to numerous academic

[251] "WHO | Gender and Genetics," WHO, accessed May 5, 2018, http://www.who.int/genomics/gender/en/index1.html.

conferences, read and considered the merits of many theoretical positions, and laboriously waded through news articles, journal publications, social media sites, and a voluminous amount of mind-numbing tomes. The topics of consideration ranged in scope from queer and transgender theory to classical views about power and politics. At times I found myself in agreement with many expressed viewpoints. Other times I became so outraged at the lack of insightful commentary that it robbed me of sleep. Throughout my research, I kept returning to a central concept. That is the arrogance of contemporary awareness and the dismissal of past knowledge. I began looking at the history of transgender people and trying to distinguish a commonality. I kept looking for a link in the particulars of transgender identity. What I found instead of a link is that transgender people are not tied to race, ethnicity, economic strata, nationality, or geographic location. Instead, as I tried to distinguish a unifying factor, I concluded that such attempts were akin to the futility of categorizing the different shapes of a snowflake. Every change in (political) light or (social) temperature that has taken place over the course of history has revealed the viscosity of transgender fluidity.

History it seems, like politics, creates strange bedfellows and I found myself consistently returning to the pages of debate and narrative and reading accounts about trans-identity from a different perspective. By pulling on the threads of ‘objective research’ what I found was a series of salient questions. For instance, how does one recognize co-presences; that is, two or more things that might occupy the same place at any given time. Also, what distinguishes the trans-imaginary from the trans-symbolic? Specifically, is the stability of gender identification an imaginary idea and is it reliant on

multisymbolic messages? Even more significant to a discussion about transgender people centers on the relationship between the stories of experience and empiricism. Can an empirical mind be wrapped around history? Transgender identity, I discovered, exceeds biological determinism and goes beyond facts. Instead, it is a story about locating and expressing an understanding the experience of 'self.'

The NCTE: Putting a Face on Transgender Politics

In search of answers, I traveled to Washington, D.C. to speak with Mara Keisling. As the founder and director of the National Center for Transgender Equality, NCTE, her organization has developed into one of the premier advocacy groups for transgender people in the United States. (Figure 63) Based in Washington DC, Keisling and her staff have produced a multiplicity of well-documented and widely distributed reports, recorded statistical data, and lobbied on behalf of the transgender community. I was not disappointed in my expectation that my conversation with the head of the NCTE would provide significant insights concerning the contemporary path of transgender people.



Figure 63. NCTE joins National Transgender Advocacy Coalition.[252]

On a sunny, warm Summer afternoon Mara and I met at a local coffee bistro located on Dupont Circle. (Figure 64) The question that I wanted Keisling to answer was what she saw as the future for transgender individuals. In retrospect, I realize that Mara's answer foreshadowed many of the realities of transgender existence in the 21st-century. When I asked her to prognosticate about the future of trans-persons, she offered the following opinions. She said that despite the preponderance of advances in legal and political policies that had taken place under the Obama administration, the four-year cycle of shifting political ideologies might include a downturn. However, she added, the setbacks would be temporary. (Figure 65)

[252] Courtesy: NCTE website.



Figure 64. Mara Keisling and this author at DuPont Circle.[253]

When I asked her why she felt that the impediments would be transitory, she told me that the 'old guard' of mainstream politicians were starting to be aware of a new demographic and the changing face of their constituency. Also, she said, trans-people are on a roll; the only question that is still undecided is the speed at which things will progress.[254]

[253] Personal photo collection of the author.

[254] The heated debate that has taken place between the state of North Carolina and the Obama administration concerning bathroom use seems to demonstrate Keisling's point. While the battle continues to rage, and the victories may be delayed, the outcome is already decided. Segregation, whether it is rooted in race, ethnicity, or gender identification is a weak argument.



Figure 65. President Obama signs LGBT Workplace Orders.[255]

We talked throughout the afternoon, and Keisling mentioned that an increasing number of people had been responding to the surveys of her organization. Also, she said that the data seemed to suggest a willingness by the respondents to share the realities of their lives. For example, during the First Congressional Hearing on Transgender Issues, people shared their job discrimination experiences.[256] One such experience included Diane Schroer, a retired Army Special Forces Commander who lost her job after

[255] After years of advocacy by NCTE and a coalition of LGBT advocates, President Obama banned anti-LGBT workplace discrimination in federal contracting. An additional order barred trans discrimination for federal employees. Although advocacy for a clear federal law prohibiting LGBT workplace discrimination persists, these orders fill gaps between existing Title VII sex discrimination laws and a handful of state non-discrimination laws.
Courtesy: *The New York Times.*

[256] 'An Examination of Discrimination Against Transgender Americans in the Workplace.' Held June 26, 2008, by The House Committee on Education and Labor.

disclosing her transgender identity. Finally, she said, an increasing number of survey respondents seemed to feel that it was no longer necessary to be either male or female. Instead, self-definition of gender appears to be the wave of the future.



Figure 66. Transgender people are educating members of Congress.[257]

Keisling's answers lead me to conclude that past closeted identities are starting to emerge from the shadows. As this happens, the first-hand stories of individuals who can tell about the experiences of excluded existence will also appear. As this unfolds many old and unfounded ideas that locate transgender as a social threat will be replaced with more progressive attitudes. The takeaway message that I received from my afternoon with Mara Keisling is that there is a new wave of politicians on the Hill and many more just over the horizon. (Figure 66) The longevity of their tenure in the halls of legislative power is unpredictable. Consequently, obtaining the votes of a new demographic of 21st-

[257] Courtesy: NCTE website.

century college-educated Millennials is becoming an increasingly central issue. How they harken and respond to the needs of a growing population of non-mainstream identities and marginalized social sectors within their voting block may well reflect whether they maintain their position in government.

Any reasonable prediction about the future of the transgender movement, the primary question that I posed to Keisling, must include at least two unavoidable facts. First, we live in changing times. The old guard that produced and underscored ideas about the nature and limitations of trans-identity are quickly becoming governments emeritus and emerita faculty. Replacing them are a new breed of 21st-century politicians that are exposing the realities of the present century. They provide sharply-divided opinions on an array of topics that range in scope from military defense to social issues. The laws they make are usually motivated by the stories 'du jour' and are responses to the problems that affect the most influential sectors of their voting block.

The second unavoidable fact is that, at least for the time being, transgender people do not represent the majority of votes that are cast by lawmakers. Therefore for transgendered causes to have favorable outcomes, there must be optimum strategies available that will influence legislative bodies. Transgender people must extend their visible presence and *develop a compelling narrative of their reali*ty. The optimum methodology of social and cultural expression may not be one that involves new theoretical structures but instead concerns the process of telling and listening to the stories that expand upon past knowledge.

Media and the Cyber Community

In 2016 I had the opportunity travel to the University of Victoria on Vancouver Island in the Canadian province of British Columbia. The purpose of my trip was to attend a conference hosted by the University and run by Professor of Sociology Arron H. Devor, Ph.D., FSSSS, FSTLHE. The three-day conference was called, *Moving Trans History Forward,* and drew speakers from across Canada and the United States. (Figure 77) In addition to taking advantage of an opportunity to visit one of the largest repositories of transgender history in the world, I was able to sit down with Dr. Devor and ask him questions concerning the contemporary locations of transgender resistance. I was also interested in whether he felt they were part of a broader discussion about the new areas of discourse concerning the concept of the other.

He told me that the single most overwhelming location for transgender discussions and thus the center of social discourse was the Internet. He went on to say that before the everyday use of cyberspace transgender people felt isolated. What little information that was available quite often originated behind closed doors and in the small private meetings spaces reminiscent of the early years of the Mattachine society. If an individual desired information regarding gender transformation, it often involved confidential conversations with psychologist and doctors. Many pre-internet medical professionals were reluctant to leave footprints on the untrodden ground of questionable ethical and moral standards. Because of this, prevailing attitudes concerning gender dysphoria and notions of the trans-alter favored a model of non-discussion. That is, the subject of feeling that one was out of place in one's body was considered a passing

psychological phase. As such, those who experienced the phenomenon would eventually move past their discomfort. Thus, a medical discussion concerning the treatment of GID was not warranted.

Today, information about transforming hormones, dosage, dangers, experiences, and the best place to arrange for gender-confirming surgery is readily available. All that is required is internet access and a passing familiarity with a computer keyboard. Before the widespread use of the internet, the availability of such information was limited and often required trips abroad and smuggled medication. Contemporary technological advances have fostered large media groups devoted to discussions about gender as well as to providing a stage upon which to discharge ideas about social otherness.

A New Paradigm of Gender

As I have moved through the research process that produced this dissertation, I arrived at many sub-conclusions. That is, I have uncovered different streams of cultural behavior and sociopolitical response that seem to suggest that there may be a finite revelatory statement concerning gender. However, despite my efforts to provide the reader with a Newtonian moment about transgender studies the subject does not lend itself to epiphanic revelation. The focus of transgender studies should not be on self-indulgent scholarship but instead on the review of the circumstance of undefined personhood that is neither male or female, homosexual or heterosexual, not linked to ethnicity or race, not geographically centered, and dependent upon mainstream approval. In this the field is unique.



Figure 67. Moving Trans-History Forward Conference.[258]

I see only three stumbling blocks on the road to a momentous change in social attitudes toward transgender people. They are A) generationally rooted assumptions, B) political and social agenda, C) scholarship that fails to reflect contemporary realities. When those three obstacles are overcome, society will witness a transgender Renaissance.

Epilogue

In March 2018, I once again traveled to British Columbia, Canada. I, along with Professor Sylvie Kay from Tohoku Gakuin University in Sendai, Japan, was given the opportunity to present views on the location and acceptance of the trans-other. Our invitation to speak came from the Chair in Transgender Studies at the University of Victoria on Vancouver Island. Every two years a conference is held at 'UVic' with the

[258] Courtesy. MTHF website, 2016.

central theme of “Moving Trans History Forward.” It is significant to note that under the leadership of Dr. Aaron Devore the attendance at this conference has grown exponentially. This year it hosted almost 300 transgender scholars and researchers from seventeen countries.

The inclusive atmosphere of the campus environment is enviable. In addition to its reputation for superior scholastic achievement, the university is also home to the First People’s Center of Canada and recognizes that its buildings sit upon the historically-owned ground of the Esquimalt, Songhee, Coast Salish, and Scia native peoples. An additional indication of the inclusive nature of the university became apparent as I strolled the halls of the student union. I could not help but notice that the students were far more interested in the pursuit of their academics than the vast array of gender expressions that flooded by them. For instance, I paid specific attention to the fact that a 6'8" Black man in 4" leather stiletto heels drew no particular notice. As I looked at the population of coffee-sipping Millennials I did not see a single eyebrow raise or head turn. Nor did I see any evidence that a well-dressed transgender Thai scholar in a silk dress and carrying the accouterments of her profession was anything more than a traveling academic preparing to present her work.

Since the university hosts the world's most extensive collection of transgender archives, has the first ever Chair in Transgender History, and sponsors the largest transgender conference in the world, it was not surprising to see examples of gender inclusion in all corners of campus life. However, what I found revelatory was the extent to which gender inclusion was not well-thought-out political correctness but rather

something that is embraced by the entire student body. Gender, I noticed, at least on the campus of the University of Victoria and on the streets of downtown Victoria, seems to be a non-issue. (Figure 67-68)

I mentioned this refreshing observation to my colleague, Professor Kay, and she added that she also had been watching the reactions of the student body. Interestingly, we both seemed to share similar opinion concerning the future of gender diversity. That is the University of Victoria may be a model for a future where the idea of gender as a segregated identity does not exist.



Figure 68. The crosswalk in front of the Student Union — ‘UVic.’

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE PATH OF TRANS ADVANCES

1952 — Christine Jorgensen Becomes First American to Have a Sex Change Bronx; 'Boy' Is Now a Girl

A former Army private from the Bronx became the first American to undergo a sex change operation after traveling to Denmark for surgery and hormone treatments. Upon her return, she publicly announced her transition and became an advocate and a celebrity.

- **1989 — May 4** (obituary); **Christine Jorgensen, 62, Is Dead** Was First to Have a Sex Change.

- **1959 — May Clashes at Cooper's Donuts**

Police officers tried to arrest individuals at Cooper's Donuts in Los Angeles, a favorite hangout for transgender people, drag queens and others in the L.G.B.T. community. The patrons clashed with the officers over the treatment, throwing coffee, doughnuts, and utensils.

- **1964 — Trans Man Reed Erickson Creates Foundation**

After transitioning in 1963, philanthropist Reed Erickson creates the Ericson Educational Foundation and donates millions of dollars to promote gay and transgender equality.

- **1966 — Riots at Compton's Cafeteria**

Like Cooper's Donuts, Compton's Cafeteria in the Tenderloin District of San Francisco was one of the few places in the area where transgender people, who were not welcome at gay bars, could congregate publicly. Riots broke out there after police officers tried to kick out a transgender woman. Members of the L.G.B.T. community picketed the restaurant after it prohibited transgender people from entering the store.

- **1966 — The Transsexual Phenomenon**

The physician Harry Benjamin publishes "The Transsexual Phenomenon," a groundbreaking book that outlined how transgender people could transition medically.

- **1966 — Nov. 27 Surgery to Change Gender**

Johns Hopkins University announced last week that a team of its doctors had started a program to perform surgery regularly, though still experimentally, to change the gender of men to women and women to men.

- **1969 — June 30 Police Again Rout 'Village' Youths.**

"POLICE AGAIN ROUT 'VILLAGE' YOUTHS; Outbreak by 400 Follows a Near-Riot Over Raid"

Greenwich Village police continue the policy of harassment directed at transgender and gender non-conforming youth. "Heavy police reinforcements cleared the Sheridan Square area of Greenwich Village again yesterday morning when large crowds of young men, angered by a police raid on an inn frequented by homosexuals, swept through the area."

- **1969 — July 2 "The Stonewall Riots"**

Police officers raided the Stonewall Inn, a gay club in New York City. The crowd, weary of the raids on gay clubs, rioted. Many in the L.G.B.T. community, including transgender people, joined in several days of demonstrations. The Stonewall Riots are widely considered to have sparked the L.G.B.T. rights movement.

- **1970 — "The Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries"** aka, STAR

Two transgender women, Sylvia Rivera and Marsha P. Johnson, start Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries, or STAR House, an advocacy group and shelter in New York. Rivera, then 50, figures prominently in the birth of the Gay Liberation Movement.

- **1972 — Sweden Recognizes Gender Reassignment**

The European nation becomes the first country in the world to allow citizens to change their sex legally.

- **1975 — Transgender Protections in Minneapolis**

Minneapolis becomes the first U.S. city to pass a law prohibiting discrimination against transgender people.

- **1977 — Renée Richards Wins in New York Supreme Court**

The New York Supreme Court ruled that Renée Richards, a transgender woman who played professional tennis, was eligible to play at the United States Open as a woman.

- **1986 — Lou Sullivan founds FTM international**

Transman Lou Sullivan establishes one of the first advocacy groups for transgender men and publicly challenges authority figures who proclaim transmen cannot be gay.

- **1987 — Gender Identity Disorder**

In the 1987 revision of "The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders," the American Psychiatric Association added "gender identity disorder" as a classification for transgender people.

- **1991 — "Paris is Burning"**

The film documentary focuses on gay and transgender ball culture in New York City.

- **1992 — First International Conference on Transgender Law and Employment Policy**

The conference in Houston was the first of six gatherings where activists, especially lawyers, from around the country met and laid the groundwork for the transgender movement. Among the areas addressed were legal issues related to health care, employment and military service.

- **1993 — First State Protections**

Minnesota becomes the first state to extend protections against discrimination to transgender people.

- **1993 — Brandon Teena**

Brandon Teena, a 21-year-old transgender man, was beaten, raped and murdered in Nebraska. His story is the subject of a film 'Boys Don't Cry.'

- **1994 — The Gazebo Chat Room**

'The Gazebo,' a dedicated chat room for transgender people, was started on AOL by Gwendolyn Ann Smith, providing a gathering place and a resource center with a bulletin board. By the mid-1990s, Ms. Smith said, 'The Gazebo had tens of thousands of unique visitors a month.'

- **1995 — Transgender Lobbying**

Transgender woman Phyllis Frye, sometimes called the grandmother of the transgender movement, and Riki Anne Wilchins held the first transgender lobbying day in Washington D.C. Ms. Wilchins created 'GenderPAC,' an advocacy group based in D.C.

- **1998 — Rita Hester murdered in Massachusetts**

Crime motivated by gender identity inspires "Remembering Our Dead" web project and first International Transgender Day of Remembrance.

- **<u>1999</u> — The Transgender Day of Remembrance**

The advocate Gwendolyn Ann Smith organized the first Transgender Day of Remembrance, to honor the memory of Rita Hester and other transgender people like her who killed because of bigotry and anti-transgender violence.

In this same year, infantry soldier Barry Winchell is murdered by other soldiers after they discover he is in a relationship with Calpernia Addams, a transgender woman.

- **<u>2001</u> — Rhode Island Passes Law**

Rhode Island became the second state to include transgender people in a nondiscrimination law. Seventeen more states followed suit.

- **<u>2002</u> — Advocates for the Transgender Community Organize**

'The Transgender Law Center' opens its first office in San Francisco. Additionally, the Sylvia Rivera Law Project is founded.

- **<u>2003</u> — First Transgender Person Officially Visits White House**.

George W. Bush became the first president to officially welcome an openly transgender person, Petra Leilani Akwai, into the White House as part of a Yale 1968 class reunion.

The leading advocacy group for transgender rights, 'The National Center for Transgender Equality' is founded by Mara Keisling.

- **<u>2004</u> — First Exclusively Transgender March**

San Francisco's first Trans March takes place after an anonymous email was sent to several community activists.

- **<u>2005</u> — California Bans Insurance Discrimination Against Transgender Patients**

California became the first state to mandate transgender health care coverage under the Insurance Gender Nondiscrimination Act.

- **<u>2008</u> — Diane Schroer Wins Lawsuit Against Library of Congress**

Diane Schroer won a discrimination lawsuit against the Library of Congress after it rescinded a job offer as a terrorism analyst after learning that Ms. Schroer was transgender and intended to start the job as a woman. A District Court judge concluded that the Library of Congress was in violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act.

- **2008 — A Transgender Mayor**

Stu Rasmussen was elected mayor of Silverton, Ore., becoming the first openly transgender mayor in America.

- **2009 — Murder of Transgender Woman Labeled a Hate Crime**

A jury in Colorado found Allen Andrade guilty of first-degree murder in the killing of Angie Zapata. The case was among the first in which a hate crime law was applied in a murder trial where the victim was transgender.

Also during this year, Chaz Bono, formerly known as Chastity, the child of Cher and Sonny Bono came out as a transgender man.

- **2009 — Presidential Appointees**

President Obama nominated the first openly transgender federal appointees. Dylan Orr began as an attorney at the Department of Labor in December, and a month later, Amanda Simpson became a senior technical adviser in the Commerce Department's Bureau of Industry and Security.

- **2010 — First Openly Transgender Judge Takes the Bench**

Phyllis R. Frye, a lawyer since 1981, was sworn in as a judge in Houston, becoming the nation's first openly transgender judge. Victoria Kolakowski was sworn in as the first transgender trial judge a few months later.

- **2010 — Transgender in College Sports**

Kye Allums, who played basketball at George Washington University, came out as a transgender man. He is believed to be the first Division I college basketball player to compete publicly as a transgender person.

- **2011 — Federal Memo on Transgender Employees**

The Office of Personnel Management issues a memo of support for transgender people.

'It is the policy of the Federal Government to treat all of its employees with dignity and respect and to provide a workplace that is free from discrimination whether that discrimination is based on race, color, religion, sex (including gender identity or pregnancy), national origin, disability, political affiliation, marital status, membership in an employee organization, age, sexual orientation, or other non-merit factors. Agencies should review their anti-discrimination policies to ensure that they afford a non-

discriminatory working environment to employees irrespective of their gender identity or perceived gender non-conformity.'

- **2012 — The Girl Scouts of Colorado Take a Stand**

The Girl Scouts of Colorado welcomed all children who identify as girls. In a statement to CNN, the group said, 'If a child identifies as a girl and the child's family presents her as a girl, Girl Scouts of Colorado welcomes her as a Girl Scout.'

- **2012 — Title VII Applies to Transgender Employees**

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission ruled that Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which made it illegal to discriminate based on sex, also protects transgender employees. These protections are based on recent rulings from federal courts and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which made it illegal to discriminate 'because of sex.' Almost all public and private-sector employees and job applicants (at companies of 15 or more employees) are covered under Title VII.

- **2013 — American Psychiatric Association Changes Definition**

The American Psychiatric Association updated its manual, *The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, replacing the term 'gender identity disorder' with one that was less stigmatizing, 'gender dysphoria.'

- **2014 — Transgender Studies Quarterly** Begins

Duke University Press begins the publication of Transgender Studies Quarterly, the first academic publication of its kind.

- **2014 — A Medicare Exclusion Reversed**

The Department of Health and Human Services reversed a Medicare policy in place since 1981. Medicare must now cover sex reassignment surgery.

- **2014 — Laverne Cox Appears on the Cover of Time Magazine**

Laverne Cox, an actress in "Orange Is the New Black," became the first transgender person to appear on the cover of Time magazine.

- **2014 — Department of Justice Changes its Policy**

The government agency took the position that Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 applied to claims of discrimination based on gender identity.

- **2015 — Transgender TV**

The Amazon TV series "Transparent" won a Golden Globe for best television comedy or musical. The show's star, Jeffrey Tambor, took home the award for best actor in the category. The show also features Alexandra Billings, who was the first transgender actor to play a transgender character on television, when, in 2005, she was in 'Romy and Michele: In the Beginning.'

- **2015 — Obama on Transgender**

President Obama mentioned transgender people in his State of the Union address, a presidential first. 'That's why we defend free speech and advocate for political prisoners, and condemn the persecution of women, or religious minorities, or people who are lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender,' he said.

- **2015 — Caitlyn Jenner Introduces Herself**

Caitlyn Jenner, formerly Bruce, an Olympic gold medalist, author, actor and reality television star, discussed her transition to a woman in an article in Vanity Fair. In an acceptance speech for the Arthur Ashe Courage Award at the ESPY Awards in Los Angeles in July, she said she planned to use the attention to push for acceptance of transgender people across the world.

- **2015 — A Pentagon Shift**

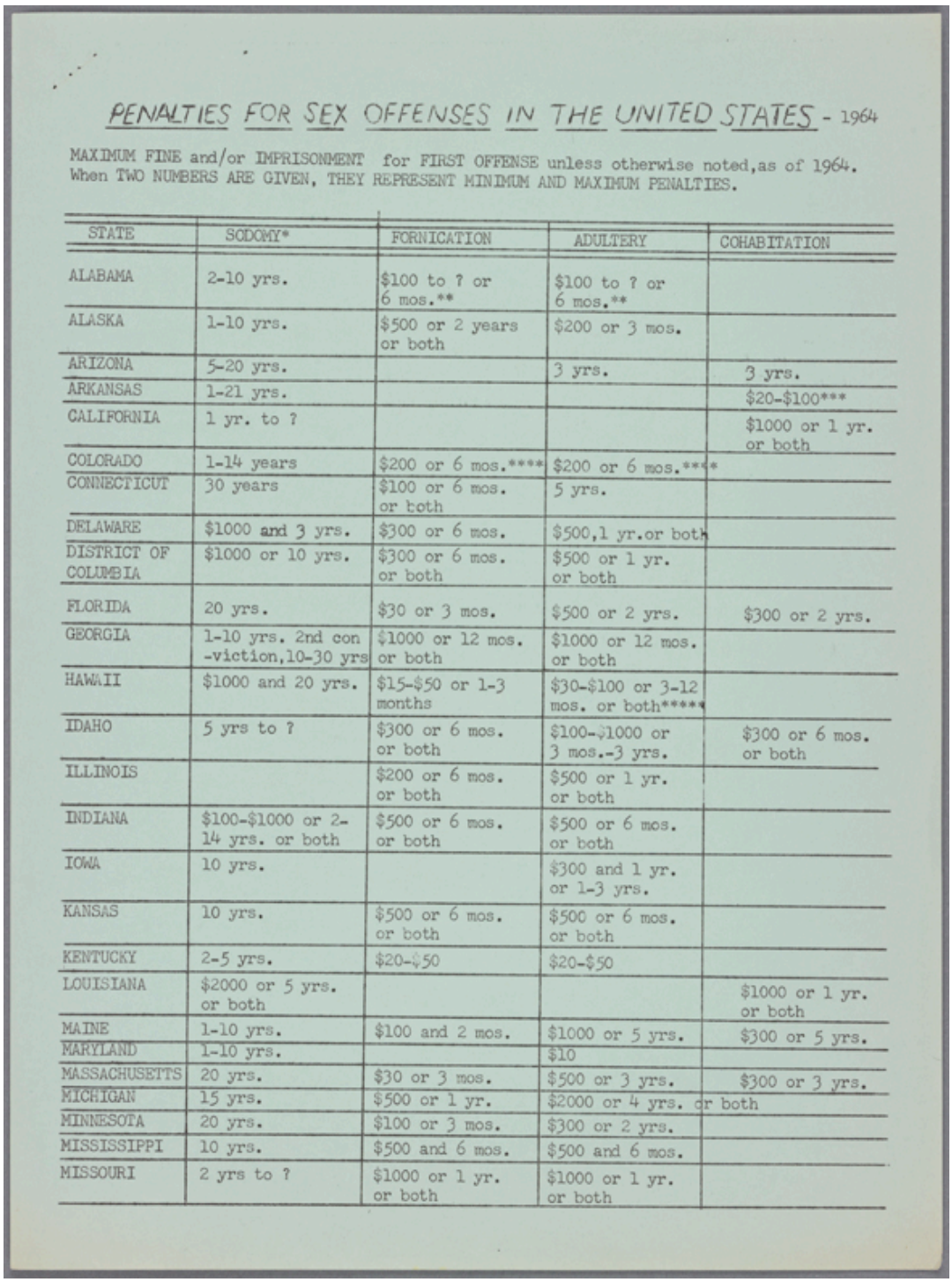
The Pentagon announced plans to lift a ban on military service by transgender people by early 2016. This was seen as a tacit recognition that thousands of transgender people are already in uniform.

- **2015 — White House Hires an Openly Transgender Staff Member**

Raffi Freedman-Gurspan, who was a policy adviser at the National Center for Transgender Equality, will serve as an outreach and recruitment director on President Obama's staff.

APPENDIX B

PENALTIES FOR SEX OFFENSES



PENALTIES FOR SEX OFFENSES IN THE UNITED STATES - 1964

MAXIMUM FINE and/or IMPRISONMENT for FIRST OFFENSE unless otherwise noted, as of 1964.
When TWO NUMBERS ARE GIVEN, THEY REPRESENT MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM PENALTIES.

STATE	SODOMY*	FORNICATION	ADULTERY	COHABITATION
ALABAMA	2-10 yrs.	$100 to ? or 6 mos.**	$100 to ? or 6 mos.**	
ALASKA	1-10 yrs.	$500 or 2 years or both	$200 or 3 mos.	
ARIZONA	5-20 yrs.		3 yrs.	3 yrs.
ARKANSAS	1-21 yrs.			$20-$100***
CALIFORNIA	1 yr. to ?			$1000 or 1 yr. or both
COLORADO	1-14 years	$200 or 6 mos.****	$200 or 6 mos.****	
CONNECTICUT	30 years	$100 or 6 mos. or both	5 yrs.	
DELAWARE	$1000 and 3 yrs.	$300 or 6 mos.	$500,1 yr.or both	
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	$1000 or 10 yrs.	$300 or 6 mos. or both	$500 or 1 yr. or both	
FLORIDA	20 yrs.	$30 or 3 mos.	$500 or 2 yrs.	$300 or 2 yrs.
GEORGIA	1-10 yrs. 2nd con -viction,10-30 yrs	$1000 or 12 mos. or both	$1000 or 12 mos. or both	
HAWAII	$1000 and 20 yrs.	$15-$50 or 1-3 months	$30-$100 or 3-12 mos. or both*****	
IDAHO	5 yrs to ?	$300 or 6 mos. or both	$100-$1000 or 3 mos.-3 yrs.	$300 or 6 mos. or both
ILLINOIS		$200 or 6 mos. or both	$500 or 1 yr. or both	
INDIANA	$100-$1000 or 2-14 yrs. or both	$500 or 6 mos. or both	$500 or 6 mos. or both	
IOWA	10 yrs.		$300 and 1 yr. or 1-3 yrs.	
KANSAS	10 yrs.	$500 or 6 mos. or both	$500 or 6 mos. or both	
KENTUCKY	2-5 yrs.	$20-$50	$20-$50	
LOUISIANA	$2000 or 5 yrs. or both			$1000 or 1 yr. or both
MAINE	1-10 yrs.	$100 and 2 mos.	$1000 or 5 yrs.	$300 or 5 yrs.
MARYLAND	1-10 yrs.		$10	
MASSACHUSETTS	20 yrs.	$30 or 3 mos.	$500 or 3 yrs.	$300 or 3 yrs.
MICHIGAN	15 yrs.	$500 or 1 yr.	$2000 or 4 yrs. or both	
MINNESOTA	20 yrs.	$100 or 3 mos.	$300 or 2 yrs.	
MISSISSIPPI	10 yrs.	$500 and 6 mos.	$500 and 6 mos.	
MISSOURI	2 yrs to ?	$1000 or 1 yr. or both	$1000 or 1 yr. or both	

Penalty for sex offenses c.1964 — Alabama – Missouri.[259]

[259] Courtesy: Mattachine Society

STATE	SODOMY*	FORNICATION	ADULTERY	COHABITATION
MONTANA	5 yrs to ?	$500 or 6 mos. or both	$500 or 6 mos. or both	
NEBRASKA	20 yrs.	$100 and 6 mos.	1 yr.	
NEVADA	1 yr.-life	$500-$1000 or 6 mos.1 yr.or both	$500-$1000 or 6 mos.1 yr.or both	
NEW HAMP.	$1000 or 5 yrs. or both	$50 or 6 mos.	$500 & 1 yr. or 2-3 yrs.	
NEW JERSEY	$5000 or 20 yrs. or both	$50 or 6 mos. or both	$1000 or 3 yrs. or both	
NEW MEXICO	$5000 or 2-10 yrs or both			$100 or 6 mos. or both
NEW YORK	3 mos.		$250,6 mos.or.both	
NO.CAROLINA	5-60 years	Fine or jail or both as court directs./	Fine,jail or both as court directs.	
NO. DAKOTA	10 yrs.	$100 or 1 mo. or both	$500 or 3 yrs. or both	$100-$500 or 1-3 months.
OHIO	1-20 yrs.	$200 or 3 mos.	$200 or 3 mos.	
OKLAHOMA	10 yrs.		$500,5 yrs,or both	
OREGON	15 yrs.	$50-$300 or 1-6 mos.	$200-$1000 or 3 mos.-2 yrs.	
PENNSYLVANIA	$5000 or 10 yrs. or both	$100	$500 or 1 yr.	
RHODE ISLAND	7-20 yrs.	$10	$500 or 1 yr.	
SO.CAROLINA	$5000 to ? or 5 yrs. or both	$100-$500 or 6 mos.-1 yr.or both	$100-$500 or 6 mos.-1 yr.or both	
SO. DAKOTA	10 yrs.		$500,5 yrs.or both	
TENNESSEE	5-15 yrs.			
TEXAS	2-15 yrs.	$50-$500	$100-$1000	
UTAH	3-20 yrs.	$100 or 6 mos.	4 yrs.	5 yrs.
VERMONT	1-5 yrs.		$1000,5 yrs.or both	
VIRGINIA	1-3 yrs.	$20-$100	$20-$100	$50-$500
WASHINGTON	10 yrs.		$1000 or 2 yrs.	$1M,1,yr.or bth.
W. VIRGINIA	1-10 yrs.	$20 to ?	$20 to ?	$50 to ? or 6 mos. or both
WISCONSIN	$500 or 5 yrs. or both	$200 or 6 mos. or both	$1000 or 3 yrs. or both	$500 or 1 yr. or both
WYOMING	10 yrs.	$100 and 3 mos.	$100 and 3 mos.	

* Sodomy, often referred to as "the crime against nature," includes a wide variety of "unnatural" sexual activity, with animals or with another person of either sex, both within and outside of marriage.
** $300 to ? or 1 yr. for 2nd conviction; 2 years for third conviction.
*** $100 to ? or 1 year for 2nd conviction; 1-3 years for third conviction.
**** Double 1st sentence imposed for 2nd conviction, double 2nd for 3rd conv.,and so on.
***** Penalty for male only; for female, penalty is less: $10 to $30 or 1-3 yrs.

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MATTACHINE SOCIETY INC., OF NEW YORK, 1133 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, NEW YORK, 10010 (JT67)

Penalty for sexual offences c.1964 — Montana – Wyoming. [260]

[260] Courtesy: Mattachine Society

APPENDIX C

SHAWN WILSON: INDIGENOUS STORY AS METHODOLOGY

Shawn Wilson: Indigenous Story as Methodology

Throughout this dissertation, I have called attention to three salient points that form the backbone of the narrative. These points are: A) the importance of ‘Story' in relating experience and establishing relationships; B) the indispensable role that cultural history has in giving life to the understandings and philosophy of a group of people, and C) the critical need to develop more and better analytical tools that will contribute to ‘ways of knowing.' I have centered my attention on these three areas of pedagogy as they reflect my comprehension of the guidance and wisdom that has been provided to me by my mentors, indigenous ancestors, and academic elders.

The central focus of my dissertation concerns the changing locations of alterity and the paradigm of othering that mainstream culture has assigned to the idea of non-standard gender identity and the subject of difference. The thoughts that surround this discussion are much more involved than proposing modified versions of previous scholastic efforts. Instead of extending ideas such as performance, or arguments concerning essentialist versus non-essentialist versions of interpreting gender, it is far more productive to focus on the inclusive nature of relationships, history, and how to improve the tools of academic analysis. To do this, I draw from the astute insights of noted indigenous scholar Shawn Wilson.

Wilson is Opaskwayak Cree from northern Manitoba, Canada, now lives on Bundjalung land in eastern Australia, and is the Director of Research at Gnibi College of Indigenous Australian Peoples at Southern Cross University. A few of his more widely kown publications include *Ceremony at a Boundary Fire: a Story of Indigenist*

Knowledge, *Gwich'in Native Elders: Not Just Knowledge, but a Way of Looking at the World*, and *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*. Additionally, Wilson has authored numerous book chapters, creative works, and journal articles concerning indigenous peoples.[261] In his work Wilson links mainstream worlds to indigenous ways of knowing by his extensive use of metaphor, providing a common ground of understanding that transcends the different worldviews that exist between western and indigenous disciplines. I am drawn to Wilson's scholarship and his use of metaphor for two reasons. First, because I see his methodology as closely associated with my idea of metho-theory and story and second, because I see numerous intersections and parallels between his work in indigenous research and the emerging field of transgender studies.

The pre-contact core realities of the indigenous other closely parallel transgender alterity. Both original forms of existence are rooted in the soil of antiquity and involve ways of being, beliefs, and cultural philosophy that, for millennia, have been ingrained in the cultural record. Mainstream preconceptions and misunderstandings of both indigenous culture as well as transgender identity create unflattering scenarios of personhood that make unfounded assumptions in order to fill in the blanks that exist within the category of the other. One of the main commonalities that indigenous and transgender people share is that both identities pose unanswered questions to mainstream culture while calling attention to hegemonic attachment to unquestioned answers.[262] Wilson's use of metaphor as a vehicle expanding the notion of culture by providing a

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[261] "SelectedWorks - Dr. Shawn Wilson," accessed May 10, 2018, https://works.bepress.com/shawn_wilson/.

[262] Shawn Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*, F First Edition Used edition (Black Point, N.S: Fernwood Publishing Co., Ltd., 2009), 6.

common and well-understood reference point is illustrated during a March 2014 presentation at the University of Manitoba.[263] As his talk begins he directs his audience toward a picture of an island protruding from a body of water. The island, says Wilson, represents the visible tip of a much more profound structure that lies unseen and hidden beneath the surface of the water. The visible trappings of culture, he says, like the island, are easy to see. One looks upon the rocky shoreline and sees trees, bushes and the occasional splash of color that has developed as a result of a germinated seed from a wind-blown flower. The features of the island are the visible part of culture. They respond to a changing environment. Sometimes the cultural shoreline is covered in snow, at other times it is wet with dew. Seasons change and new features emerge that give the island its character. What may be less obvious, says the scholar, are the hidden parts of the island, those things that lie beneath the visible surface of the waterline. He identifies the hidden elements, those things that lie submerged below the surface of the water as the beliefs and philosophy of a cultural entity. Wilson goes on to tell us that although the visible parts of the metaphorical island can change and adapt to variations in the environment, the underlying core remains the same. The beliefs we hold, the underlying part of the island, are part of our individuality, and because of this, we can be in a foreign culture and still be who we are. Although Wilson directs this notion toward indigenous populations, the idea is easily transposed to the transgender community. Many individuals who mentally and emotionally identify as transgender exist in a foreign culture, one that demands strict adherence to normative expressions of gender identity.

[263] Shawn Wilson, "Shawn Wilson Presentation HD 720p," YouTube, accessed May 12, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC59RdvSWe43YhueJf5EhZaQ.

What lies well below the surface of cultural identity and cannot easily be seen is the individuality of the transgender person as a unique human being.

Wilson goes on to tell us that the past sociocultural locations of indigenous people have been places of both physical and mental subjugation. Non-hegemonic, non-normative ways of being in the world are under attack, situating indigenous people in a place of resistance. This resistance, according to Wilson takes two forms. The first is a process of active resistance, openly fighting against subjugation. The second, he says, is a state of disempowerment in which people respond by either internalizing a negative view of themselves, or by forwarding the received negativity out laterally to others. Instead of fighting back against oppressions such as homophobia or misogyny it is easier to attack the other than to stand up for one self. Wilson's viewpoint regarding physical and mental subjugation, and that marginalized cultures are in a place of resistance, provides multiple points of commonality between transgender and indigenous cultures. Trans-identified people have, for decades, occupied the space of the 'red-headed stepchild' of the gay and lesbian community. It has only been since the middle of the 20th-century that open resistance to subjugation has surfaced as a way of fighting back against oppression. Wilson's second process, personal negativity, is reflected in the shocking data documenting the 42% rate of attempted transgender suicides.[264]

Wilson suggests that an effective methodology for fighting back against cultural marginalization is to adopt a strategy that guides you toward something better. He poses the question, "what are you putting up as an alternative to the fight?" His response is that

[264] "AFSP-Williams-Suicide-Report-Final.Pdf," accessed May 11, 2018, https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/AFSP-Williams-Suicide-Report-Final.pdf.

living cultures must adapt to change and not founder in cultural quicksand, marooned where they were 50 to 100 years ago. Many western research paradigms, says Wilson, are 'exclusive.' They disenfranchise women, don't allow for queer theory, or permit the inclusion of anything or anyone non-normative. He reflects that in indigenous philosophy there is no requirement that, for instance, to be a feminist one needs to be a woman, or to follow indigenous philosophy one needs to *be* indigenous. An invisible but vital part of indigenous research methodology, says Wilson, are our beliefs, beliefs with which we weave our stories, and through our stories, our communities.