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FROM THE EDITOR...

his issue of the Journal, late though it is, contains several articles and reviews of books and videos we thought would be of interest to our readership. In the article "Dismantling Gender Polarization," Professor S. Bem argues that possibly a more effective way to undo the sexgender dichotomy would be to explode this binary "juggernaut" by expanding the categories of sex and gender. To bolster her ideas Bem has cited the work of three scholars: philosopher Judith Butler, anthropologist Mary Douglas, and developmental geneticist Anne Fausto-Sterling.

The second article traces the parallel pathways of the struggle of gay/ lesbian civil rights and the civil rights movement of the transgendered activists. E. Lombardi, who is a graduate student in sociology, presents a case for guiding the young transgender civil rights movement by looking at some historic events and markers that spawned a respected avenue for obtaining these rights for the gay/lesbian community.

The third article is a short but strong statement of one person's gender journey and its potential as a guide for those who may be on a similar pathway.

We have selected for review five titles from a slew of new books about various gender topics. These include a tome on all facets of gender identity disorder in children and adolescents; an edited series of well-written papers on "constructing masculinity"; a personal account of a health care professional who works with HIV/AIDS patients; a study about men who crossdress in England; and an information-filled work about medical, legal, and workplace issues for the transsexual.

Finally, we review two interesting video presentations, one a portrait of a drag artist of the 1960s and 1970s, the other a well-done overview of the transsexual journey as seen from three different perspectives. Interspersed between all of the above are some informational bytes and some lovely poems that reflect the gender diversity in American culture.

Again, our sincerest apologies for the lateness of this issue.

Happy reading,

-Ari Kane, Editor and Publisher

Call for Papers!

The Journal of Gender Studies welcomes submissions from its readers. These may be articles, reviews of books or movies, your opinions, responses to articles that have appeared in JGS, comments, questions, rebuttals, or letters to the editor. Please send your submissions typewritten, double-spaced, or on disk to the Outreach Institute, 126 Western Ave., Suite 246, Augusta, ME 04330.



Cover artist—Andie Childs is a self-taught artist, having had no formal art training beyond high school. She is very versatile, using a variety of mediums and styles. Besides drawing, painting, and blockprinting, she makes jewelry, blank books (journals), and refrigerator magnets. She sells her work at artisan's markets in the Los Angeles area, where she lives with her girlfirend of 10 years. She supports transgender awareness and education to promote justice for people of all sexual orientations and gender identities. She drew the cover illustration especially for JGS.

DISMANTLING GENDER POLARIZATION AND COMPULSORY HETEROSEXUALITY: SHOULD WE TURN THE VOLUME DOWN OR UP?

by Sandra Lipsitz Bem

At the center of all my previous work on gender and sexuality has been the goal of shrinking both the relevance and the reach of the male/female dichotomy by trying, insofar as possible, to make it as minimal a presence in human social and psychological life as, say, eye color or foot size. Here, however, I argue that a more effective way to undo the privileged status of the two-and-only-two categories of sex/gender/desire that are currently treated in Western culture as normal and natural may be to explode or proliferate such categories (i.e., to turn the volume up) rather than try to eliminate them (i.e., to turn the volume down). In making this argument, I discuss the work of three scholars whose ideas are central: philosopher Judith Butler, anthropologist Mary Douglas, and developmental geneticist Anne Fausto-Sterling.

In the final five pages of *The Lenses of Gender*, I argued that to interrupt the social reproduction of male power, we need to dismantle not only androcentrisim and biological essentialism but also gender polarization and compulsory heterosexuality. In other words, we need to sever all the culturally constructed connections that currently exist in our society between what sex a person is and virtually every other aspect of human experience, including the modes of dress, social roles, and even ways of expressing emotion and experiencing sexual desire. Put somewhat differently, we need to cut back the male-female distinction to a narrow—if critically important—relevance having primarily to do with the biology of reproduction.

With complete gender depolarization, the biology of sex would become a minimal presence in human social life. This does not mean that males and females would merely be freer to be masculine, feminine, or androgynous, heterosexual, homosexual, or bisexual than they are now. What it means is that the distinction between male and female would no longer be the dimension around which the culture is organized. Hence, the very concepts of masculinity, femininity, and androgyny, heterosexuality, homosexuality, and bisexuality would be as absent from the cultural consciousness as the

concepts of a "hetero-eye-colored" eroticism, a "homo-eye-colored" eroticism, and a bi-eye-colored" eroticism are now.

Consistent with this argument, I ended *Lenses* by calling not just for a social revolution but also for a psychological revolution:

Simply put, this psychological revolution would have us all begin to view the biological fact of being male or female in much the same way that we now view the biological fact of being human. Rather than seeing our sex as so authentically who we are that it needs to be elaborated, or so tenuous that it needs to be bolstered, or so limiting that it needs to be traded in for another model, we would instead view our sex as so completely given by nature, so capable of exerting its influence automatically, and so limited in its sphere of influence to those domains where it really does matter biologically that it could be safely tucked away in the backs of our minds and left to its own devices. In other words, biological sex would no longer be at the core of individual identity and sexuality. (Bem, 1993, p. 196)

Shrinking the relevance—or the reach—of sex in both our social and our psychological life is what I here mean by turning its volume way way down.

Anyone familiar with the history of my work on gender and sexuality already knows that the goal of shrinking sex's reach has been at its center for as long as I have been a feminist psychologist, which has now been for some 25 years. I here give only a few examples. In my early work on androgyny, I set forth a genderless model of mental health. In my later work on gender schematicity, I raised the possibility that we humans might not need to look through gender-polarizing lenses to the extent that most of us currently do. In The Lenses of Gender, I argued that the allegedly natural links that have long been thought to exist among, sex, psyche, and sexuality have been constructed, in part, by more than 100 years of gender-polarizing theorizing in psychology, psychiatry, and sexology. Not only that, I further argued that psychology's 100-year struggle to figure out once and for all what biological sex differences there really are is misguided, in part, because it too much (and too reductionistically) emphasizes sexual difference per se and doesn't enough emphasize sexual difference in context. In other words, it is a distraction from the more urgent question of how our malecentered social world transforms whatever differences currently exist between the sexes (whether biological or not biological) into female disadvantage. Finally, there is even the mantra I recited to my children from the time they were old enough to open their ears: "A boy is someone with a penis and testicles; a girl is someone with a clitoris, vagina, and uterus; and whether you're a girl or a boy, a man or a woman, doesn't need to matter—or shouldn't anyway—until and unless you want to make a baby." [Given Anne Fausto-Sterling's (1993) analysis of intersexuals, which is discussed later in this article, I would clearly have to modify this mantra if I were teaching my children the categories of sexual difference today rather than 20 years ago.]

In my heart of hearts, I am still deeply attached to the principle of dismantling both gender polarization and compulsory heterosexuality by trying to make the male-female distinction as minimal a presence in human social life as, say, eye color or foot size. At the same time, however, I have also come to think that this goal is an unreachable utopian fantasy. After all, not only does the sex of the body (by which I mean the biology of reproduction) matter more than eye color or foot size, from which it follows that there is probably more of a biological limit on how minimal a presence sex could come to have. In addition, history probably imposes a limit as well—unless, of course, we can all manage to come down with amnesia for the many cultural and historical associations between male/female, masculine/feminine, and heterosexual/homosexual.

In an early paper on androgyny, I suggested that "when androgyny becomes a reality, the *concept* of androgyny will have been transcended" (Bem, 1976, p. 60). I meant by this that when the androgynous message had finally been absorbed by the culture, the concepts of masculinity and femininity would cease to have content, and the distinctions to which they refer would blur into invisibility. But today I suggest that the content of these male/female associations will be remembered for a very long time; no matter how much we might like to, we thus cannot simply wish them away.

Much as I would still like to wish them away, given what I now see as the realities of biology and history, I have begun to worry that there may be no possible path for getting us from where we are now to where I would like us to be. So I here propose another utopian fantasy, this one based on the reverse strategy of turning the volume up. More specifically, I propose that rather than trying to dismantle the two-and-only-twoness of gender polarization and compulsory heterosexuality by *eliminating* gender categories, we instead dismantle that two-and-only-twoness by *exploding or proliferating* gender categories. In other words, I propose that we let a thousand categories of sex/gender/desire begin to bloom in any and all fluid and permeable configurations and, through that very proliferation, that we thereby undo (or, if you prefer, that we de-privilege or de-center or de-stabilize) the

VOL XVII

privileged status of the two-and-only-two that are currently treated as normal and natural. If a thousand categories seems too many, than let's begin with at least 18. Why 18? The math is simple: two sexes (male/female) X three genders (masculine/feminine/androgynous) X three desires (heterosexual/homosexual/bisexual). As radical—and outrageous—as this proposal will surely seem to many, it is fully consistent with the ideas of numerous contemporary scholars. I now discuss three of these.

Judith Butler

Judith Butler is a philosopher, and the book of hers that I know best is titles *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, published in 1990. The question Butler set out to answer in this book was how best to make gender trouble, i.e., how best to "trouble the gender categories that support gender hierarchy and compulsory heterosexuality" (p. viii). Her answer was to challenge the conceptual foundations of the sex/gender/desire system. In her words, this means a "genealogical" critique, which is not a search for "origins" or "inner truth" but an investigation of "the political stakes in designating as an *origin* and *cause* those identity categories that are in fact the *effects* of institutions, practices, discourses with multiple and diffuse points of origin" (pp. viii–ix). More simply, her answer was to "trace the way in which gender fables establish and circulate the misnomer of natural facts" (p. xi).

Even in this one-paragraph introduction to Butler's work, we can already see one of its distinguishing hallmarks. Butler is a master of nifty little reversals, three of which I am now going to show you.

The traditional view in both Western culture and Western science is that there are two and only two sexes that are naturally both different from another and attracted to one another. This division of all human beings into two bipolar categories of sex/gender/desire (the one category being male/masculine/attracted to women and the other category being female/feminine/attracted to men) may be differently elaborated in different cultures but, proponents of the traditional system say, it is also the biological foundation upon which culture is built.

Butler's first reversal is as follows. Rather than these two bipolar groups being the cause of exclusive and compulsory heterosexuality, they are instead the effect of exclusive and compulsory heterosexuality. In other words, for there to be a system of exclusive and compulsory heterosexuality, two such bipolar groups had to come into existence and so, voilà, the system produces them. That very cultural and historical production is then

hidden, according to Butler, by an extraordinarily clever sleight of hand that casts the historical and cultural construction of the two-and-only-two into the realm of the pre-social, the pre-cultural, the pre-discursive. Thus it comes to pass that the two-and-only-two are accepted as a taken-for-granted and natural given of existence.

Another traditional view in Western culture, especially in certain branches of psychoanalysis, is that homosexuality is a pathetic imitation of heterosexuality, which is itself the natural or original form of sexuality. The same assumption holds for both drag and butch/femme roles, at least as enacted by gay men and lesbians.

Butler's second reversal goes like this. First, she argued, all gender is drag. In other words, all gender is an imitation of some phantasmagorical vision of what a man or woman is supposed to be like. Hence there is nothing more natural, original, or unconstructed about a female dressing up like a woman than a male dressing up like a woman. That, of course, was the subtext of the movie *The Crying Game*. That, of course, is also why all the many dressed-up, made-up, and coiffed-up women walking along New York's Madison Avenue always look, to my eyes at least, not like women, but like people of whatever sex trying to look the way they think women are supposed to look.

Not only, according to Butler, is all gender drag, including that performed by the most conventional of masculine men and feminine women. In addition, heterosexuality can be said to require homosexuality as a foundation at least as much as homosexuality has been said to require heterosexuality. Put somewhat differently, Heterosexuality can be seen as having needed to construct an allegedly perverse, unnatural, and imitative homosexuality as the counterpoint against which to define itself as normal, natural, and original.

The same point can be expressed in another way. It is the traditional Western view that people who do not have the so-called normal clustering of sex/gender/desire have something wrong with them. They are anomalies, pathologies, developmental failures; hence they need, in some way, to be corrected, cured, healed, or fixed.

Butler's third reversal is that these so-called anomalies are defined as anomalous not because they really are anomalous but because the system of compulsory heterosexuality requires that they be defined this way. In other words, compulsory heterosexuality requires that there exists only a very narrow range of all possible sex/gender/desire configurations. Hence it excludes all other configurations from the "matrix of intelligibility" (p. 17) and then uses these so-called perverse others as the counterpoint to establish

the two-and-only-two that are allowed to exist within the framework of the system. The two-and-only-two is thus created by a historical process in which everything else is either excluded or demonized, and the border between the normal and the perverse is carefully patrolled.

Another way to say all this is that the demonized are as necessary to the system of compulsory heterosexuality as the privileged. This is so because the contrast with the so-called abnormal or perverse is what defines—and thereby brings into conceptual and empirical existence—the so-called normal.

Mary Douglas

Mary Douglas is an anthropologist who wrote a book in 1966 entitled *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. At first glance, this book seems irrelevant to the current discussion because it was not about gender or sexuality but about comparative religion crossculturally and especially about why various religions define particular things as polluted, dangerous, impure, or taboo. Nevertheless, Douglas's book has a very important idea to add to this discussion.

Her book begins with a fascinating—and highly contextual—analysis of "dirt" as "disorder" (p. 2) or "matter out of place" (p. 35). So shoes aren't "dirt," but shoes on the table are. Food isn't "dirt" either, but food in the bedroom might be, and so might be food on your sweater.

Douglas analyzed the double edge of these elements out of place. The reason they bother us so much, she suggested, is because they violate and thereby challenge, or threaten, our most cherished classifications. After all, if shoes spend enough time on the table and food spends enough time in the bedroom, pretty soon there won't even be a special place for eating any longer. So we collectively say: "Yuk, this doesn't belong here. It is dirt, pollution, dangerous, disgusting, unholy, taboo." Yet, as much as we may be bothered by these elements out of place, we need them, Douglas argued, because through their very definition as dirt, our category of non-dirt is defined and clarified. Douglas's analysis of dirt obviously shares much in common with Butler's analysis of perversion or abnormality. For both theorists, the very elements defined by a system as anomalies uphold the systematicity—and hence the existence—of the system itself.

But then Douglas added another twist. These elements out of place, she argued, are not only critical to the system; they are also a danger to the system. They must thus be carefully managed, lest their power ends up destroying the very system they are supposed to be upholding. In Douglas's words,

"No culture can ignore the anomalies which its scheme produces, except at risk of forfeiting confidence" (p. 39)

Douglas gave many examples of how these dangerous elements are culturally managed. One technique is to incorporate them into public rituals, as a symbol of evil versus good. Another technique is to segregate them—as, for example, when all the Jews are put into a ghetto, and clear-cut rules are established about what kinds of interactions are and are not allowed with them. Still another technique is to eradicate the dangerous elements altogether. Douglas wrote of a culture, for example, that literally wrings the necks of all the night-crowing cocks so their presence cannot contradict the cherished cultural definition of a cock as a bird that crows at dawn.

The applicability of Douglas's analysis to sex, gender, and sexual desire is probably obvious, but I will make the three most important connections explicit. First, all the people who might currently be embraced by the label *queer* in our society are themselves the "dirt" that both define and threaten the culture's cherished classifications of sex/gender/desire. Second, the culture reduces the threat of all that dirt through a variety of management strategies, including, among others, requiring that lesbians and gay men stay closeted. Finally, there is power in the refusal of queer people to be managed or disciplined, power in their insistence on being unruly bodies.

Anne Fausto-Sterling

The last author I will discuss is Anne Fausto-Sterling, a developmental geneticist who is perhaps best known to psychologists for her 1985 book entitled *Myths of Gender: Biological Theories About Women and Men.* What I want to discuss here, however, is her 1993 article entitled "The Five Sexes: Why Male and Female Are Not Enough."

According to Fausto-Sterling, sex is a continuum that ought to be divided not into just two sexes but into at least five sexes—which she labels women, men, herms, ferms, and merms. According to Fausto-Sterling's definitions, herms are the so-called true hermaphrodites who possess one testis and one ovary; ferms are female pseudohermaphrodites who possess ovaries and some aspect of male genitalia but no testes; and merms are male pseudohermaphrodites who possess testes and some aspects of female genitalia but no ovaries.

Herms, ferms, and merms are estimated to be at least 4% of all births. So, says Fausto-Sterling, there ought to be as many as 240 such undergraduates on Brown University's 6,000-student campus, where she teaches. But they're not there, she goes on to say, because of our culture's unexamined

assumption that they are anomalies in need of surgical and hormonal correction. These absent intersexuals, I suggest, are our culture's counterpart to the night-crowing cocks, discussed by Douglas, whose necks have been wrung. Hence, they are not in existence, either.

Partly for fun, I quote Fausto-Sterling's description of someone named Emma, who was originally described by urologist Hugh Young in a 1937 book entitled *Genital Abnormalities*, *Hermaphroditism*, and *Related Adrenal Diseases*. Emma was a hermaphrodite who had grown up as a female. According to Fausto-Sterling (1993, p. 23),

Emma had both a penis-size clitoris and a vagina, which made it possible for him/her to have "normal" heterosexual sex with both men and women. As a teenager Emma had had sex with a number of girls to whom s/he was deeply attracted; but at the age of nineteen s/he had married a man. Unfortunately, he had given Emma little sexual pleasure (though he had had no complaints), and so throughout that marriage and subsequent ones Emma had kept girlfriends on the side. With some frequency s/he had pleasurable sex with them. Young describes his subject as appearing "to be quite content and even happy." In conversation Emma occasionally told him of his/her wish to be a man, a circumstance Young said would be relatively easy to bring about. But Emma's reply strikes a heroic blow for self-interest: "Would you have to remove that vagina? I don't know about that because that's my meal ticket. If you did that, I would have to quit my husband and go to work, so I think I'll keep it and stay as I am. My husband supports me well, and even though I don't have any sexual pleasure with him, I do have lots with my girlfriends."

Conventional medical wisdom says that, unless surgically and hormonally "corrected," intersexuals are doomed to a life of misery. But that was obviously not the case for Emma, which led Fausto-Sterling to argue for raising all the little Emmas now living in the world as "unabashed intersexuals" (p. 24). Her argument is so provocative that I quote it at some length. According to Fausto-Sterling (p. 24),

The treatment of intersexuality in this century provides a clear example of what the French historian Michel Foucault has called biopower. The knowledge developed in biochemistry, embryology, endocrinology, psychology, and surgery has enabled physicians to control the very sex of the human body. The multiple contradic-

tions in that kind of power call for some scrutiny. One the one hand, the medical "management" of intersexuality certainly developed as part of an attempt to free people from perceived psychological pain (though whether the' pain was the patient's, the parents', or the physician's is unclear). And if one accepts the assumption that in a sex-divided culture people can realize their greatest potential for happiness and productivity only if they are sure they belong to one of only two acknowledged sexes, modern medicine has been extremely successful.

On the other hand, the same medical accomplishments can be read not as progress but as a mode of discipline. Hermaphrodites have unruly bodies. They do not fall naturally into a binary classification; only a surgical shoehorn can put them there. But why should we care if a "woman," defined as one who has breasts, a vagina, a uterus, and ovaries and who menstruates, also has a clitoris large enough to penetrate the vagina of another woman? Why should we care if there are people whose biological equipment enables them to have sex "naturally" with both men and women? The answers seem to lie in a cultural need to maintain clear distinctions between the sexes. Society mandates the control of intersexual bodies because they blur and bridge the great divide. Inasmuch as hermaphrodites literally embody both sexes, they challenge traditional beliefs about sexual difference: they possess the irritating ability to live sometimes as one sex and sometimes the other, dad they raise the specter of homosexuality.

But what if things were altogether different? Imagine a world in which the same knowledge that has enabled medicine to intervene in the management of intersexual patients has been placed at the service of multiple sexualities. Imagine that the sexes have multiplied beyond currently imaginable limits. It would have to be a world of shared powers. Patient and physician, parent and child, male and female, heterosexual and homosexual—all those oppositions and others would have to be dissolved as sources of division. A new ethic of medical treatment would arise, one that would permit ambiguity in a culture that had overcome sexual division. The central mission of medical treatment would be to preserve life. Thus hermaphrodites would be concerned primarily not about whether they can conform to society but about whether they might develop potentially life-threatening conditions—hernias, gonadal

tumors, salt imbalance caused by adrenal malfunction—that sometimes accompany hermaphroditic development. In my ideal world medical intervention for intersexuals would take place only rarely before the age of reason: Subsequent treatment would be a cooperative venture between physician, patient and other advisers trained in issues of gender multiplicity.

I do not pretend that the transition to my utopia would be smooth. Sex, even the supposedly "normal" heterosexual kind, continues to cause untold anxieties in Western society. And certainly a culture that has yet to come to grips—religiously and in some states, legally—with the ancient and relatively uncomplicated reality of homosexual love will not readily embrace intersexuality. No doubt the most troublesome area by far would be the rearing of children. Parents, at least since the Vietnam era, have fretted, sometimes to the point of outright denial, over the fact that their children are sexual beings.

All that and more amply explains why intersexual children are generally squeezed into one of the two prevailing sexual categories. But what would be the psychological consequences of taking the alternative road—raising children as unabashed intersexuals? On the surface that tack seems fraught with peril. What, for example, would happen to the intersexual child amid the unrelenting cruelty of the school yard? When the time came to shower in gym class, what horrors and humiliations would await the intersexual as his/her anatomy was displayed in all its non-traditional glory? In whose gym class would s/he register to begin with? what bathroom would s/he use? And how on earth would Mom and Dad help shepherd him/her through the mine field of puberty?

In the past thirty years those questions have been ignored, as the scientific community has, with remarkable unanimity, avoided contemplating the alternative route of unimpeded intersexuality. But modern investigators tend to overlook a substantial body of case histories, most of them compiled between 1930 and 1960, before surgical intervention became rampant. Almost without exception, those reports describe children who grew up knowing they were intersexual (though they did not advertise it) and adjusted to their unusual status. Some of the studies are richly detailed—described at the level of gym class showering (which most intersexuals

avoided without incident); in any event, there is not a psychotic or a suicide in the lot.

Still, the nuances of socialization among intersexuals cry out for more sophisticated analysis. Clearly before my vision of sexual multiplicity can be realized, the first openly intersexual children and their parents will have to be brave pioneers who will bear the brunt of society's growing pains. But in the long view—though it could take generations to achieve—the prize might be a society in which sexuality is something to be celebrated for its subtleties and not something to be feared or ridiculed.

Toward a Kaleidoscope of Color

Fausto-Sterling's exuberant call for us to raise little Emmas as unabashed intersexuals brings me all the way back to the proposal I made at the outset of this article, which was that we might more realistically dismantle both gender polarization and compulsory heterosexuality by turning the volume up rather than turning the volume down. In other words, it might be more effective in the long run if all of us sex/gender/desire "anomalies" were henceforth to refuse to be managed, regulated, invisibilized, disciplined, and/or in any other way homogenized into the residual category of *dirt* that stands in such stark opposition to the two-and-only-two privileged and cherished categories of male/masculine/attracted to women and female/feminine/attracted to men—and that we instead begin madly and exuberantly to proliferate ourselves into as many categories of sex/gender/desire as we seem to need.

Would the creation of these many new categories merely give us 1,000 straightjackets where before we had two and only two? Not necessarily. At least not if the categories were presumed to be fluid, not if mobility were presumed to be possible from one category to another, and not if the categories acknowledged the 2-, 3-, 4-, 5- (and so on) sidedness in each of us. Who knows? Perhaps these many fluid categories would create such a huge new space of possibility that more and more people who now manage to squeeze themselves, however uncomfortably, into the two-and-only-two would begin, for the first time, to be able to see the shoehorn that is squeezing them, and they would then be motivated to look around for something that fit them better. What interesting gender trouble we would then have made.

1995

For many years, Cornell anthropologist Kathryn March has begun her guest lecture in my undergraduate course on the Social Construction of Gender with the following analogy: Sex is to Gender as Light is to Color. Her idea here is a simple one. Both sex and light are natural physical continua, whereas gender and color are historically and culturally constructed categories that arbitrarily divide sex and light into named clusters invested with cultural meaning. Thus, in neither domain is there anything sacred—or biologically special—about the particular categories constructed by any given culture.

I have always loved this analogy because it allows me to make yet another ironic twist. With respect to color categories, anthropologists have found that some cultures have only two categories and others only three, whereas we in the U.S. have the full 256 of the big Crayola coloring box. Wow, I always say to my class, isn't it wonderful to be so richly blessed with so many possibilities rather than to be so impoverished and to have only light and dark or light and dark and red? But isn't it also ironic, I then say, that in the domain of sex/gender/desire, it's the other cultures who have that Crayola color box of multitudinous possibilities, and we who are impoverished, with two-and-only-two (plus the dirt, of course) from birth to death?

I suggested earlier that I could no longer envision any possible way to dismantle either gender polarization or compulsory heterosexuality by eliminating gender categories, but I could envision a way to do this by proliferating gender categories. Not only can I envision a way to do this; I can already see it happening in the world around me. You can see it, too, if you look under the heading of either identity politics or multiculturalism. Because what is happening there—and in many more domains than just sex/ gender/desire—is not the silence of turning the volume down on difference and diversity but the cacophony of sound (and also of conflict) that comes from having finally turned the volume up on the multidimensional voices that have been silenced far too long-including not just lesbians, gay men, and now bisexuals, but the much more color-full Crayola kaleidoscope of, for example, f-to-m and m-to-f transgendered people, lipstick lesbians, butches, baby butches, stone butches, femmes, butchy femmes, bulldaggers, leather dykes, softball dykes, rugby dykes, dykes on bikes, klesbians, hasbians, dominatrices, fag hags, drag queens, opera queens, size queens, rice queens, bears, bottoms, tops, masters, slaves, leather men, vanilla boys, clones, daddies, friends of Dorothy, and so on and so forth ad (perhaps) infinitum.

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RISK TAKING IS FREE*

To laugh is to risk appearing the fool.

To weep is to risk appearing sentimental.

To reach out for another is to risk involvement.

To expose feeling is to risk exposing your true self.

To place your ideas, your dreams before the crowd is to risk their loss.

To love is to risk not being loved in return.

To live is to risk dying.

To hope is to risk despair.

To try is to risk failure.

But risk must be taken, because the greatest hazard in life is to risk nothing.

The person who risks nothing, does nothing, has nothing, and is nothing.

They may avoid suffering and sorrow, but this person simply cannot learn, feel, change, grow, love or live. Chained by their certitudes, they are a slave, this person has forfeited freedom.

Only a person who risks ... is free.

—Anonymous

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^{*}This poem was sent to us by Holly Ostrom, a preoperative transsexual in Maine.

JENNIFER—BEHIND THE EIGHT BALL*

Jennifer plays pool like a woman who fine tuned her PMS, her eyes like a rifle scope zeroing in on the balls, her shots executed with the precision of a surgeon on speed performing a vasectomy on his father. Maybe it's a bit of left-over testosterone. Or just the firm resolve of someone with a purpose struggling against odds the straight world will never fathom to come to grips with a cue ball up against a bank shot off the nine.

Jennifer plays pool
with the studied attention
of an artist in the woods
waiting patiently
for the light to be perfect,
for the sun to come up
over the eight ball.
Maybe she's feeling trapped
between the solids and the stripes
the high balls and low balls
which have left her
without a shot
not even a cushion
to bank on.

Jennifer plays pool
with the firm resolve
of a lawyer in a courtroom
but knowing how to cut it
with just enough English
to pull it back
into the pocket.

And woe is he
who thinks,
for any reason,
that his balls are safe
tonight.
filled with witnesses
cheering her opponent

-Bobbi Williams



^{*}Bobbi Williams is a poetess from Austin, Texas. The poems that appear in this issue are from her collected works.

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HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF: THE TRANSGENDER MOVEMENT IN RELATION TO THE HOMOSEXUAL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

by Emilio L. Lombardi

istory will show that the transgender movement began in earnest during the 1990s. It was during this time that trans-people everywhere began to question their treatment and sought to create change in society. This is not an isolated case but a replay of events in the development of the homosexual rights movement. The transgender and homosexual rights movement developed in an analogous manner. Both began as support organizations to help protect their members from an oppressive society, and both eventually developed a belief that society needs to be changed.

Homosexual Movement

Prior to World War II, homosexual organizations (the few that existed) contained very few members and had little effect upon the larger society.¹ Homosexuals at that time were closeted and unable to organize without public scrutiny because of the fear of being discovered.² However, it was during World War II that homosexuals began to be seen by others and themselves as a minority thanks to the US military. The military would not allow homosexuals in the service and at the very least dismissed many from service. The active discrimination of homosexuals by the US government formally labeled homosexuals as a minority group, which significantly affected their lives. The stigma that was attached to these individuals forced them together with others like themselves (because the stigma prevented them from returning to their homes), creating the beginning of homosexual communities. Their larger open numbers brought them into conflict with the rest of society and often led to their incarceration. Organizations were created to help these people who were arrested and also to serve as a focus for social functions.1

During the 1950s, homosexuals began to discuss what it meant to be a homosexual. They began to create an identity in the face of public opposition. In addition, studies began to appear that showed that homosexuality

was not a sign of a mental disturbance but was within the realm of healthy human sexuality. At this time, however, institutional discrimination of homosexuals was extended with the advent of McCarthyism and the belief that homosexuals were a security risk. This led to an executive order that excluded homosexuals from government service. The result of this discrimination led to the formation of discussion groups concerning homosexuality within the major cities of the United States. Eventually, it became known as the Mattachine Society. This organization enabled members to share experiences with each other, to build a consensus with each other, and to expose the injustice they faced in their lives. As a result, they then began to protest the institutionalized homophobia of that time.¹

Homosexual organizations continued to flourish throughout the 1950s. However, it was the 1960s that saw an increase in the homosexual movement's activity toward acceptance and equality. At this time, the civil rights movement inspired homosexuals and provided them additional demonstration and protest tactics. One result of this activity was to stop the city of New York from asking job applicants whether they were homosexual. The rights movement also began to protest their treatment by law enforcement personnel. For example, a national convention of homosexuals developed the *Homosexual Bill of Rights*. Despite these advances, the homosexual rights movement was, for the most part, ignored by the larger society.

On June 27, 1969, in Greenwich Village, an event occurred that forever changed the course of the homosexual movement. The local police went to the Stonewall Inn and ejected the homosexual patrons (including drag queens and crossdressers, who were arrested). This event so angered the local gay community, that they rebelled. The rebellion lasted four days and brought a new militancy to the homosexual rights movement. Homosexuals began to ally themselves to other radical organizations, and with liberal politicians.

During the 1970s, homosexuals made great strides in the fight for equal rights. Homosexuality was removed as a category of mental illness from the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM), developed by the American Psychiatric Association. Homosexual politicians began to gain greater prominence, as well as positions in government at all levels. The US government also began to lift many restrictions concerning the employment of homosexuals. Simultaneously, an antihomosexual movement began to act against the homosexuals and the gains they had achieved. (This eventually led to the passing of antihomosexual legislation like Colorado's Amendment 2.) In spite of this, these events increased the solidarity of homosexuals. Another event that further crystallized the solidarity within the

homosexual movement during the 1970s was the murder of Harvey Milk. When his murderer received lenient treatment by the judicial system, the homosexual community was outraged and soon rioted.¹

While the homosexual rights movement saw its greatest gains in the 1970s, the 1980s brought with it a backlash against homosexual rights contributed to by the organizations of the New Right, the conservative Reagan administration, and perhaps more importantly, the AIDS epidemic. The fear of AIDS exacerbated the homophobia that was present in the United States. The atmosphere of hatred had an impact on homosexuals' identity and increased their solidarity. As individuals came to accept their identity as a homosexual, they were brought into the larger homosexual network, which became an important part of their support network (sometimes their only support network due to the stigma of homosexuality). The history of the entire movement may be explained by individuals linking themselves together because of their homosexuality, which ultimately created a collective consciousness. Presently, the homosexual movement can be conceived as a rapidly growing network that has gained strength over time.

Networks of Homosexuals

The social networks of homosexuals eventually came to be largely composed of other gay and lesbian people. Their social networks grew and were able to create and sustain a collective identity among themselves, a feeling of solidarity between homosexuals, and a collective consciousness that perceived society as wrong in its discrimination and prejudice. At the same time, people received knowledge of events through their ties, which further increased their adherence to the movement's ideologies. The organization of homosexual rights groups, the Stonewall rebellion, the exclusion of homosexuals from the military, conflict with conservative forces, and the removal of homosexuality as a category of mental disorder from the DSM-III all served to mobilize homosexuals in the fight for equal rights. As this information was disseminated through these networks, more and more people began to get involved in the struggle.

Transgender Community

The transgender movement is relatively recent compared to the homosexual movement. Crossdressing and transsexual organizations arose in the 1950s and 1960s with the public awareness of Christine Jorgensen (transsexual)

and Virginia Prince (transvestite).³ However, the existence of a transgender community that wanted equal rights did not come into existence until the 1990s.

Virginia Prince began as a publisher of crossdressing periodicals (Transvestia and Femme Mirror), which evolved into Chevalier Publications. These publications enabled crossdressers to communicate with each other and to share information. These correspondences led some to eventually meet in public and form the first crossdressers' club.3 This eventually developed into a sorority called Phi Pi Epsilon which stood for "full personality expression."3 This became the base for what grew to become a national organization with chapters across the country. The national organization was later named the Society for the Second Self (Tri-Ess). Other crossdresser and transsexual organizations also formed during this time. For the most part, these organizations allowed individuals to dress up and interact with others like themselves within a social environment. These organizations, however, were not oriented toward any kind of reform or social change. To the contrary, many of these organizations hid their true purpose in order to prevent their members from being stigmatized—for example, by masquerading as a theatrical group (M.S. Lynn, oral communication, 1994).

One of the major organizations for both crossdressers and transsexuals is the International Foundation for Gender Education (IFGE). This organization evolved from the Tiffany Club of New England, which originated as a club for transgendered individuals within the community. The two organizations split in 1986, Tiffany Club serving the local transgendered community and IFGE having a national and international focus. IFGE serves as an educational foundation for the transgender community and all those connected to it (M.S. Lynn, oral communication, 1994). They publish a journal which is oriented toward the transsexual and crossdresser population and contains information concerning the legal, medical, psychological, and social aspects of transsexuality and crossdressing. The organization is also involved in educating professionals and the general public in issues concerning transgenderism by publishing material for that purpose, as well as in organizing events to bring transgenderists, the public, and professionals together for dialogues.

The transgender movement may not seem, on the surface, as actively engaged as a social or political movement. This is because it has just recently begun to organize for social change. For example, in 1992 the International Conference on Transgender Law and Employment Policy, Inc. (ICTLEP) had its first meeting to discuss issues relevant to the transgender movement. ICTLEP and IFGE have allied themselves in the challenge to

obtain the rights of transgendered people. They are appealing to people to find the courage to stand up for themselves and to take action.⁴ An example of this can be seen in the First Annual Transgender Lobby Day, during which 100 transgendered individuals traveled to Washington, DC, in order to speak to their Senators and Representatives about transgender issues. Though still very much in its infancy, this movement can be conceptualized as a conscious gender community in which some of its members have developed a political consciousness.

IOURNAL OF GENDER STUDIES

Currently, the transgender movement can be compared to the post—World War II homosexual community. Transgendered individuals are beginning to develop a common consciousness and to feel part of a larger organization. Current medical and social "labels" make it difficult for new people to consider themselves transgendered. Crossdressers and transsexuals have been viewed by society as suffering from a mental illness, and most studies of these individuals are oriented along those lines.⁵ However, this emphasis ignores the social issues involved. It fails to conceive of these individuals as a minority group. They are conceived as merely individuals with a mental illness, that their choice of dress or gender identity automatically makes them deviants.⁵

Crossdressers and transsexuals differ in their interaction with professionals in the medical community. Transsexuals have more contact with them. Some psychiatrists consider themselves gatekeepers for those seeking to change their anatomic sex to match their mental sex. In 1979 the Harry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria Association established the *Standards of Care*, which outlines the treatment procedures for those wishing sex reassignment surgery (SRS). This document specifically states that transsexuals must have the written recommendation of two psychotherapists (one of which must be a psychiatrist) before they can receive treatment. These standards not only view SRS on demand as inadvisable, but the surgeon would be guilty of professional misconduct if he or she does not receive written recommendations from a psychiatrist and one other behavioral scientist. The *Standards of Care* also outlines the path and time period that a transsexual must follow for their transition. The *Standards of Care* is still being used today as a basis for the treatment of transsexuals.

The health care professional works with the transsexual as he or she journeys through a trial period in his or her preferred gender role. In the past, this has meant that transsexuals must live in a way the psychiatrists defined as male or female, thereby negating the transsexuals' own definition of gender. Sexual orientation played a large part in this definition, i.e., male-to-female transsexuals had to be attracted to men and female-to-male

VOL XVII

VOL XVII

1995

transsexuals had to be attracted to women.⁶ As a result of these expectations, transsexuals often became hyperfeminine or hypermasculine (or more feminine than is usual for women or more masculine than men generally are) to ensure that they would receive treatment. Because gatekeeping is part of their role, mental health professionals have power over the lives of transsexuals. When transsexuals become upset over this inequity, psychiatrists and psychologists have attributed it to the transsexual's immaturity or to a mental imbalance.⁶ When there is a conflict between how the transsexual wants to live and how the mental health professional expects the transsexual to live, transsexuals have little choice but to appear to comply. Thus, in the past many transsexuals resorted to lying in order to get the necessary permission for surgery.⁶ Fortunately, mental health professionals are becoming more accepting of the diverse of gender roles with which transsexuals are comfortable, and less stereotyped behavior is now required.

Crossdressers are not required by the nature of their desires to interact with the medical community. Nonetheless, some types of crossdressing behavior are included in the current DSM as a mental disorder. Studies of crossdressers, almost all of which focus exclusively on males, indicate that most have had a traditional childhood and identified with masculine gender roles, challenging theories of childhood trauma, mistreatment, or confusion. In one study, between 30% and 50% of male crossdressers who belonged to a social club for crossdressers reported seeing a therapist. The percentages are lower among closeted crossdressers. Therapy is mostly likely to be initiated because the spouse or significant other becomes distressed over his crossdressing. In this situation, two outcomes are possible: the spouses or significant others may be provided support in order to help them understand their husbands, or they may be told that crossdressing is abnormal and that the crossdresser needs help.

The attitude of the medical community toward the transgender movement has led many to become active in order to effect change. Many transgendered individuals are now engaged in a dialogue to remove or revise (1) transvestic fetishism and gender identity disorder from the DSM, (2) the Benjamin *Standards of Care*, and (3) the "power" health professionals have over their lives. These gender activists believe that every person has the right to live their life in whatever gender role they are most comfortable. Achieving this freedom is one of the goals of the transgender movement. This would not be the first time that a group sought to redefine itself outside of the medical model. As mentioned earlier, gays and lesbians were able to remove homosexuality from the DSM.⁷ A problem, however, arises from transsexuals' need to modify their bodies via hormones and surgery. Some

see the DSM diagnostic label as a legitimizer that helps them to convince others (including surgeons) that being transsexual is not a lifestyle choice but a problem that needs medical treatment. It should be noted that these surgical procedures are required for a person to attain legal status in their target gender role because laws specify that physical sex must correspond with social gender.

Some transsexuals seek to change the laws so that their preferred gender role can be legitimized. Some crossdressers wish to destignatize themselves in the eyes of society. Individuals affiliated with both groups seek to change current ideology concerning gender roles. They believe that all people have the right to choose, display, and act in whatever gender they are comfortable, regardless of biologic sex.

Transgendered activists have been involved in education and social support for many years now. Many groups also sponsor conventions or gettogethers that allow individuals from diverse areas to temporarily interact crossdressed within a neutral area, as well as to receive information about medical care, daily living, and legal issues. Further, conventions act as micromobilizers by helping to reaffirm an individual's place within the movement, as well as its existence.

To sum up, early homosexual organizations existed within a similar climate as transgender organizations in that only a small percentage of individuals actually involved themselves in organizations. Legal and social harassment catalyzed many homosexuals into action. Many people became involved first to educate the public and later to protest their discrimination. Similarly, many transgender organizations have served to educate the public about transgenderism and have only just begun to take on an activist role. Transgendered people across the country continue to work to have gender identity and presentation added to the Employment Nondiscrimination Act (ENDA). Other activities include demonstrations on behalf of trans-people who have been murdered and continuing efforts of transgendered people to lobby their local and federal governments. The next few years will mark the growing visibility of the movement.

Networks of Trans-People

In a network sense, transgender organizations exist as tightly knit clusters of people and organizations. Many individuals may belong to several organizations; therefore, different groups will have connections with each other. These interlinkages will hopefully create cohesiveness among the transgen-

der groups. However, as with their homosexual counterparts, problems exist that may limit the growth and interconnectedness of these networks.

One problem that plagues the transgender activist organizations is the recruitment of new members. Many transsexuals, once they have received their sex reassignment surgery, no longer identify themselves as transsexual but as new women or new men. Some may be unwilling to become public with their gender journey and its ups and downs. They seek tranquility and to be able to assimilate into the conventional culture. Many crossdressers also shy away from becoming involved in the movement. These individuals can crossdress secretly and feel that it is enough. In addition, if they are married they may not want to do anything that will cause distress within that relationship. Some married crossdressers are less likely to participate within the movement for this reason. Secretive crossdressers may not have access to the transgender network, which would give them information about the movement or influence their decision to be involved with the activist movement. Perhaps homosexuals, in the early part of the movement, were similarly apprehensive about joining the movement. Nevertheless, only by spreading information about the movement are additional members acquired. It is important that transgender organizations and individuals continue to educate and provide support for those who remain in the closet. This is a good strategy for creating more ties to the movement.

Movements gain strength through their connections with other people and organizations. If trans-people interact and are open only with other trans-people and organizations, then any attempts to bring about social change will not succeed because of their isolation from other people and organizations. Connections with other groups strengthen organizations by increasing the amount and selection of resources (information, money, workers, etc.) that can be mobilized by them for any particular purpose. Isolation reduces the resources that an organization can draw upon and greatly reduces its chances of creating any meaningful dialogue for change.

Current Status of the Homosexual and Transgender Movements

Trans-people often feel that they are victimized by a rigid society, much as gay, lesbian, and bisexual people do. Currently both groups are somewhat at odds with each other because many within the transgender movement desire to legitimately place it along side the homosexual rights movement. Transpeople have had to fight against having the word transgender left off the names of the three queer marches on Washington even though transgen-

dered individuals attended.⁸ Currently, there is conflict over the inclusion of gender identity/presentation in the ENDA.

The conflict between the two groups arises primarily out of the fact that the transgendered are highly noticeable and still stigmatized by society. Some individuals within the homosexual rights movement feel that including trans-people in the movement will give the New Right ammunition to use against them—that it is too radical for an organization that is striving for acceptance in the mainstream. Others disagree with the notion of anything other than two genders dependent upon physical sex (primarily genitals) and believe that there is nothing anybody can do to change that. Transpeople are currently fighting these views in order to increase their political strength.

Trans-people are also fighting for (1) the inclusion of gender identity/ presentation in hate crimes and equal employment legislation so one can make the transition from one gender to another without worrying about losing one's job, (2) permission for individuals to legally change their name and their sex on all licenses and identification, (3) a change of military policy in regard to homosexual and transgendered personnel, and (4) enactment of a policy to protect the rights of incarcerated transgendered individuals. 9,10 Overall, the major goal these issues revolve around is the redefinition of gender within society. That is, to change the view that one's gender is determined at birth to a view that allows individuals to choose for themselves what gender they wish to live in, regardless of their biological form and society's beliefs. In short, gender will no longer be seen as a static dichotomy but as a continuum in which people can place themselves.

Similarly, the purpose of homosexual rights organizations is to create an atmosphere within society that will allow people to openly state their sexual preference without fear of harassment, as well as to promote the interests of the gay, lesbian, and bisexual communities in regards to legal, health, and social issues. Issues that are primarily on the agenda now include (1) increasing funding for AIDS education and research, (2) allowing homosexual couples the right to marry, (3) parental rights and the right to adopt children, (4) military service, and (5) employment rights.

In conclusion, the homosexual and transgendered movements both seek to redefine society's perception of gender and sexuality. Individuals may be involved within both movements in one form or another, an example being ENDA. Problems arise because some organizations for crossdressers actively exclude homosexuals (Tri-Ess and their affiliates primarily) because they seek to dissociate their crossdressing from sexual orientation. Their membership contains many married crossdressers who may wish to put their

wives at ease. Also, many homosexuals do not wish to have their organization or movement involved with either transsexuals or crossdressers because they are afraid that they will detract from a mainstream image. Both groups do not wish to present themselves too far from the mainstream. For instance, one group may say that even though they dress as women they are still heterosexual, whereas the other may say that even though they are attracted to people of the same sex as themselves they still dress and behave in ways that are consistent with traditional gender norms. This division is very harmful because the conflict that it can creates within the homosexual and transgender movements uses resources that can be better used in the fight for their collective rights. In short, we have more to gain by joining forces than by remaining adversaries.

The millennium is upon us. If history is any indicator, politicization of the transgendered will create turbulence within our society. Notably, the Stonewall rebellion arose during a very chaotic time in our history. The struggle for civil and women's rights and the antiwar movements were just a few of the events that helped make the contemporary homosexual rights movement possible. The question remains as to whether the transgender movement will be able to follow in the footsteps of these civil rights movements and organize sufficiently to create lasting change.

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Ari Kane, M.Ed., Gender Specialist

QUEEN MARY

There's only one Queen Mary, She sails the weekend seas A lovely luxury liner with decks that gently tease. She slips into this harbor like silk slips over lace And elegance and style unfurl to compliment her grace When seas are rough she calms them down when skies are gray she's clear And when this port she sails around the smiling waves appear. Her decks are lined with Lycra and her skirts are always tight And she's the one they signal to when ships pass in the night. A four inch heel is her only keel A mini-skirt's her sail A bar stool for an anchor Her rudder a ginger ale. I wonder at how she navigates through the wind and the rain and the waves So steady as she goes, so smooth And never she misbehaves This trans...Atlantic steamer knows who she is and where She braved the stormy weather to be with those who care. And what a long, hard voyage I know she must have made Before she found our harbor; A trip too long delayed. She's sailed rough seas, but always Stayed true to her course and right That now from stem to stern she's fit With rigging smooth and tight.

And if some irate pirate
Should try to board her, she
Will surely snap his mizzen mast
And send him back out to sea

For many men have tried to walk in Mary's high heeled shoes
But only Mary knows how and when to make the love boat cruise.
For there's only one Queen Mary, and she sails the weekend seas
A lovely luxury liner with decks that gently tease.

-Bobbi Williams



FIGHTING THE BATTLES

by Michele Kämmerer

am Michele Julia Kämmerer, a 50-year-old woman, a fire captain, a father and grandfather, a lesbian, an artist, a US Navy veteran, and a Jodo-Shinshu Buddhist!

I successfully transitioned from male to female, in the Los Angeles City Fire Department, in June of 1991, and had sex reassignment surgery in Belgium in 1993.

My given name was Michael. My father was a German-American Catholic and my mother was a Swedish Lutheran; they had a very contentious marriage of necessity. Early childhood was hell for me. I grew up in Los Angeles in a male body, secretly harboring gender confusion and the desire to be female. I was deeply sensitive to feminist issues, and as a firefighter, whenever I heard the oft-mentioned word fireman I felt a stab of pain and really did not know why that hurt so much. The battles I fought were with myself and my place in the world.

How did I get here? I stayed in a loving and painful, deeply meaningful process of growth, kept on my career path, and became a Buddhist.

I discovered and accepted myself, opened and released my feelings through neo-Reichian bodywork, and included spirituality in my process. I realized that I am a *verb*. Whatever I am is what I am doing, right here and now, right here in the moment, and nothing else really matters. Because everything else is just a construct, a fantasy or history. I uncovered my spirituality and joined a Japanese-American Buddhist temple. For me, those three things—work, self-actualization, and Buddhism—are the foundation and process for who and what I am.

Here at the [Sex, Gender, and Crossdressing] conference, Ann Bolin spoke eloquently of the "ambigenderal" and of "supernumerary genders." Martine Rothblatt's pronoun processing and her concept of seeing genders as analogous to a spectrum of color were a delight. Walter Williams presented us an eloquent study of the "two-spirit people" from the most advanced cultures in the world, the indigenous peoples who live their lives in relationship with each other and every living thing. These native cultures honor the berdache, the nadlee, and the queers—the women and men who are the cultural artists who bridge the gaps between human and nonhuman, adult and child, people and planet, female and male.

In closing, I would like to read a poem that was read during a Buddhist service I attended in San Francisco. I thought the priest was reading it directly to me, for me, and all the other people were my guests. The author Goramatsu Miakawa uses the term Nembutsu, a very important term in Jodo-Shinshu Buddhism. It is basically about the meaning of Life, the Universe, and Everything.

You are just right as you are, your face, your body, your name. Your social position, wealth, parents, children, daughter-in-law, and even grandchildren are just right for you.

Your happiness and unhappiness, joy and sorrow, are just right for you.

Your life has been neither good nor bad, it has been just right for you. Whether you go to the pureland or fall into hell, that place is best suited for you.

Don't think highly of yourself, but don't belittle yourself either.

There is neither above or below, and even the time and place of your passing is just right for you.

How can it not be right when lived in the world of naturalness, the world of Nembutsu.

Ms. Kämmerer is a transsexual woman living and working in Los Angeles. This paper was adapted from her speech presented at the First International Congress on Sex, Gender and Crossdressing held in Los Angeles, February 1995.



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BOOK REVIEWS

Constructing Masculinity

edited by M. Berger, B. Wallis, and S. Watson. Published by Routledge, New York. 1995. Reviewed by Ari Kane.

onstructing Masculinity brings together leading scholars, social and applied scientists, poets, and cultural critics who question the ideological basis by which masculinity is defined. Each contributor presents a particular view on the ways men and women can transcend the cultural and societal stereotypes.

This book sets the stage for another look at the traditional ideological structure of patriarchal culture and of the heterosexual masculinity that has served as the benchmark of the normative gender in American Society. Instead of wanting to do away with this standard or concentrating on the social determinants of sexual difference, many feminists are challenging the immutability of all identity forms and have created a plethora of gender-diverse roles, presentations, and lifestyles. This would imply that gender is constructed, and it is shaped by historical circumstances and social discourses and not by random natural selection. A key point in the work is made by Judith Butler who argues that "gender is performative," that is, it unfolds as a series of "performed" operations that make for complex meanings about the normative standards that we cannot escape. The formation of gender differences in language most often produces a rigid and fictive construction of reality.

Social and cultural constructions of the masculine and the feminine are never totally inevitable or unitary. For instance, the gender discontinuities that activate hetero, bi, gay, and lesbian sexualities do not conform to a simple binary opposition between men and women. Gender identity can act as a coercive ideal that exists mainly to "protect the norm of heterosexuality." It is in this sense that gender is fluid, dynamic, and performative, for it continually unfolds as a complex enactment of self-representation and self-definition.

The book is divided into five sections, each with a specific objective. Section I is concerned with the question, "What is Masculinity?" and authors such as Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, Judith Butler, and Carole Vance set the stage for alternative visions of this illusive concept. For instance, Kosofsky Sedgwick says that we should separate masculinity from the biologic

entity of the male, especially in light of the emergence of a special kind of masculinity exhibited in the biologic female, namely, the transgender person. She further believes that masculinity and femininity are orthogonal and not opposites. Butler in her essay discusses Freud's speculations in "Mourning and Melancholia," examining the relationship between the ego and the id and how his formulation about man and his sexual development impacts on the concept of masculinity. Vance writes about how theorists in many disciplines have responded to new questions raised by feminists and lesbian/gay scholarship concerning gender and identity.

Section II discusses the relationship of masculinity to representation and presentation. There is a fine essay on how a film director works to create the "Clint Eastwood look" (presentation) in many of his films. Section III focuses on how science defines men, with contributions from Anne Fausto-Sterling, Simon Watney, and Sander Gilman.

Section IV is devoted to the relationship of masculinity and the rule of law, with essays by Kendall Thomas ("Masculinity, 'The Rule of Law,' and Other Legal Fictions") and Margorie Heins ("Masculinity, Sexism, and Censorship Law"). Section V considers the topic of male subjectivity and responsibility, with several well-written essays including Barbara Ehrenreich's "The Decline of Patriarchy" and Stanley Aronowitz's "My Masculinity."

The central question that is raised by the editors and their selection of essays is, "If rigid social constructions of the masculine have resulted in political and cultural forces of oppression and denial, can masculinity be rehearsed in a way that alters its ideological boundaries?" In other words, can we render the "performance" of masculinity less repressive and less tyrannical. The work is filled with exciting essayists looking at this multidimensional subject of the social construction of masculinity. In a way, it also is suggesting that the social construction of femininity is very much interwoven into the notion of a new paradigm to develop a dynamic harmony within the species *Homo sapiens*. For this reviewer, *Constructing Masculinity*, is truly a breath of fresh air in the gender landscape.



Gender Identity Disorder (GID) and Psychosexual Problems in Children and Adolescents

JOURNAL OF GENDER STUDIES

by Kenneth J. Zucker and Susan J. Bradley. Published by Guilford Press, New York. 1995. Reviewed by Ari Kane.

his book comprehensively covers many aspects of Gender Identity Disorder in children from age 3 to 12 and in adolescents from age 13 to 17 years. It is divided into two parts, a major section on GID in children (Chapters 2 through 10) and the other section focused on GID in adolescence. Most of the authors' research and clinical work has been with children. Topics such as core phenomenology, diagnosis and assessment, associated psychopathology, treatment, and long-term follow-up consitute their major focus. This reader was impressed with the degree of scholarly discourse, amply referenced important studies and professional assessment of the research techniques used, and the clinical evaluative process in working with not only with the children who may have GID but also with the parents of these children. In their introduction, the authors spend several pages clarifying the use of terminology regarding biologic sex, gender role & identity, and sexual orientation.

Zucker and Bradley devote a section of the chapter entitled "Diagnosis and Assessment" addressing the question, "Is GID really a disorder?" In the discourse, it is argued that to be considered a mental disorder, the three "Ds" of any behavioral syndrome be present. These are distress, disability, and disadvantage. These Ds are defined as a subjective complaint, functional impairment, and negative interactions between the child and the physical and social environment. There is considerable debate in the text as to whether these can be applied to the gender problems of children. This sort of dialogue is found in many of the chapters in this book.

Another chapter this reviewer found intriguing describes how the authors develop a clinical formulation of GID. "We view GID as a relatively rare disorder that requires the presence of both general and specific factors within the child, the parents and the family system to allow for the development of crossgender behavior and an identification with the opposite sex." They go on to enumerate the general and specific factors and then give applications of this clinical model for boys and for girls.

This book is a must for the clinician who would like an authoritative source on the GID debate and the data that have been amassed on this topic.

Medical, Legal and Workplace Issues for the Transsexual

by Sheila Kirk and Martine A. Rothblatt. Published by Together Lifeworks, Watertown, MA. 1995. Reviewed by Ari Kane.

his book is a detailed primer in navigating through a complex pathway of medical and legal concerns for the preoperative and post-operative transsexual (MTF and FTM). The medical segment, which comprises two thirds of the book, is divided into four periods: pretransition, the real-life test period, the surgical experience and early convalescence, and late convalescence and life thereafter. It is filled with medical details that will be of importance to serious candidates for sex reassignment surgery, regardless of their present biologic status. There is a very good segment concerning the details of FTM reassignment surgeries. This reader observes a positive attitude about all of the medical aspects of the SRS for both female and male transsexuals, the sign of a caring and gender-positive professional health provider.

The section on legal issues focuses on two of the major concerns for the transsexual. First, there is useful information on various legal changes that a person needs for transition and beyond. These include how-tos regarding a name change, document changes, and marital rights and/or divorce. There is a section on the appropriate use of restrooms when out in public during the transition period. Second, two important postsurgical issues that need clarity and the legal basis for execution are addressed: informed consent and postoperative legal notifications. There are some interesting case law references to situations that a postoperative transsexual might encounter or be prepared for, in the event that these situations might become realities. Here, Martine Rothblatt considers, notification to current employer of one's intention to return to the position held prior to SRS, voiding marital relationships after surgery, and confidentiality with regard to who needs to or does not need to know about your SRS.

Finally, the segment on workplace issues contains some practical advice and workable strategies for coping with the "new you" in the context of the workplace.

This is a valued addition to the clinical literature on the details of medical, legal, and workplace changes that must become part of the process of a successful transition and life thereafter for a transsexual.

Men in Dresses: A Study of Transvestism/ Crossdressing

by Vernon Coleman. Published by European Medical Journal Publishing, Barnstaple, UK. 1996. Reviewed by Ari Kane.

he transvestite is a man who has discovered a way of being at peace with herself. TVism is a gift not a curse; we should be grateful for it." So opens this book which is all about adult males who admit to being crossdressers and who responded to a survey of 20 questions about various aspects of their crossdressing activity. The survey, which was designed by Mr. Coleman, was in part sponsored by the European Medical Journal Special Report on Transvestism/Crossdressing and was completed in 1995. Four hundred fourteen British males answered the set of questions posed. The questions centered around three common issues: the motivation for crossdressing; practical concerns like buying women's apparel, creating a traditional feminine image, going out in public, etc.; and relationships and sexuality.

While Mr. Coleman's efforts to provide a data base for the advocacy of crossdressing to the non-crossdressing public are to be commended, your reviewer has some serious questions about the methodology associated with this study, as well as some glaring omissions. The author's use of the term transvestite, TVism, etc. is a throwback to early and somewhat pejorative uses found in medical and psychiatric literature. He makes a feeble attempt to replace the word with the more useful term crossdresser but continues refer to males who are "serious" crossdressers as transvestites.

A second issue that is of concern is the assumption that "TVism is generally a male preserve." There are significant data to show that females do engage in crossdressing. What is different is the motivation associated with this activity. His statement tends to reinforce the dominant gender scheme, which places masculinity as superior to femininity (androcentricism).

A third issue has to do with the composition of the male population used in his study. We are not told the age range of the males who responded to the survey. Nor are we aware of their sexual orientations and how they may relate their crossdressing activity to this option. Again, the author assumes that the majority in the survey are heterosexual.

Coleman's conclusions do not follow from the data he collected in his survey. He states that "most men hide their emotions from one another and from themselves and that this results in men suffering so much damage

from stress." Yet his data indicated that only 48% of the men in his study indicated that one motivation for their crossdressing is to "relax and deal with stress." Another conclusion is that "most men dare not admit their femininity [not defined] to themselves." Are we to infer that males who crossdress are defining their fantasy about being feminine and are shameful about expressing it openly? The author then makes a quantum leap by stating "they bottle up their feelings [which ones?] and therefore suffer from stress-related disorders like heart disease and high blood pressure." It is difficult for the reader to see a one-to-one correspondence between his data on crossdressing and stress-related illness.

JOURNAL OF GENDER STUDIES

He does make the statement that "crossdressing is a healthy release of feelings [which ones he does not say] which are probably far more universal than generally accepted." Here your reviewer will agree, based on other, more formal studies found in the literature.

While Men in Dresses gives the casual reader and also some practitioners of CD activity a sense that they are not alone and that there may be some commonalities among the CD population, it provides marginal support in the quest for tolerance of this masculine form of feminine expression.

Ari Kane is a gender specialist at Theseus Counseling Services, Executive Director of the Outreach Institute, and Editor of the Journal of Gender Studies.



People with HIV and Those Who Help Them

by R. Dennis Shelby. Published by Harrington Park Press, Binghamton, NY. 1995. Reviewed by David Prok.

he world has fallen victim to an epidemic that clearly seems, in many instances, to rival The Plague of medieval times. The challenge of HIV infection is now in all parts of the globe. In some areas of the planet it is much more apparent than in other areas. Dennis Shelby

has worked extensively in acquiring the knowledge he presents in his treatise. He has worked with caregivers as well as individuals who are HIV challenged. In his writing he effectively examines all aspects of the AIDS epidemic as it has stricken American society in particular. His text treats the subject matter with a very wise, compassionate, and helpful account of what happens to the caregivers, as well as to the men and women who become HIV positive.

As one reads through the chapters in this book, she or he becomes acutely aware of the kaleidoscope of feelings that are generated as people move through the spectrum from early infection to fully diagnosed AIDS and on into the end stages of this disease. The thing that is so extremely insightful is that a significant portion of the text is given over to actually quoting individuals who are challenged within the framework of this epidemic. The writing effectively portrays their emotions and feelings, their fears and their hopes. This gives the whole narrative the immediacy of presence. One gets to feel the sensitivity, the fear, and the terror that is being expressed by the individuals as we read their commentary on the fate that awaits them.

In addition, the author also includes assessments and comments by individuals who are the caregivers or caretakers of the AIDS victims. These persons are on their own roller coaster at the same time as they try desperately to nurture and sustain the life and well being of their charges, their loved ones, their friends, their family. We get a sense of the sorrow they experience as they see the continuing demise of the persons that are infected and their frustration as they watch them succumb to the last ravages of the disease.

One of the most poignant aspects of Dr. Shelby's book is the way in which he interfaces the life experiences of the caregivers and the individuals who are battling this disease, in many instances in so courageous a manner. As the individuals who are infected go through the various stages within the spectrum of HIV infection, we can almost feel the changes that are happening in them physically, psychologically, and spiritually, as well as medically.

This book is a major contribution to the field of HIV and AIDS. Dennis has in a very masterful way described in great depth the roller coaster ride that the HIV-infected person faces. The story that unfolds tells not only of those individuals who are infected with HIV, but also of others who are affected by this dread disease. The reader encounters page after page that is filled with vignettes and other real-life examples of the challenges faced by individuals who are addressing this concern in their lives.

Here are some of the quotes that one encounters in the text: "I found myself feeling fatigued, a change in appetite, changes in body functions. It

just seemed that something was not right, like an internal mechanism telling me that something wasn't right. It was time to get it checked out." "I was making myself crazy. My entire sexual history passed before my eyes. What was the answer going to be."

When one of the people in the book went for his follow-up appointment after being tested, he indicated the way in which he was informed of his status. "It really was not handled well at all. He just very casually said 'You're positive.'... It opened up a nightmare.... There was a short period when I was angry. It quickly turned into tears and a great fear."

Upon finding out he was positive, another client reported: "I just felt like I could not touch anybody. I felt more removed from the center of society. I felt out of it, alone."

The consequences of positivity reach into all aspects of an individual's life. For instance, one HIV-infected person who needed dental care shares this experience: "About six weeks after I tested positive, I broke a crown. I went to the dentist I had gone to for years. I told him I was positive. He would not even look in my mouth. He said that I could not be treated in his office any more. I flipped out. I was devastated."

Many infected people think of themselves as "damaged goods." As one client said, "I tend to see the world through this filter of 'I'm HIV positive."

Many infected individuals experience a sense of loss of their future. Tomorrow does not have the promise that it used to. The event horizon of their ultimate demise has come into the immediacy of their perspective. This necessitates that individuals plan ahead. They have to make plans, because they know the inevitability of the loss of life is eminent.

The reality of infection takes hold after the long period of incubation has completed itself. "Before I had begun to take AZT it was not all that real, but now that I am on AZT, it's real real." And the question, is this drug really salutary? "I was terrified of AZT at first. I had read so many horror stories about it."

The sense of loss as one progresses goes beyond the self. "For so long I thought I was one of the few. It never dawned on me that so many of my friends could be positive. Now they are dying, and I am on AZT." Sometimes the revelations which make themselves known are surprisingly uplifting. As when one client said, "My family found out that I was gay and had AIDS at the same time. They were wonderful about it."

Throughout his writing, Dennis Shelby effectively articulates the tremendous range of feelings and emotions that must be dealt with. Shelby is a social worker by training, and in that context his perspective is influenced by understanding contextual issues and the complexities of the person in his environment. This volume effectively demonstrates that he is a master at understanding as well as explaining these complexities. The book itself is a magnetizing read. One desires not to put it down but wants to go on and to effectively reach the next stage of understanding about the consequences and the meaning of HIV in society today.

In the final analysis, as we face the complexities of our lives, whether we are HIV challenged or not, there emerges a deeply therapeutic experience that can be had in reading this book. To have this book and to hold and read it is to understand and to feel that which we all need in order to find meaning and to survive in this age of AIDS.

The book will better prepare those who read it for the exigencies in life they will encounter, whether it is within the AIDS spectrum or any other malady, which inevitably all of us will encounter at some time in our lives. The compassion and care that are expressed are truly something to experience. And when one has completed reading People with HIV and Those Who Help Them, he or she will surely have a better understanding of the dynamic that makes human society humane.

David Prok is Professor of Sciology at Baldwin-Wallace College in Ohio.



FIRST SESSION*

With apprehension and anticipation We began.

IOURNAL OF GENDER STUDIES

Humor masked the pain, glib tongue held forgotten terror at bay. My heart newly wounded, still bleeding.

She took my hands and listened, just listened. Her gaze pierced the facade.

A volcano full of hurt welled up and hot lava of rage poured out from deep within my being.

Her arms embraced my naked soul, long ago abused and never nurtured. My body erupted into weeping.

The tears hiss with the lava-causing steam, shattering the glass wall of phantom fear on its journey.

The lava, cooled by the flood of tears, starts forming an island of strength in the ocean of chaos.

Through the steam and acrid smoke a small child appears bruised, fragile, yet bright-eyed and smiling, ready to take her first venture in the present time.

-Sonja Smith



^{*}Sonja Smith is a new woman and a poetess of note in Florida. This poem is part of an anthology to be published in 1996.

TAKE ME TO THE DRAG SHOW

Take me to the drag show and show me to the men Who think it's just a fag show with people who pretend To be a thing that nature never meant for them to be. Just take them to the drag show

and sit them next to me. I'll show them great pretenders,

their neighbors for a start

The people in their office who think they're so damned smart

Pretending life is just a song but singing out of tune.

Sneaking to the drag show in the early afternoon

The world is but a stage, he said, and every man an actor

But did he know the show we're in was written by Max Factor?

And did he know the show he's in

is just a cosmic gag,

Where all the world's a stage and all the players are in drag.

So who is NOT pretending, and who is really free from pretense and illusion and lives where fantasy is never realized? How sad to have to play

a part for which you aren't right and live it every day.

The very few, like me and you, who recognize what's what

Must do the very best we can

and work with what we've got.

So take me to the drag show and show me to the men

And let them think they're lives are real,

but we know they pretend

To be whatever makes them feel

they're safe, secure, and free.

Then take them to the drag show and sit them next to me.

—Bobbi Williams

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VIDEO REVIEWS

Split: Portrait of a Drag Queen

produced by Ellen F. Turk and Andrew Weeks. 1992. Running time: 60 minutes. Reviewed by Ari Kane.*

his is a poignant story of International Chrysis (her chosen name) a well-known personality and drag artist in the 1970s. The film offers little early history of her except that she was born in one of the boroughs of New York City to an upper middle class family. She always wanted to perform on stage and loved dressing up in feminine apparel. She left home at about age 13 to make her debut as a contestant in the Miss Gay America pageant held in 1968 in the City. The film is sketchy about the outcome of this adventure except to say that she did enter the contest.

Her crossdressing interest became a major cause of conflict with her family, so much so that they had her committed to Bellevue Mental Hospital for treatment and possible cure. After surviving this ordeal for 6 months and then being released, she decided to run away from her family forever. Very little is reported in the film about the adolescent and early adult years after her break with the family. She did wander around in Greenwich Village during that period and did try out for a spot on the stage of The 82 Club, a well-known femme impersonator show in the City.

The film captures some of the many highlights of Chrysis's adult life. These are narrated by some of her friends and close confidants. She became known as a drag artist performing in many of the village clubs in the 1970s. There are scenes from some of these performances interspersed with some of her personal commentary on life, on people she knew, on sex, and on animals. She referred to her lifestyle as being out on the edge. She labeled herself as a transsexual, although she was never able to afford the expense of the surgery.

She talks about her friendship with Spanish artist Salvadore Dali, who used to visit with her when he came to New York. She had her breasts injected with silicone (a popular practice among drag artists in the '70s). Her friends speak about her as a sensitive, caring, and fun-loving creature of the Village scene. However, underneath the veneer, there was a vast well of

^{*}Available from Water Bearer Films, 205 West End Avenue, Suite 24H, New York, NY 10023.

loneliness. She spoke of once trying to reconcile her differences with her family, particularly with her mother, but she was not successful.

In the final analysis, the film portrays the life path of an unhappy person wanting desperately to love and to be loved for who she was and not because of her talents. This viewer felt a deep sense of a "pleasant-sadness" about an artist who lived life on her terms and with little regret.

Recommended viewing not only for its historical contents about drag artists in the 1970s but also for the lessons that young people may learn about this pathway to exploration of gender options.



The Blank Point: What Is Transsexualism?

produced and directed by Xiao Xen Wang and Andy Martin. 1995. Running time: 60 minutes. Reviewed by Ari Kane.*

his is a sensitive documentary about the world of the transsexual. The directors have carefully orchestrated the path of the film to portray with clarity the lives of three people who chose a gender journey that would lead to sex reassignment surgery (SRS) and their respective lifestyles thereafter.

Richard is a postoperative female-to-male transsexual.[†] He is articulate and comfortable with himself as he traces some of his past with the viewing audience. Sarah is a postoperative male-to-female transsexual.[†] She is also comfortable, candid, and articulate in sharing important segments of her gender journey with viewers. Patricia is a preoperative male-to-female transsexual.[†] She is 54 years old and engaged in the real life test (see HBIGDA *Standards of Care*) as a woman in transition prior to having SRS.

102

Each principal in the film contributes much personal and emotional information about their respective gender journeys. The viewer can appreciate the gleam in Richard's eye as he talks about his daughter from a prior relationship. One is brought to tears as Sarah relates how she communicated her gender dilemma to a southern European cultural family where she (then he) was the oldest of eight children. The strain on Patricia and her spouse is evident as they try to share the changing lifestyle of the former with their children.

The camera action is well planned, with good, positive close-ups when appropriate, and esthetic and pleasing in the generalized shoots and scenes (it was filmed for the most part in the bay area of San Francisco). These directors not only studied good cinematographic arts but also read assiduously on the subject. One technical novelty used was to take slide shots with four people displaying diversity in gender images both as men and as women.

The film also contains some good interviews with a psychotherapist who works with the trans population, a plastic surgeon who specializes in surgical procedures that are of direct interest to many FTM folks, and a surgeon who specializes in the vaginoplasty for MTF folks. Following each interview segment there is relevant commentary by the narrator/director or the principals.

In summary, *The Blank Point* is an excellent introduction into the personal worlds of the transsexual of the 1990s. This reviewer would recommend it to all clinicians who work with the transsexual population and to all trans people who are contemplating this path for their gender journey.

Ari Kane is a gender specialist at Theseus Counseling Services, Executive Director of the Outreach Institute, and Editor of the Journal of Gender Studies.



^{*}Available from Cinema Guild, 1697 Broadway, Suite 506, New York, NY 10019.
†This editor prefers the terms new man and new woman for postoperative FTM and MTF transsexuals, respectively, and the terms transgender man and transgender woman for FTM and MTF preoperative transsexuals. —A.K.

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A GLOSSARY FOR UNDERSTANDING GENDER DIVERSITY

Institute presents this glossary. It only describes certain behaviors associated with conscious gender communities. It does not ascribe any motivations to these behaviors. The *Journal* welcomes contributions from readers who may define these terms differently, have other terms they prefer, or object to the use of some terms for political or other reasons. We believe that dialogue about our vocabulary is important as a means of improving the clarity of communication and positioning ourselves in the world at large.

Conscious gender community (CGC)—includes males and females who are addressing issues of gender identity in their lives. This encompasses the changing social attitudes about masculinity and femininity, as well as the behavioral and clinical phenomena of transcending traditional gender norms.

Crossdresser (CD)—a person (male or female) who wears an item or items of apparel usually worn by the other gender. It is a description of behavior and includes previously used terms like transvestite (TV), female impersonator (FI), and drag queen (DQ) and drag king (DK).

Crossgender (CG)—a person (male or female) who desires to cross and explore a gender role different from typical gender roles associated with their biologic sex. It is also descriptive of behavior. A transgenderist (TG) is a person who wants to live permanently in another gender role. An androgyne (AN) is a person who wants to blend gender roles. A bigenderist (BIG) is a person who can comfortably express themselves in either gender.

Transsexual (TS)—a person (male or female) who has chosen a preferred gender role and wants biologic congruity with that gender role preference. This is achieved with an appropriate sex hormonal therapy program and sex reassignment surgery (SRS).

New woman/man—a person (male or female) who has transited to a preferred gender role, i.e., transgenderist, and has had sex reassignment surgery.

Transgender (TG) refers to a person or group that is transcending traditional gender norms and forms.

GENDER AWARENESS AND INFORMATION NETWORK (GAIN)

GAIN provides referral services and educational resources for health-care providers whose clients seek counseling on issues related to gender conflict, gender dysphoria, and conscious gender communities. Members include helping professionals from the fields of education, medicine, guidance and counseling, sex therapy, ministry, law and law enforcement, and other human services. GAIN is the professional arm for The Outreach Institute of Gender Studies (OIGS). The Institute sponsors educational, personal growth, and social activities for the conscious gender communities.

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Thank You!

The Outreach Institute of Gender Studies

Statement of Purpose

It is the purpose of OIGS to educate and conduct research in all aspects related to the phenomenon of gender, as it interfaces with human sexuality. As a social construct, gender phenomena include a unique and a variable set of attributes that communicate and identify to all, who a person is, what a person does and how a person acts. It is the basis by which societies and cultures structure themselves. To achieve these goals this Institute will:

- Provide programs which broaden understanding about diversity of the gender experience, expression, and perception in daily life.
- Create and implement research projects and studies designed to further the understanding about gender as a social phenomenon.
- Publish relevant and useful information, research results, new ideas and paradigms relative to gender.
- Serve as a resource for all persons wanting information about topics related to gender and gender studies.
- Develop graduate programs in gender studies.
- Make available information and other written materials on various topics related to gender.
- Clarify the relationship between gender and sexual orientations and the lifestyles of people in society.
- Create and sponsor programs which encourage personal growth and explore the diversity of conscious gender communities.
- Promote the idea that cultural gender diversity is a positive human expression, and conscious gender communities exist in all societies.

CONTENTS

Editorial A. Kane, M.Ed
Dismantling Gender Polarization and Compulsory Heterosexuality: Should We Turn the Volume Down or Up? S. Bem
History Repeats Itself: The Transgender Movement in Relation to the Homosexual Rights Movement E. Lombardi, M.A
Fighting the Battles M. Kämmerer
Book Reviews Constructing Masculinity
Problems in Children and Adolescents
Men in Dresses: A Study of Transvestism/ Crossdressing
People with HIV and Those Who Help Them94 Video Reviews
Split: Portrait of a Drag Queen
Poetry
Risk Taking Is Free 68 Jennifer—Behind the Eight Ball 70 Queen Mary 84 First Session 98 Take Me to the Drag Show 99
A Glossary for Understanding Gender Diversity

