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Stephan/ie Brzuzy

Gender and Sexual Identity

Transcending Feminist and
Queer Theory

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 Springer

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Preface

Kate Bornstein (1994) states, "I'm constructing myself to be fluidly gendered now….I don't consider myself a man, and quite frequently I doubt that I'm a woman. And you— you still think gender is the issue! Gender is not the issue. Gender is the battlefield. Or the playground. The issue is us versus them. Any us versus any them" (p. 222).

The quote still resonates with Julie, as it was this statement that shifted her interest in sexuality, LGBT topics and exploring how the gendered world is socially constructed and performed. This Preface presents a timeline of Julie's evolution on the topic, how she gathered us together, and the book that resulted from her pursuits.

The theory, research, and practical applications presented here are a culmination of almost 10 years of work that started with Julie taking a class in the Masters of Social Work program at Arizona State University in 2004. One theme of this book is that transgender individuals make salient how the narrative of lived experiences defines our identities. For a required class project, Julie asked a classmate, who self-identified as being trans, if he/she would be willing to do an interview exploring her/his views on gender, gender roles, gender identity, and sexual orientation. As the interview progressed, a new way of understanding and conceptualizing gender was discussed, including transgenderism as a theory, gender as an obstacle, and identity as the core experience to counter the socially determined aspects of gender.

The returned class assignment had a note to Julie, "you should think about turning this into a thesis." Julie explored the prospect and began looking for faculty who would be interested in a thesis project that involved interviewing a sample of transgender individuals on their ideas about gender roles, gender identity, and sexuality. Julie was introduced to ASU Social Work Associate Professor Stephan/ie Brzuzy. Stephan/ie, a self-identified transgender individual with a professional interest in social welfare policy and additional interest in transgender issues, agreed to mentor Julie on her master's thesis, and Stephan/ie and Julie had numerous discussions on the differences in how individuals view gender. The readings of suggested books on the topic made apparent the relevance of feminist, queer, and transgender theory conceptualizations of gender. Julie also discussed with husband Craig, an Associate Professor of social psychology at ASU, with research interests then in college student alcohol use, religiosity, cognition, and social cognition, about how to conceptualize these theoretical frameworks and link them to interview questions about gender and sexuality. Thus the interview questions, and

ultimately the content of this book, were born from different theoretical frameworks—feminist, queer, and transgender theories—from women and gender studies, focusing on the essentialist and socially constructed views of gender, as well as the practice and policy-oriented perspectives of social work and the research perspective of psychology.

In the Fall of 2005, the thesis interviews were launched. The participants were primarily contacted through community contacts, who asked prospective participants if they were willing to be contacted by Julie for a possible interview about issues of gender identity. As Julie was conducting interviews, she found that many of the participants were not self-identified trans, but rather self-identified gay/lesbian individuals who had responded to the interview call. As more and more interviews were capturing the experiences of gay/lesbian individuals, the research team decided to look at any similarities and/or differences in the responses of the self-identified transgender individuals and the self-identified gay/lesbian individuals. One of Craig's graduate students, Heather Terrell, who was also interested in the project, then offered to ask heterosexual introductory psychology students the same interview questions on gender roles, gender identity, and sexual orientation.

In the Spring of 2006, thinking about the reports of prejudice and discrimination coming from the gay/lesbian and transgender participants in the interview study, Julie discussed with Craig how so many times homophobia is misunderstood and doesn't actually get at possible physical cues that spur discriminatory acts against LGBT individuals. Many times individuals can't tell someone's sexual orientation by looking at them, yet many discriminatory acts are based upon people reporting that an LGBT individual looked, acted, or behaved in a non-heteronormative way. Julie proposed the development of a transphobia (prejudice against transgender individuals) scale that picked up on physical and behavioral cues that would trigger other individuals to know that the person is non-heteronormative, for example, cross dressing and public kissing between a gay couple. A scale was created based on Kate Bornstein's (1998) *My Gender Workbook* and validated and compared to a widely-used homophobia scale in a quantitative study of introductory psychology students. In the course of revising the resulting paper for publication in *Sex Roles* (Nagoshi et al. 2008), Craig and Julie formulated a 3-part theory of the sources of gender-based prejudice that incorporated ideas from feminist theory on the social construction of gender. With undergrad Katherine Adams from ASU Women and Gender Studies, follow-up quantitative studies, again using college student samples, were designed and implemented to explore what specific parts of prejudice (gender roles, gender identity, or sexual orientation) trigger homophobia and transphobia and what dimensions (personality, physical characteristics, sexuality) were perceived as defining male (being a man) versus female (being a woman).

In the Fall of 2007, Julie was accepted into the Social Work Ph.D. program at Arizona State University, where her continued interest in the area of gender studies was augmented by another line of research on gender roles, acculturation, and substance use in Mexican–American adolescents. As part of her Ph.D. training,

she early on took graduate-level courses in Women and Gender Studies to earn a graduate certificate from the program.

In 2008, Stephan/ie and Julie presented a symposium that discussed the authors' qualitative work and the transphobia paper. The symposium, titled *Sex, Fear, and Gender Roles: New Trends in Transgender Studies*, was presented at the National Women's Studies Association Conference in Cincinnati, Ohio, to a full room. By 2009, Craig's primary research focus was on gender and gender-based prejudice, and the grad students subsequently recruited into his lab, Gabrielle Filip-Crawford and Allison Varley, began their researches under Craig's mentorship with projects further exploring the nature of gender-based prejudice and stereotyping. Honors students Katrina Warriner and Angela Garelick also completed theses exploring different aspects of gender-based prejudice.

In the Spring of 2010, Julie, Craig, and Stephan/ie presented a symposium, *Implications of Transgender Theory for Social Work Research and Practice*, on our qualitative and quantitative LGBT work at the Society for Social Work and Research meeting in San Francisco. By then, we had spent several years developing our ideas about the social construction, embodiment, self-construction, and narrative aspects of gender and sexual identity that would become our attempt at a theory of trans-identity (Nagoshi and Brzuzy 2010), the theory that is the guidepost for this book. After the presentation, Springer Editor Jennifer Hadley met with us in a coffee shop to discuss the prospects of converting our work into a book. As the discussion in the coffee shop became more and more focused on possible ideas, a thought was introduced that Julie could write about her qualitative interviews and feminist theoretical frameworks, Stephan/ie could focus on LGBT activism and practice from a social work perspective, and Craig could discuss his psychology quantitative work in gender identity and prejudice against LGBTs. So there, in a coffee shop in San Francisco, the idea for this book was born.

What makes this book novel is that it takes the intersection of the Author's interdisciplinary work from women and gender studies, psychology, and social work and applies it to the understanding of gender and sexual identity. In this, we attempt to link theory to research to practice. Julie was primarily responsible for Chap. 2 on feminist and queer theories and Chap. 5 on transgender theory, while Julie and Craig shared writing duties for the introductory Chap. 1, concluding Chap. 11, and the chapters presenting the findings from the interview study, Chap. 4 on qualitative approaches to understanding the social construction of gender roles, Chap. 6 on embodiment, and Chap. 7 on intersectionality, self-construction, and narratives of lived experience. Craig was primarily responsible for Chap. 3 on quantitative approaches to understanding the social construction of gender roles, with Gabrielle Filip-Crawford and Allison Varley assisting in the writing of Chap. 3. Stephan/ie's Chap. 8 focuses on the applications of trans-identity theory to practice, specifically with transgender individuals, noting the ways that this theory resolves longstanding issues of essentialist, feminist, and queer theory approaches. And lastly, to enhance the book's focus on LGBT activism, experienced community activist Robert Hess III was brought onto the project to write Chaps. 9 and 10 that discuss coalition building and political activism with non-heteronormative

socially oppressed groups and to consider the relevance of our research ideas to coalition building.

In the long course of writing this book, major changes have occurred in our lives. Julie earned her Ph.D., and Julie and Craig have accepted academic positions in Social Work and Psychology, respectively, at the University of Texas-Arlington. Stephan/ie is now Vice President for Accreditation Relations for the Higher Learning Commission of the North Central Association in Chicago. Our ideas have developed and changed along the way, as the narratives of our lives have developed and changed.

We hope this book will open the dialogue of how quantitative and qualitative work can be complementary and how interdisciplinary work can lead to the creation of new theoretical ideas and knowledge that can transcend disciplines. So many times we as researchers separate out broader theories from our research, as well as forgetting the practical everyday application that theory and research need to have to the real world and to the everyday lives of LGBT individuals. We can make positive change in the world by fostering dialogue that doesn't fear the connections between theory, research, and practice, and which holds us accountable to the populations we are trying to serve.

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Acknowledgments

Contents

Chapter 1
Overview

Transgender and transsexual individuals are often referred to simply as "trans" individuals. "Trans" comes from the Latin root *trāns*, meaning "across, beyond, or through" in a more general sense. Transgender and transsexual individuals challenge one of the most fundamental identity categories for human beings, that of gender, and in many ways challenge the fundamental ideas about the nature of any socially significant identity, how we theorize and do research on identity, and how we develop and implement practical interventions with regard to social identity.

The experiences of transgender individuals, those who do not conform to traditional gender identity binaries, raise compelling questions about the nature of socially defined identities. Does one's identity in a category, such as gender, require that this identity be fixed in a particular body? What if the individual's central experience of oppression is about being forced to conform to a socially constructed identity category that one does not actually identify with? How do social workers and other helping professionals empower and collaborate with individuals who have fluid identities?

Transgender theory is a newly emerging theoretical orientation that encompasses the unique experiences of transgender individuals. While previous essentialist approaches viewed social identities as fixed within the person, feminist and queer theories located social identities in the conflict between social and self-determinants. These approaches are incomplete for practice with transgender individuals. If someone's social identity is understood as being fixed or essential within the person, then this can validate and justify sex, race, class, etc. differences as being "natural," which can ultimately reify the multiple systems of oppression. At the same time, questioning and destabilizing all social identities disintegrates the individual's sense of core self within a socially oppressed group, even though such an identity can be the basis for personal empowerment and empowerment to oppose social oppression. Transgender theory encompasses and transcends feminist and queer theory by explicitly incorporating ideas of the fluidly embodied, socially constructed, and self-constructed aspects of social identity, along with the dynamic interaction and integration of these aspects of identity within the narratives of lived experiences.

Transgender and Transsexual

Transgenderism can be defined as the breaking of gender roles and gender identity and/or going across the boundaries of gender to another gender (Green 2004). Transgender individuals typically express gender identities outside traditional heteronormative definitions, but have little intention or no intention of having sex reassignment surgeries or hormone treatments (Bornstein 1994). Transsexual individuals can be either pre-transition/operative, transitioning/in the process of hormonal and surgical sex-reassignment, or post-transition/operative (Hird 2002). Preoperative means that the genital surgery has not been done, but that person intends or wants to have it done and is assuming a full time or part time life of the other gender, while postoperative is defined by one that has already had the genital reconstruction surgery done and is fully living in the role of another gender (Bornstein 1994). Prosser (1998) writes about transforming one's body to meet an imagined ideal, where sex reassignment surgery creates the body "as it should have been" (p. 83), a "reassignment that is a restoration of the body" (p. 88). He argues that the "immediate purpose of transsexuality is to make real the subject's true gender on the body" (p. 211).

The definition of transgender is controversial. Some believe that the term "transgender" comes from a term known as "transgenderist," meaning someone who changes their gender but not their sex (Broad 2002). Feinberg (1996) defines transgender as "a distinction between those who reassign the sex they were labeled at birth and those of us whose gender expression is considered inappropriate for our sex" (pp. x–xi). Transsexuals, however, argue that the term "transgender" does not recognize the real experience of changing one's sex, not just one's gender (Califia 1997). Lane (2009) notes the concern of transsexual voices being silenced or ultimately erased under the umbrella of transgender. Concentrating on the artificiality of gender can deemphasize the need for transsexuals to change their sexed body, which is central to transsexual lived experience, thus excluding transsexual narratives in queer and transgender theories. Transsexualism is defined as innate, not chosen, and biological, therefore deserving of both social and legal recognitions, while transgender is thought of as learned, freely chosen, and socially determined, therefore not deserving of legal recognition (Wallbank 2004). Bettcher (2010) also discusses how transgender people are oppressed because society insists upon a strict binary between man and woman. Transgender people are therefore subjected to violence because they violate the binary and are rendered "invisible."

Shotwell and Sangrey (2009) argue that it is a form of oppression for theorists to use trans-people as exemplars for their particular theory of gender and identity. To the extent that theorists impose a socially constructed definition of transgender identity that in any way compels the larger society to impose these identity expectations on those thought to be transgender individuals, Shotwell and Sangrey are right to be concerned. In fact, theorists of gender and sexual identity need to be fully aware of the diversity of transgender expressions in individuals. Transgenders differ in their degree of belief in the fluidity of gender identity, with

some accepting such fluidity only to the extent that one can switch between two otherwise completely separate, essentialist, and pure gender categories, while others believe that an embodied gender identity is still nevertheless highly malleable. This leads many trans individuals to push for a broader definition of "transgender" that includes anyone who does not fit traditional definitions of masculinity and femininity, such as transvestites. Others argue that being "transgender" correlates with having to face stigma and labels of pathology from the medical establishment, when one does not fit traditional gender categories (Broad 2002). Therefore, Wilchins (2002) argues for freeing people from this system all together. "I want just three things: (1) The right to choose my own meanings—including none at all; (2) a freer marketplace from which to choose; and (3) freedom from the constant threat of punishment for my choices."

With Shotwell and Sangrey's (2009) admonition in mind, we examine transgender identity and the lived experiences of transgender individuals as the most compelling example of a social identity that challenges our commonly held beliefs, both in the academic community and in the larger society, about the nature of identity. These explorations led to our trans-identity theory, which actually owes much to Shotwell and Sangrey's theoretical explorations and which explicitly recognizes the oppressive nature of the socially constructed aspects of identity. Trans-identity theory, however, also emphasizes other sources of identity–embodiment, self-construction, and the narrative of lived experiences—that not only explain the diversity and fluidity of social identities, but can also act as sources of personal empowerment to recognize and resist oppression.

Gender

The core problem with gender is that it is based on a binary, mandatory system that attributes social characteristics to sexed anatomy (Hausman 2001). Many people assume that the binary basis of gender is, in fact, encoded in basic biological processes. "Biological" is often assumed to be synonymous with "unchangeable" and "natural" and as being a more primary origin of gender identity (Preves 2001). As Roughgarden (2004) points out, however, vertebrate species differ in the extent that sex differences result in a completely binary differentiation between whole organisms. In many cases, more than two types of sexed bodies may occur. The chromosomal mechanisms for determining sex in humans have been found to be more complex, multifactorial, and interdependent on other physiological processes than has been previously understood (Rosario 2004). In fact, among humans individuals are often born with sexually ambiguous characteristics, which challenges the culturally-based binary system of sex and gender (Preves 2001). These ambiguous bodies (intersexed, hermaphroditism, pseudo-hermaphroditism) do not conform to the overarching and largely taken for granted social expectations that all human beings belong to one of two clearly delineated sex categories (Wilson and Reiner 1998). Even though these "intersexed" individuals do not require medical intervention, they are often made

to undergo medical procedures, in order to make them fit with these socially-based binary gender expectations (Preves 2001). In fact, Preves quotes several transgender, not necessarily intersexed, individuals who report that they did not feel like they fit in either binary gender box.

In turn, gender assignment answers the question of what the authorities say a person is, such as male or female. Gender assignment is given at birth and normally centers around the presence or absence of a penis (Bornstein 1998). Ironically, at birth we assign a range of masculine or feminine behaviors from the child's external genitalia. In contrast, as the child grows older, we infer the child's physical sex from their expressed masculine versus feminine behaviors and appearance (Preves 2001).

Gender attribution is what we do when we meet someone else for the first time and need to categorize them. We decide whether they're a man or a woman, or something indeterminable to us. This decision process is determined by different types of cues (Bornstein 1998). There are different cues to take into consideration by the individual, such as physical cues, behavioral cues, textual cues, mythic cues, and power dynamics (Bornstein 1994). Physical cues include the body, hair, clothes, voice, skin, and movement of the individual. Behavioral cues include mannerisms, decorum, protocol, and deportment. Textual cues are the histories, documents, names, associates, and relationships which support a desired gender attribution. Mythic cues include cultural and sub-cultural myths which support membership in a given gender and support the myth of male superiority, such as the terms "better half" and "the weaker sex." Power dynamics as cues include modes of communication, techniques, and degrees of aggressiveness, assertiveness, persistence, and ambition. Sexual orientation, as a cue, is whether the individual is heterosexual or homosexual. Traditional heteronormative beliefs about gender assume that male gender identity, masculine gender roles, and sexual attraction to females are one natural and inevitable gender package, while female gender identity, feminine gender roles, and sexual attraction to males are the only other natural and inevitable gender package. Because of such heteronormative assumptions, one's gender identity is often assumed to be consistent with a particular sexual orientation, and homosexuals are often assumed by heterosexuals to have the opposite gender role and gender identity. Bornstein (1994) notes the importance of this often overlooked cue for gender attributions. Gender roles are what the culture thinks one should do with one's life, such as qualities, mannerisms, duties, and cultural expectations, according to a specific gender (Bornstein 1998). These are the "cues" that are most often used for gender attributions.

Gender Identity

Gender identity has been described as an individual's internal sense of self as being male, female, or an identity between or outside these two categories (Wilchins 2002). Gender is a system of classification that describes characteristics and behaviors that we ascribe to bodies. We then attribute those characteristics and

behaviors to being either masculine or feminine (Green 2004). Gender identity is assumed to be consistent with one's biological sex. A man should have masculine attributes, whereas a woman should have feminine attributes.

Sex

According to Jamison Green (2004), one can consider gender to be the software and sex to be the hardware. Sex is commonly defined in two ways, either biological gender or the physical act of sexual intercourse. Sex, according to Green (2004), is a system of classification that divides body types based on presumed reproductive capacity as typically determined by visual examination of the external genitalia. In the book *Gender Outlaw*, Bornstein (1994) talks about the concept of a biological gender, rather than the term "sex," which includes body type, chromosomes, hormones, genitals, reproductive organs, or chemical essences/pheromones.

Bornstein (1998), in contrast to Green (2004), argues that sex is the act of sexual intercourse and only the act, how you like to do it, and with whom you would like to do it. Green (2004), however, also defines sex as the physical activity that we engage in. One's sexual preference or orientation, with whom we want to be sexual, depends on the gender identity of our sexual partners. That identity is thought of in terms of man and/or woman. Thus, sex (the act) and gender (the category) are confused (Bornstein 1994). Sexual attraction is linked to gender attribution. The first determination one makes is whether the person is the right gender for me, before we determine if we are attracted to them (Bornstein 1994).

Overview of Our Qualitative Research

The interview study (some of the findings from the transgender participant interviews have been published in Nagoshi et al. 2012a) that forms the empirical core of this book began as a project to understand several different bases of gender identity and gender roles through interviews with individuals who identify themselves as being "transgender," i.e., not fitting traditional gender roles. Early on in the participant recruitment process, the research expanded to include gay/lesbian and then "straight" (heterosexual, heteronormative) participants. The specific aims of the present research were to assess the degree to which a person's conceptions of gender identity were based on biological sex, physical appearance, social norms, gender privileges, personal identity, and/or sexual orientation and to compare the responses of transgender individuals to the theoretical perspectives described above. The importance of this research was that the perceived bases of gender identity and gender roles have been almost entirely studied from the perspective of heteronormative individuals, who, in many ways, may be unaware

of the bases for these phenomena, since gender identity, gender role, and sexual orientation all come as a consistent, dichotomized heteronormative package. For lesbians/gays/bisexuals and transgender individuals, however, the physiological and social bases of gender identity, gender role, and sexual orientation are much more salient issues, and interviewing these individuals may provide important new insights into how individuals' gender identity, gender role, and sexual orientation are conceptualized.

Interviews were conducted with 12 self-identified heterosexual individuals, 12 self-identified gay/lesbian individuals, and 11 self-identified transgender individuals to obtain their views on what defines gender roles (masculinity vs. femininity) and gender identity (male vs. female, binary vs. fluid), how they define themselves in terms of gender roles and gender identity, and what they perceive to be the relationships among gender roles, gender identity, and sexual orientation. The primary group of interest was transgender individuals, who were expected to have the most elaborated and nuanced views of gender roles, gender identity, and sexual orientation. Consistent with transgender theory and the research findings described above, it was expected that transgender individuals would have a keen appreciation of the idea that masculinity and femininity are purely social constructs that maintain male dominance in a strictly gender binary society and that these gender roles are separate from gender identity. While seeing gender identity as being fluid, these transgender individuals would also express the difficulty of maintaining such a fluid gender identity in a society that ubiquitously constrains individuals to a gender binary system. Meanwhile, transgender individuals were expected to regard the relationships among gender roles, gender identity, and sexual orientation as being complex and dynamic, with each component influencing the other.

In contrast, heterosexuals, having conformed to the norms of a gender binary society and thus not having had to continuously deal with issues of what defines gender identity, were expected to hold traditional essentialist views that gender identity naturally defines the corresponding gender roles and a heterosexual orientation or, possibly reflecting the influence of the promulgation of feminist and queer theory ideas, holding social constructivist views that view gender roles and sexual orientation as individual social preferences, with little thought about what defines gender identity.

The comparison of the responses of the gay/lesbian group to the transgender and heterosexual group on these issues of gender roles, gender identity, and sexual orientation was an important distinction of the present study over previous research. While queer theory has emphasized that sexual orientation is a social construct and, hence, presumably under individual control, the experience of most gays/lesbians and the findings of theorists and researchers on sexual orientation development suggest that the initial experience of being sexually attracted to same-sex individuals occurs early in life and without any sense of a "choice" being involved (Reiter 1989; Yarhouse 2001). It is after this experience that individuals who experience same-sex sexual attraction then go through the social processes to possibly develop a corresponding sexual orientation. This developmental process would not be expected to cause questioning of gays/lesbians'

gender identity, but would reinforce beliefs that gender roles and sexual orientation are independent of gender identity. On the other hand, not conforming in an essential way to the traditional gender binary may cause some who identify as gay/lesbian to question the nature of their gender identity in ways comparable to transgender individuals, as was found in a study by Hiestand and Levitt (2005).

The gay/lesbian and transgender participants were primarily contacted through community contacts, who asked prospective participants if they were willing to be contacted by the principal investigator for a possible interview about issues of gender identity. Including a participant drawn from the introductory psychology subject pool, the gay/lesbian sample included seven self-identified gay males and five self-identified lesbians ranging in age from 18 to 44, with six of these participants being students. All but two were White, the remaining two being Hispanic and Asian. Including a participant drawn from the introductory psychology subject pool, the transgender sample included 11 self-identified transgender individuals, nine born female, one born male, and one born intersex. They ranged in age from 19 to 43 years, with four of these participants being students. All of the transgender participants were White, except for one Hispanic. Seven male and seven female participants, ranging in age from 18 to 22 years, were recruited through introductory psychology classes at a large southwestern university to fulfill course research participation requirements. The interviews of these participants revealed that one woman self-identified as a lesbian, while one man self-identified as a FTM and transgender. The responses of these two individuals were then pooled with the corresponding gay/lesbian or transgender groups.

Gay/lesbian and transgender participants were interviewed at either the participant's place of residence, on campus, or at a public location; all introductory psychology subject pool participants were interviewed on campus. At the beginning of the interview session, the nature of the interview questions was briefly described to the participant, who then read and signed an informed consent form. This consent form assured participants that no data obtained for the research would have any identifying information attached and that participants were free to withdraw from participation in the research at any time without penalty. Participants then completed a 1-page form capturing the following demographic information: age, sex, gender, region of the country participants grew up in, educational attainment (7-point categorical scale from less than 8th grade to postgraduate degree), and occupational status (7-point categorical scale from unemployed to professional). Interviews were recorded on an unobtrusive microcassette audio recorder and took between 40 and 60 min to complete. The interview questions, discussed below, were set up to include prompts in places to encourage participants to stay on the relevant topic, and the interviewer was free to deviate from the scripted questions to pose follow-up questions to participant responses. The interviewer was also sensitive to participant distress and ready to respond in ways that would reduce that distress, including immediately terminating the interview and having available phone numbers for Empact Suicide Prevention and Counseling and Consultation Services at Arizona State University. The demographic forms and the interview tapes only had study-generated identification numbers on them,

the interviewer made sure that participant's names were never spoken during the interview, and the only record linking these ID numbers with participant names was kept on a file accessible only to the PI and to be destroyed upon the completion of tape transcription.

The interview questions were developed from a set of questions used for an interview by the PI of a transgender college student as a class project in a diversity issues in social work class. The intent of the project was to capture the unique perspective on the bases of gender identity of a transgender individual and to then try to understand the resulting issues of dealing with discrimination in society and on campus. Based on a review of the literature on the perceived bases of gender identity and experiences of discrimination of LGBTQ individuals, the resulting interview questions focused on issues of maleness-femaleness versus masculinity-femininity as they related to biological sex, physical appearance and function, social norms and privileges, and sexual orientation, as well as experiences of discrimination. Of particular interest were questions that focused on how participants from the different groups defined gender roles (operationally defined in terms of how participants defined masculinity vs. femininity) versus gender identity (operationally defined in terms of how participants defined maleness vs. femaleness), how they defined themselves on these dimensions, how they perceived the relationships among gender roles, gender identity, and sexual orientation, and the difficulties of having a transgender gender identity in a heteronormatively binary gender identity society. In addition, what was particularly relevant to transgender individuals, based on the literature reviewed, was their belief in the fluidity of gender identity, as discussed by writers such as Kate Bornstein (1994, 1998). As can be seen below, Bornstein was mentioned in the interviews to clarify what was meant by "fluidity" of gender identity. The resulting questions and prompts were as follows:

How would you define masculinity?
How do you define femininity?
How do you see yourself in terms of masculinity and femininity?
[Prompt: What caused you to see yourself that way?]
How would you define being a male?
How would you define being a female?
How do you see yourself in terms of male and female?
[Prompt: What caused you to see yourself that way?]
Gender identity answers the question, "Am I a man or a woman or something else entirely?" (Kate Bornstein "My Gender Workbook, pg 28)
How do you see your own gender? Can you explain?
[Prompt: Is your gender identity fluid or categorical? Please explain.]
Does your body need to match your gender identity? Why?
How important is gender identity for defining who you are? Please explain.
How important is gender identity for functioning in society? Why?
How does society view individuals who don't fit into the gender identity categories? Why?
At what age did your gender identity become salient and/or apparent?

Describe the events that made you aware of your own gender identity?

Does your sexual orientation define whether you think of yourself as male and/or female? Please explain.

Do you believe there are hetero-normative gender roles?

How do you feel when you have to interact with someone who does not conform to "normal" gender roles? Can you explain?

Does this make you question your own gender identity? Please explain.

Do you believe one gender is regarded by society as being better than the other? Why?

How does that affect your own feelings about your gender identity? Please explain.

From the verbatim transcripts of the responses to these interview questions, deductive qualitative analysis (Gilgun 2010) was used to sensitize the researchers to the presence of particular theoretically based themes. Participants' defining masculinity and femininity in terms of social expectations and constructions versus proposing a physical basis for maleness versus femaleness produced a theme contrasting socially constructed gender roles versus embodied gender identity. Explicit assertions by participants that gender identity was fluid, along with agreement that one's body needed to match one's gender identity, produced a theme around conceptualizing gender identity as both embodied and fluid. The expression of dynamic relationships between gender identity and sexual orientation, in contrast to regarding sexuality as being independent of gender identity, produced a theme around the intersectionality of gender and sexual identities. Themes were also developed from identifying contrasts between interviewees' perceptions of these issues in general versus how they defined themselves. It should be noted that these analyses are specific to the normative and theoretical beliefs about gender in U.S. society of both the participants and the researchers. Particularly given the researchers' beliefs about the importance of the interactive, socially constructed, and embodied aspects of gender and sexual identities, the previous statement is not just about the limits of generalizing the present findings but also about the importance of always considering the social and cultural context of these findings.

The identification of themes was also guided by the research literature, which will be elaborated on in later chapters. Stereotypical definitions of the expressive behaviors and physical characteristics that define masculinity and femininity were focused on, as such definitions were given by the participants in Green's (2005) and Ruben's (2003) studies. The distinction between masculinity-femininity and maleness-femaleness and a biological basis for maleness versus femaleness was also expressed by participants in Green's (2005) and Ruben's (2003) studies, so these themes were sought in reading over the responses of participants in the present study. The "either/or" versus "both/neither" orientation to gender identity and the dynamic negotiation between one's belief in a fluid gender identity versus the expectations of a gender-binaried society explored by Roen's (2001) interview study were the ideas used to guide the identification of these themes. Finally, the idea that sexual orientation is independent of gender identity, as was found in

Ruben's (2003) study, was contrasted with the idea that sexual orientation actively interacts with gender identity, as was found in Dozier's (2005) study, in deriving themes for the present study. These candidate themes were confirmed by looking for their presence across the responses of all of the participants. Characteristic passages representing these themes were then selected for presentation. The number of participants expressing one type of theme versus another was also noted.

Overview of the Book

Our book explicitly looks at the nature of socially-based identities from the perspective of women and gender studies. Important and often overlapping understandings of social identities have arisen from the perspectives of other disciplines, such as psychology and neuroscience, and some of these alternative perspectives are briefly mentioned in our final chapter. The women and gender studies perspective on social identities begins with feminist theory, and this is where we begin in Chap. 2. This chapter describes feminist and queer theories as responses against the "essentializing" of gender and sexual identities that led to the social oppression of those who did not conform to or were subordinated by traditional social constructions of those identities. Feminist and queer theories argued that some or all aspects of gender-related identity were socially constructed and, therefore, that the oppression of women and sexual minority groups could be challenged through a self-constructive process that refused to accept the "natural" inferiority of these groups in the social order. Feminist theory, however, could not reconcile whether being male versus female itself, i.e., gender identity, was fixed, essential, and necessary for women's empowerment, a problem further exacerbated by the problem of the intersectionality of gender with other oppressed social identity categories.

Chapter 2 then goes on to describe how queer theory arose as a response to perceived problems with feminist theory, particularly with regard to understanding sexual identity separate from gender identity. Queer theory destabilized all social identity categories, but this may have been at the cost of undermining individuals' deriving empowerment from their social identities. We conclude the chapter by discussing how the nature of gender and sexual identity in intersex individuals raises issues of dynamically embodied aspects of these identities that are overlooked in feminist and queer theories.

Chapters 3 and 4 consider the socially constructed aspects of gender and sexual identity. This is the identity that is imposed on individuals by social forces that enforce expected appearance, behaviors, and cognitions based on the individuals' belonging to socially salient groups, such as those defined by sex and sexual orientation. The difference between these two chapters is that in Chap. 3 we consider individuals' perceptions of these social expectations, including gender roles, stereotypes, and prejudice, from a positivistic, quantitative research perspective that assumes an objective reality that can be understood through averaging the responses of large samples of individuals. We present findings from our

quantitative research on homophobia, transphobia, and perceptions of gender to demonstrate the kinds of insights about gender and sexual identity that can be derived from such a quantitative approach.

In Chap. 4, we then consider individuals' understandings of gender roles from a qualitative research perspective, including presenting the qualitative findings from our interviews of straight, gays/lesbian, and transgender individuals on their views of gender roles as social constructs. In addition to contrasting the understanding of gender from a women's studies versus a psychology perspective, one purpose of our book is to show how different theoretical perspectives and understandings on the nature of gender and sexual identities map onto the strengths and limitations of quantitative versus qualitative research approaches. In fact, what emerges in Chap. 4 is that, in contrast to the seemingly consistent and socially determined nature of gender roles that falls out of the quantitative research findings in Chap. 3, ideas about gender roles are more fluid and dynamic, even among straight individuals, when these individuals are allowed to express their views in only semi-structured interviews. The importance of embodiment is also more apparent in the qualitative compared to the quantitative research findings.

The previous chapters thus question feminist and queer theories' capacity for understanding the fluid and embodied aspects of gender and sexual identity. While a quantitative research perspective on gender and sexual identity amply supports conceptualizing these identities as being purely social constructs, a qualitative approach addressing the same questions again runs into the problem of fluidity and embodiment. With this background, Chap. 5 presents the development of transgender theory as a response to the limitations of feminist and queer theories in understanding trangenderism. The key elements of transgender theory that differentiate it from feminist and queer theories include the fluidity of gender and sexual identity, the importance of embodiment as a source of identity, and the importance of lived experience as the means for negotiating fluid but embodied identities. The ability to change one's social identity is another aspect of transgender theory that challenges traditional ideas of how one opposes oppression. Our trans-identity theory is presented as building on transgender theory's ideas of embodiment and lived experiences, while more explicitly integrating these ideas with ideas from feminist and queer theories about the social and self- construction of identity. The chapter concludes by considering the concept of "written on the body" from feminist theory and the issue of the dynamically socially constructed nature of understanding embodied experiences.

Chapter 6 considers the research on the embodied aspects of identity, an aspect that is key for understanding the lived experiences of transgenders, but largely ignored by feminist and queer theory conceptualizations of gender and sexual identity. It is argued that qualitative research is the only approach that can tap into the conscious experiences of the embodied aspects of identity, but given the often unconscious and preverbal nature of bodily experiences, such approaches are not without controversy. We then present findings from our interviews, which showed that, while straights, gay men, and some lesbians viewed gender identity as fixed, butch lesbians and transgender individuals perceived their gender identities as

fluid but still embodied. The difference between the categorical and conscious essentialism of socially constructed identity versus the more continuous and partly unconscious essentialism of embodied identity is noted. It is also noted how the unique comparative nature of our interview study allowed for seeing how the understandings of gender identity in gay men and some lesbians would be compatible with queer theory, while only transgender theory could accommodate the understandings of gender identity of some butch lesbians and nearly all transgender individuals.

Chapter 7 is the most speculative part of our book and considers the nature of the self-constructed aspect of identity, including the construction of an integrated sense of self. These issues become particularly salient for transgender individuals, given the necessary dynamic intersectionality of gender and sexual identities at the core of the transgender experience. Feminist and queer theories imply that self-construction can oppose oppressions of gender role and sexuality expressions, but cannot fully encompass the implications of the intersectionality of gender and sexual identities and the role of embodied experiences. This self-constructed intersectional gender and sexual identity is demonstrated by the findings from our interviews, which showed that, while straights viewed their sexuality as fixed but independent of their gender identity, many gay men, butch lesbians, and transgender individuals noted the determinative relationships between gender roles, gender identity, sexual orientation, and sexual identity. Many transgender participants then went on to further describe their conscious negotiations of their sexual orientation relative to their fluid gender roles and gender identities in their daily lives. The chapter then goes on to discuss the integration of identities in terms of the self-construction of narratives of lived experiences, which is particularly important for transgender individuals, who must maintain a continuous sense of identity in spite of the fluidity of the gendered and sexual aspects of this identity. The chapter discusses how a qualitative approach that explicitly considers narratives of lived experience is the only way to illuminate this integrative aspect of identity. Stories from our qualitative interviews show the increasingly nuanced and self-aware negotiations of gender and sexual identities from childhood into adulthood as one moves from straight to gay/lesbian to transgender stories. We conclude by presenting ideas of how intersectional identities and the self-construction of "transcendent stories" from the narratives of one's life can be personally empowering.

Chapters 8 through 10 are attempts to consider the practical applications of the ideas presented in the previous chapters. Consistent with the spirit of our trans-identity theory, these chapters are driven as much by personal narrative as by empirical research and theoretical conceptualizations.

Chapter 8 presents the applications of trans-identity theory to practice with transgender individuals, noting the ways that this theory resolves longstanding issues of essentialist, feminist, and queer theory approaches. Psychological adjustment problems of transgender individuals are conceptualized in terms of transgenders being forced to conform to the socially constructed aspects of gender and sexual identity, which raises issues about the socially constructed aspects of all psychopathology diagnoses. Meanwhile, empowerment of transgenders can be

derived from embodied and self-constructed aspects of identity, including intersectional identities. Empowerment can also be derived from the sharing and cultivation of transcendent stories in which the narratives of lived experiences become an assertion of personal responsibility and transformation.

Chapters 9 and 10 are on coalition building and political activism with non-heteronormative socially oppressed groups. Chapter 9 begins by explicitly focusing on the implications of feminist, queer, and transgender/trans-identity conceptualizations of the nature of identity as they relate to social activism to oppose oppression. Essentialist approaches risk reifying the social relationships tied to a supposedly fixed identity category, while basing identity solely in the social arena undermines any sense of self that may empower someone to oppose being constrained by social categories. The recognition and integration of the socially constructed aspects of self with the embodied and self-constructed aspects provides a more holistic view of how membership in an oppressed social identity can undermine or empower individuals. Understanding that oppression is based on the socially constructed aspects of identity, not the self-constructed aspects, provides a theoretical and practical framework for recognizing commonalities across different socially oppressed groups to form coalitions to oppose oppression. From this background, practical principles of coalition building and political activism are then presented.

Chapter 10 then provides a history of an example of coalition building with non-heteronormative groups to foster social change. This history is a practical guide/example of such coalition building. At this point, theory, whether feminist, queer, or transgender, gives way to practical issues in the developing narrative of the group, as it worked with transgender individuals and recruited community allies to try to change public policies, in order to empower these individuals.

The experiences of transgender individuals provide a perspective on the nature of identity that is taken for granted by heteronormative individuals, for whom gender identity is fixed from birth. The trans-identity perspective derived from the experiences of transgenders, and the efforts of theoreticians and researchers to understand these experiences, argues for the necessity of multi-method research and trans-disciplinary perspectives to understand identity, oppression, and empowerment in society across a range of social identities and oppressions. In our final chapter, we consider the larger connections of our theorizing and research and where we think this may lead to in the future.

Chapter 2
Feminist and Queer Theories: The Response to the Social Construction of Gender

One of the obvious trends seen in our interview study was that the responses regarding gender roles, gender identity, and sexuality became more nuanced and elaborated, as one moved from the straight to the gay/lesbian to the transgender interview participants. Gay/lesbian and transgender participants were more likely to have thought about the socially constructed and embodied aspects of gender and sexual identity, about the dynamic interactions between gender and sexuality, and about their own strategies for self-constructing their gender and sexual identities in the context of living in a social environment that defines and enforces norms of gender and sexual behaviors and appearances. Gay/lesbian and transgender participants were also more likely to have read literature from women and gender studies authors about the nature of gender and sexual identity. While some of these differences were undoubtedly due to the greater self-selection of these latter participants into our interview study, this greater awareness of the complexities gender and sexuality also reflected sensitization to issues of gender of sexuality resulting from being in some way gender non-heteronormative in a heteronormative society.

The motivation for feminist and queer theories was to create an intellectual and even moral basis for the challenging of heteronormative assumptions, beliefs, and enforcements that acted to socially subordinate women to men and to discriminate against those who deviated from traditional heteronormative gender and sexual identity. In this chapter, we consider the development of and conflicts between feminist and queer theories in their understandings of gender and sexual identity.

Feminist Theory and Essentialist Conceptualizations of Gender

Feminist theory addresses the cultural/historical context and biological premises of gender, as well as the issues of sexism and the intersectionality of multiple forms of oppression. Gender has many functions and many theories that support

its agency. As Hawkesworth (2006) notes, feminist scholars have defined gender in numerous contexts, from an attribute to a type of social organization and as an ideology to sex roles, power differentials, and analytic categories. Gender is key to how we identify people, organize relationships with others, and develop meaning through natural and social events. Harding (1986, p. 18) states, "gender difference is a pivotal way in which humans identify themselves as persons, organize social relations, and symbolize meaningful natural and social events and processes." Hausman (2001) goes on to say that gender is really an "epistemology" for knowing and understanding the operation of culture in defining identities, where one's perceptions and experiences of the world are attributed to a socially constructed narrative based on one's belonging to one gender category or the other. As Stryker (1994) notes "bodies are rendered meaningful only through some culturally and historically specific mode of grasping their physicality that transforms the flesh into a useful artifact…Gendering is the initial step in this transformation, inseparable from the process of forming an identity by means of which we are fitted to a system of exchange in a heterosexual economy" (p. 249–250).

Gender was traditionally assumed to be based on a binary, mandatory system that attributes social characteristics to sexed anatomy (Hausman 2001). From birth, humans are categorized as male versus female based on their external genitalia. Consistent with essentialism, those born male are supposed to act masculine and be sexually attracted to women, while those born female are supposed to act feminine and be sexually attracted to men. Society then uses multiple methods of positive and negative reinforcement, including legal, religious, and cultural practices to enforce adherence to these gender roles (Connell 2002).

Garfinkel (1967) goes on to say that gender is looked at as being only two categories, male and female, that are exclusive and biologically determined from birth. Garfinkel (1967) notes that since this gendered binary socialization is viewed as being "natural," it is thus not questioned and therefore no "choice" is needed. This is similar to gender being theorized in a way that denotes its utility as part of a "reproductive arena" (Connell 2002), where the woman is the "egg-producer," while the man is the "sperm producer" (Smith 1992). If we look at essentialism from a biological and evolutionary perspective, then the role of male and female is to procreate. The women is the "egg-producer" and the man is the "sperm producer" (Smith 1992). In doing so, this leaves out the utility of sex for reasons of pleasure and sexual acts between the same sex. As Barrett (1980, pp. 62–77) notes, "a conception of sexuality that reduces the erotic to reproduction." This type of exclusive essentialism also reinforces the traditional gender role schema. The women will thus take care of the children and the man will "bring home the bacon." Though this may be the traditional way of looking at gender roles, Connell (2002) debunks this by mapping out of the historical roots of gender roles and how gender roles can change based on the needs of the culture and in some respects could be conceptualized as being "situational" (Thorne 1993).

Moodie (1994) discusses this type of situational gender role, when talking about the "men in the mines." The men would do housework, while off in the mines, and the women would perform masculine functions required to maintain

the household, while the men were away. Connell (2002) describes the former gender roles in this cultural setting as, "Manhood principally meant competent and benevolent management of a rural homestead, and participating in its community." Due to the men having to leave their homes for the mines, the dynamic changed, and the men no longer looked at their role as running/managing the households. It was also noted that the men would take "mine wives," while in the mines, and would form intimate relationships with these other men, while away from the women. As the workers returned from the mines, they were subjected to more proletarian beliefs, a sense of strong masculinity was indoctrinated once again, and the wives were viewed as being dependents on the men, who had the qualities of being tough, physically dominant, and aggressive valued by the European system and its belief in traditional gender roles.

Feminism went on to challenge male social dominance, based on the gender binary, by questioning the supposed "naturalness" of the subordination of women in social relationships, due to the purported physical superiority of the male body over the female's supposedly more fragile and vulnerable body. Therefore, feminism helped to not only ground women in an identity but also helped challenge the hierarchical relationships between men and women (Hird 2000). Braidott (1994) goes on to say that, "In the feminist perspective, patriarchy defined as the actualization of the masculine homosocial bond can be seen as a monument denial… insofar as it has been haunted by the political necessity to make biology coincide with subjectivity, the anatomical with the psychosexual, and there reproduction with sexuality" (p. 182). Scott (1986) and Bordo (1993), for example, apply the postmodern perspective of individualism to argue for the social construction of gender and, therefore, that essentialism and the taken for granted role that "the sexed body is given" needs to be questioned. Scott states that "gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and the gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power" (p. 1067).

For example, Andrea Dworkin (1989) challenges the assumption that "The power of men is first a metaphysical assertion of self, an *I am* that exists a priori….The woman must, by definition, lack it" (p. 13). Wilchins (2002) goes on to talk about *Man* as the universal and thus women are defined "by her opposition to *Man*, by what she does not have, the Penis, and the one thing she has that Man does not, reproduction and sexuality" (p. 57). By arguing that masculinity and femininity are social constructs, feminist theorists are also arguing that traditionally defined gender roles were essentially artificial.

Dworkin goes on to discuss how feminist theory in labeling women as *others*, compared to men, has also indirectly defined women as *being others* and, in turn, the label itself has taken on a negative value with this difference being marked as a label of inferiority. With this difference continuing to be tied to misogynistic beliefs, the belief of being other was thus perpetuated as innate, natural, and determined. "Gender and its masculine and feminine embodiments became a focus of attention: what was horrible and objectionable about male behavior and attitudes became a function of masculine power and privilege, and what was harmful and

debilitating about women's complicity was relocated in our socialized femininity" (Zita 1998, p. 110).

While gender as a socially defined construct and its associated gender roles were actively questioned by feminist theorists, whether gender identity, in terms of an embodied male versus female identity binary, should also be questioned was extremely controversial. Hesse-Biber et al. (1999) discuss how the issue of whether the gender binary itself should be destabilized ultimately polarized feminist theory. French feminists, such as Helene Cixous (1986), Luce Irigaray (1991), and Julie Kristeva (1986), seemed to "establish the female body and maternity as foundational and symbolic sources of women's psychic and sexual difference," i.e., that an essentialist view of "femaleness" as being natural and different from "maleness" was necessary for understanding and empowering women. In contrast, poststructuralist critics, like Judith Butler (1993), argued that the materiality of the body was "already gendered, already constructed" (p. 4), such that the supposed physical basis of the gender binary was a socially derived construction of reality.

As Heyes (2007) discusses, transgenderism/transsexualism's challenge to essentialist ideas of gender identity caused feminist theorists, such as Janice Raymond (1979/1994) and Bernice Hausman (1995), to reject the idea that gender identity could be fluid. To the extent that transsexuals, in particular, were regarded as trying to assume a gender identity opposite from their born sex, Raymond and Hausman dismissed them as being complicit in reinforcing the dominant society's view that socially constructed aspects of gender were essentially linked to this gender identity. The degree and manner to which gender should be deconstructed continues to be both an issue among feminist theorists and a source of tension between feminist and queer theorists (Jagose 2009).

A feminist theory that adheres to an essentialist, fixed binary conception of gender identity has been argued to be inadequate in addressing intersectional issues and fails to account for how a supposedly autonomous self in such a system can be empowered to resist oppression (see also, Shotwell and Sangrey's (2009) critique of liberal-individualist models). Bettcher (2010) notes how Haraway (1991) questions the universality of the experience of oppression among women, while Anzaldua (1987) proposes that it is, in fact, the consciousness of the plurality of selves associated with multiple social identities that allows for resistance to oppression. Braidotti (1994) thus points out how, "The central issue at stake is how to create, legitimate, and represent a multiplicity of alternative forms of feminist subjectivity without falling into relativism. The starting point is the recognition that Woman is a general umbrella term that brings together different kinds of women, different levels of experience, and different identities" (p. 162). Bordo (1993) discusses two primary "currents" that have created a new "gender skepticism." The first talks about the impact of intersectionality and living in "multiple jeopardy." Having multiple forms of oppression is looked at as being very different from the experience of the white, middle class women. By saying that all women experience the same type of oppression, one devalues the experience of women who are subjected to multiple levels of oppression due to their race, ethnicity, class, or sexual orientation.

Shields (2008) asserts that one's identity is not just about his or her own self-identification but is also about the intersecting larger social structures and the power differentials associated with belonging to a certain group or groups. Individuals may belong to multiple socially oppressed groups, experiencing not only the sexism addressed by feminism, but also racism, classism, homophobia, etc. These intersections generate both oppression and opportunity (Zinn and Dill 1996), including opportunities for coalition building to oppose multiple oppressions. As Risman (2004) notes, "one must always take into consideration multiple axes of oppression; to do otherwise presumes the whiteness of women, the maleness of people of color, and the heterosexuality of everyone" (p. 442). For transgenders, at least two identities, those of gender and of sexuality, are always intersectional, while as discussed below, feminist and queer theorists have at times tried deliberately to keep these identities separate.

The concept of hegemonic masculinity is another controversial topic in feminist theory that also challenges the essentialist aspect of some feminist theorizing in favor of a more intersectional understanding. Hegemonic masculinity was an idea first proposed in reports from a field study of social inequality in an Australian high school, in a related conceptual discussion of the making of masculinities and the experience of men's bodies, and in a debate over the role of men in Australian labor politics. As first proposed, hegemonic masculinity was understood as the pattern of practice (i.e., things done and not just a set role off expectations or an identity) that allowed men's dominance over women to continue. It embodied currently the most honored way of being a man, it required all other men to position themselves in relation to it, and it ideologically legitimated the global subordination of women to men (Connell 1983). The term started out as being a conceptual and empirical model that then was applied to a larger context and framework. The concept was used as a way to look at patterns of resistance and crime, to explore the difficulties with gender-neutral pedagogy, and studying media presentations. It was then used on a larger scale to study men's health practices, risky behaviors, and its application to organizational studies.

Such a view of masculinity was useful for many feminist theorists to understand the basis of men's social power over women, but this version of hegemonic masculinity was also criticized for essentializing male-female differences and for reducing the understanding of gender to power relations of dominance and submission (Moller 2007). In response to such criticisms, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) reformulated hegemonic masculinity and proposed a model of multiple masculinities and power relations. This model was then integrated into a new *sociological theory of gender*. Connell and Messerschmidt acknowledged that multiple masculinities may produce a static typology. They essentialize the character of men or impose a false unity on a fluid and contradictory reality. Masculinity is seen in terms of a dichotomy of the biological sex versus gender, where you essentialize male-female difference and ignore difference and exclusion within the gender categories. The concept fails to specify what conformity to hegemonic masculinity looks like in practice. There is also confusion over who is a hegemonically masculine man and also about who can enact hegemonic practices. Hegemonic masculinity can see only

structure, making the subject invisible and does not recognize the multilayered or divided individual. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) note how in social theories of gender there has often been a tendency toward functionalism, that is, seeing gender relations as a self-contained, self-producing system, and explaining every element in terms of its function in reproducing the whole. They argue, instead, that the dominance of men and the subordination of women constitute a historical process, not a self-reproducing system.

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) thus proposed that multiple hierarchies exist within each gender, such as race, class, and sexual orientation, leading to questioning the universalizing of all men, i.e., all men are not white, middle class, etc. Power and difference were core concepts in the gay liberation moment, which critiqued the oppression of men and the oppression by men in an attempt to deconstruct the male stereotype. The idea of a hierarchy of masculinities grew directly out of homosexual men's experience with violence and prejudice from homophobic straight men.

The concept constructs masculine power from the direct experiences of women, rather than from the structural basis of women's subordination. "Patriarchy," the long-term structure of the subordination of women, must be distinguished from "gender," a specific system of exchange that arose in the context of modern capitalism. It is a mistake to treat a hierarchy of masculinities constructed within gender relations as logically continuous with the patriarchal subordination of women. The concept cannot be understood as the settled character structure of any group of men, but rather must question how men conform to an ideal and turn themselves into complicit or resistant types, without anyone ever managing to exactly embody that ideal (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).

The essence of Connell and Messerschmidt's (2005) reformulation is that hegemonic masculinity must be understood as the result of a dynamic process, such that there is no one "fixed character type" or "assemblage of toxic traits." This moving away from an essentializing of gender moves the understanding of hegemonic masculinity toward the realm of queer theory, where gender and related sexual identities are understood as purely social constructons. Hegemonic masculinity is now partly defined by the practices of women (hegemonic or "emphasized" femininity) and may differ in its manifestations at the local, regional, and global levels. With regard to the latter, local constructions of hegemonic masculinity are said to have a "family resemblance," rather than a necessary logical identity with regional and global manifestations. There is still, however, a need to develop the theorizing about hegemonic masculinity to better incorporate masculine embodiment as an important basis. Transgender individuals challenge purely social constructivist ideas of the bases of hegemonic masculinity. A conceptualization of hegemonic masculinity as being dynamic allows for the possibility of change, including "democratizing gender relations."

According to Wilchins (2004), "While the last 30 years have seen new rights granted to women, gays, and transgender people, this new access and privilege has still left issues of primary gender–of masculinity and femininity–remarkably untouched. Gender stereotypes appear as pervasive, "natural," and inevitable as

ever" (p. 97). In the second wave of femininism, while starting to focus on personal experience, feminism was scrutinized more for its focus on imbalances of power between males and females (Zita 1998), reflected in the concern with hegemonic masculinity. The dilemma was that an essentialist reading of gender power differentials yielded a clear differentiation of the oppressors and the oppressed. This clear differentiation might be useful for motivating the oppressed to think of themselves as a collective entity needing to fight oppression, but it also reifies the system of oppression as being somehow "natural" and does not take into account the intersectionalities of multiple oppressed social identities. This was where queer theory broke from feminist theory.

Queer Theory and Social Constructivism

Much of the philosophical and political understanding of non-heteronormative gender identity and sexuality has derived from *queer theory* with "Modernist sex ontology being challenged by the emergence of postmodern sexual theory and the development of multidimensional sexual orientation research" (Zita 1998, p. 130) that challenges the reductionist explanatory framework of feminist theory. While feminist theory readily accepted and challenged the socially constructed aspects of gender and sexual expression, feminist theorists' essentializing of gender identity meant that the theory was limited in accommodating the idea that both gender and sexual identity might also be social constructs able to be questioned, subverted, and self-constructed (Halperin 1995). Queer theory thus developed from feminist and deconstructivist theories that posited "normative" and "deviant" sexual behaviors and cognitions as social constructs. The social constructivist approach was a rebellion against the "essentialist" ideas that developed in Western societies beginning in the late nineteenth century. Such essentialist ideas came to tightly link gender roles, gender identity, and sexual orientation within a binary, biologically based, heteronormative gender schema (Kimmel 1996; Norton 1997).

   According to Norton (1997), "contemporary Euro-American men's chief concern is fundamentally analogous to that of ancient Greeks and modern Latinos: the maintenance of one's gender image as honorably masculine, and the retention of the social power and privilege that accompanies a positive attribution of masculinity" (p. 143). The fear is that, once you are able to feminize the male sex, then one would be able to form a feminization of all men, which breaks down the traditionally clear distinction between the superior male and the inferior female. Norton notes the late nineteenth and early twentieth century concerns about the working man becoming disempowered by the feminization of culture and the working man's incorporation within capitalist systems of production. Femininity was seen as a projection of infantilization and dependency. Norton quotes Kimmel's (1996) idea that, "The project of Self-Made Masculinity, of a manhood constantly tested and proved, {became} equated with a relentless effort to repudiate femininity, a frantic effort to dissociate from women" (p. 318). "Most terrifying to men was the

specter of the sissy….by the last decade of the century the term had come to mean weakness, dependency, and helplessness—all the qualities that men were not" (Kimmel, p. 122).

From this, Norton (1997) makes the case that sex/gender and sexuality in the nineteenth and twentieth century became "mutually determinative constructs," with sexuality taking on its meaning in terms of sex/gender, and sex/gender elaborating itself as sexuality. To maintain traditional ideas of male superiority, one had to also adhere to traditional ideas of masculine behaviors and appearance and a heterosexual orientation. All of this, in turn, was in service to a society in which "dominance is characteristically the governing aim of male political and cultural action, contemporary scientific and cultural efforts to discipline transgender subjectivities, and bodies to conform to a dimorphic gender system constitute a special form of a broader political agenda—the repression of the queer" (p. 142), where "queer" includes non-traditional gender identities, as well as sexual orientations.

"Queer" is an identity, a theory about non-heteronormative sexuality, and a theoretical orientation for how identity is to be understood. The term "queer" can refer to "the open mesh of possibilities, gaps, overlaps, dissonances and resonances, lapses and excesses of meaning when the constituent elements of anyone's gender, of anyone's sexuality aren't made (or can't be made) to signify monolithically" (Sedgwick 1998, p. 208).

> Queer is by definition whatever is at odd with the normal, the legitimate, the dominant. There is nothing in particular to which it necessarily refers. It is an identity without an essence. 'Queer' then demarcates not a positivity but a positionality *vis-s-vis* the normative. [Queer] describes a horizon of possibility whose precise extent and heterogeneous scope cannot in principle be delimited in advance (Halperin 1995, p. 62).

Queer theory was, in many ways, a challenge to feminist theory. Thus queer theory, more so than feminist theory's critique of traditional gender roles, is "experienced as a more radical instrumental threat to male hegemony than are more familiar and comfortable binary-based debates about the role of women, the nature of the 'opposite sex,' and so on" (Norton 1997, p. 142). Rubin (1993) asserted that, if feminism was framed as a theory of gender oppression, where sexuality was assumed to be tied to gender identity, then one should question whether such a theory of gender oppression could also offer a valid theory of sexual oppression. Weed and Schor (1997) note how sexuality cannot be contained by gender as a category. "The metaphors of fluidity and mosaicism contrast with those of solidarity, unity, and dichotomous purity and suggest, by that contrast, that sexual orientations may be multiple manifestations of unstable, shifting, and overlapping categories of desire" (Zita 1998, p. 130). Boyde notes,

> As sex and gender unhinge, so does sexuality, for instance a person with female genitalia who identifies as a man and desires a feminine women might understand himself (or be understood by others) as butch, heterosexual, lesbian, transgendered, transsexual, bisexual, or queer (not a complete list). The variety of possible "sexualities" flags the increased instability of the [physical] body as a knowable signifier for sexual identity, and the variability of identity formation enables a closer look at the influences of race class, nation,

ethnicity, and social geography on the production of sexual desires, practices, and/or identities (2005, p. 103–104).

Wittig (1993) goes on to argue that lesbians' position in the sex/gender binary is unclear and ambivalent, with lesbians being "contemporaneously" women (morphologically), yet not women (heteronormatively).

While feminist theory strongly rooted itself in identity and social activism, queer theory has been noted as being ongoing and a purposefully unfixed site of both engagement and contestation (Jagose 1996) that is constructed as an indefinable and vague set of practices with political positions, similar to feminist theory, that has the potential and capability of challenging normative beliefs, knowledges, and identities (Sullivan 2003). Queer is at odds with the heteronormative, dominant schema (Halperin 1995) and thus rebels against, or "queers," these kinds of essentialist views by proposing that gender roles, gender identity, and sexual orientations are social constructs and, therefore, open to questioning, subversion, and self-construction.

> The "body" in question is the threshold of subjectivity; it is to be thought of as the point of intersection, as the interface between the biological and social. This vision implies that the subject it subjected to her/his unconscious; the driving notion of "desire" is precisely that which relays the self to the many "others" that constitute her/his reality (Braidotti 1994, p. 182).

As noted above, queer theory rebels against the kinds of essentialist views described above by proposing that gender roles, gender identity, and sexual orientations are all social constructs. Butler (1990) makes the case that gender identity is a social construction, as well as the result of repeated performances of the expected behaviors of one's sex that create the illusion of an identity inside that underlies the expression of these behaviors. The presentations of behaviors defined by social conventions creates the illusion of self that is consistent with our culture's assumptions that gender underlies ("ontology") the being of all people and acts as an originating desire or identity from which a person's presentation of self emanates. In other words, there is no central self. The presentations of behaviors defined by social conventions creates the illusion of self that is consistent with our culture's assumptions that gender underlies the psyche of all people, yet the central self is not explored (Nagoshi and Brzuzy 2010). The central self is mapped onto the individual by the gender performance and society's acceptance of this performance, rather than the questioning of one's own personal identity. These "constructed performances" also act as originating desires or identities from which a person's presentation of self emanates.

This sense of self identity can be a position of empowerment and also confinement. Jagose (1996) notes, "Queer is not outside the magnetic field of identity. Like some postmodern architecture, it turns identity inside out and displays its support, exoskeletally" (p. 132), for example, by exposing and exaggerating the socially assumed aspects of social identities. Hird notes how, "Queer theory presumes that transgressing boundaries will subvert, and eventually dismantle, hierarchies based on sex and gender. But subversion can lead to unanticipated outcomes

that may not be transgressive at all" (2000, p. 359). While queer theory attempts to create the perspective of the queer outside of the heteronormative schema, it has also been critiqued for its lack of ability to deconstruct the individual queer experience. While the term queer offers the solidarity of a group identity, "it is (also) an identity without an essence" (Halperin 1995, p. 62). Similar to feminist theory, queer theory established a collective identity but at the expense of an understanding of the individual lived experience (Sullivan 2003).

> One of the problems with this particular use of queer as an umbrella term is that it does little if anything to deconstruct the humanist understanding of the subject. Worse still, it veils over the difference between, for example, lesbianism and gayness, between 'women', between transsexualism and crossdressing, and ignored differences of class, race, age, and so on, once again positing sexuality as a unifies and unifying factor (Sullivan 2003, p. 44).

Anzaldua (1991) goes on to note how the term queer promotes a "false unifying umbrella" in which all queers (including from different races, ethnicities, and classes) are placed under. While this umbrella term blurs the fine distinctions of queer individuals, it serves as a root of coalition building by forming a union with one another and thus "solidifies the ranks against outsiders" (1991, p. 250) while indirectly homogenizing and erasing the individual queer experience. Others [gay and lesbians] are afraid that queer might "provide a ready-made instrument of homophobic disavowal" and, therefore, endorse "trendy and glamorously unspecified sexual outlaws to stigmatize and dismiss those still committed to an old fashioned, rigid, and essentialized identity" (Halperin 1995, p. 65).

Queer theory's critical analysis and application of intersectionality (Shields 2008) is also problematic. Cohen (1997) calls for a "broadened understanding of queerness...based on an intersectional analysis that recognizes how numerous systems of oppression interact to regulate the lives of most people" (p. 441). Diamond and Butterworth (2008) note the multiplicity of intersectional identities associated with the transgender experience, but if multiple oppressed social identities are merely the product of multiple social forces, all of which can be queered, there is no explanation of how individuals navigate these multiple identities, nor is there a basis for using these identities as a source of empowerment for opposing oppression. Sullivan expresses how "Queer Theory and/or activism has been accused of being, among other things, male-centered, antifeminist and race-blind," not to mention focused on the gay man and the male agenda. Queer theory also posits a position of dichotomous categories, such as "us and them," queer and heterosexual, queer and gay/lesbian," subsequently situating the heteronoromative schema as the dominant and normative position in which gays/lesbians try to aspire to, "whereas all queers are marginalized and consciously and intentionally resist assimilations of any kind" (p. 48–49).

Taylor (2011) "seeks to progress beyond intersectionality as a theoretical paradigm, toward understanding intersectionality as a lived experience, where social class and sexuality may be understood as contested, intersecting categories" (p. 212). The issue of queer theory's understanding of intersectionality is that, while the theory is better able to accept the fluidity of multiple intersecting identities than

feminist theory, the theory does not provide a basis for understanding how individuals somehow integrate these multiple identities for self-empowerment and to oppose oppression. As will be discussed further in Chap. 5, these limitations of queer theory for understanding the lived experiences of transgender individuals center around experiences of embodiment and the role of such embodiment in defining one's gender and sexual identity. Prosser (1998) criticizes queer theorists, such as Butler (1990), for subsuming transgenderism under queer theory by interpreting the transgender experience as being just another example of the subverting of socially constructed gender and sexual roles and identity and the performance of alternative constructions of gender and sexuality. The primacy of the socially constructed aspect of the body for queer theorists is reflected in Butler's (1990) assertions that:

> Although we struggle for rights over our own bodies, the very bodies for which we struggle are not quite ever only our own. The body has its invariably public dimension; constituted as a social phenomenon in the public sphere, my body is and is not mine. Given over from the start to the world of others, bearing their imprint, formed within the crucible of social life, the body is only later, and with some uncertainty, that to which I lay claim as my own (p. 21).

In contrast, Prosser argues that many transsexuals are not queer, that the certain experience of being embodied in the "wrong" gender, and the subsequent "correction" of this, perhaps through medical means, is only interpreted by that individual as being now able to manifest the "correct" gender roles and identity. For such a transsexual, the physical transformation of the body is not intended to subvert existing social constructions of gender and sexuality.

With the example of the social rejection of the "male lesbian" by female lesbians for having the "wrong body," Zita (1998) also points out the problems inherent in a purely social constructivist conceptualization of gender and sexuality that "reflects personal and social formations of sex, gender, and sexuality as meanings and identities made out of nature" (p. 96). She proposes, instead, strategies that "allow the body to enter a conversation with others, with a request for a particular reading of the body, an acceptance into a particular group, and a respect for the subject's desire to name 'her' own sexual identity" (p. 99). Gender and sexual identity clearly needs to be understood in terms of a dynamic interaction between socially constructed and embodied experiences.

Intersex Identity

Before leaving the discussion of feminist and queer theories, we consider another controversial topic for these theories, that of understanding the gender and sexual identities of intersex individuals. One of the primary contradictions of essentialism is the assumption that gender identity "naturally" comes from the physically sexed body. This is not true, whether when considered from the feminist and queer theories discussed above or when considered from the quantitative and qualitative

research evidence presented in the rest of this book. What is clear from our qualitative research on the perceptions of gender roles, gender identity, and sexual orientation in straight, gay/lesbian, and transgender individuals (Nagoshi et al., 2012a; 2012b) is that most individuals in our society can separate out gendered behavior and appearance from gender identity from sexual behavior and identity. Many understand that these aspects of gender and sexual identity have socially constructed and embodied bases, but that there are also options to self-construct these identities for oneself.

As essentialist understanding of gender and sexual identity is clearly problematic for people who are intersexed, those who for chromosomal or hormonal reasons are born with ambiguous genitalia (literally, too short penises or too long clitorises) (Preves 2005). In order to "correct" for this "gender mishap," the individual will most likely be assigned a biological sex upon their birth based on their secondary sexual characteristics. This is done to supposedly help detour pathological problems caused by one's physical gender identity not matching one's expected gender role. This "gender correction" was also done historically in the case of homosexuality, when it was part of the Diagnostic and Statistics Manual of the American Psychiatric Association (DSM). Such "gender correction" is still a driving motivation for clinical practitioners in the current requirement of a DSM Gender Identity Dysphoria diagnosis, in order for transgender individuals to have sex reassignment surgery in this country, which will be discussed in Chap 8.

A completely binary gendered world provides society with a simple, ready-made schema for defining groups of individuals and organizing their communications and interactions. The case of an intersex birth, though, a birth where one's sex cannot readily be ascertained, announced, and counted upon, provides a poignant example of normative expectations remaining unfulfilled (Preves 2005, p. 18). Fausto-Sterling (2000) noted that, in order to "maintain gender divisions, we must control those bodies that are so unruly as to blur the borders. Since intersexuals quite literally embody both sexes, they weaken claims about sexual difference" (p. 8). One can then ascertain the social response of breaking away from these social norms by understanding three basic elements: (1) the existence of a shared social norm, (2) deviation from that norm, (3) and the social response to this deviation (Garfinkel 1967). Applying this to intersex, upon birth, the shared social expectation is of two distinct anatomical genitalia to choose from. Upon birth, the inability to assign a biological sex, or upon puberty, the incohesive developmental trajectory causes a violation or break in the norm. The social reaction then primarily becomes medical, as we attempt to "fix" the gender violation (Preves 2005).

This is an example of how medical intervention supports the gendered social norm. Many parents are not given the opportunity to even think about, consult, or determine what to do in this "medical emergency" (Fausto-Sterling 2000), rather, the choice of surgery is thrust upon them as the moral choice and one that should be made quickly. Some argue that the reason for surgery that corrects for intersex externally ambiguous genitalia is for the good of the child, who will have to learn to cope with the developmental milestones that are dissimilar to others around them. By having the surgery, the individual will not appear to be unusual and will

not think of themselves as being the other (Preves 2005). The surgery, however, can result in numerous complications to the newborn's health, with possible long term damage being done to the fragile skin and external organs that we as society tie to sexuality, which begs the question again of why such invasive and probably physically harmful procedures are considered necessary. In fact, nearly all of the intersex individuals interviewed by Preves (2005) felt that the invasiveness of the surgeries and the medicalization of their lives growing up were far more destructive of their psychological development than any issues that might have been caused by their ambiguous genitalia. If one accepts an essentialist view of gender as deriving from physical sex, then intersex individuals embody a gender that is literally in between the categories of the heteronormative gender binary. One can then see the irony of medical doctors and psychiatrists believing that they can use medical procedures and forced socialization to artificially put an intersex individual in one gender category or the other.

This is not to simplify the discourse between multiple genders and intersexuality. There is a difference between the intersex child who is thrust into the decision by their parents to have surgery and the transsexual individual who believes that they are "trapped" in the wrong body and chooses to have sex reassignment surgery. In looking at the narratives of the lived experiences of intersex individuals, such as those interviewed by Preves (2005), versus the narratives of lived experiences of transgender/transsexual individuals, such as those we interviewed, what is similar is the acute awareness of the many forces that determine gender and sexual identity, a belief in the fluidity and intersectionality of such identities, and an understanding of the dynamic relationships between the embodied and socially constructed aspects of such identities. The similarities in these narratives are notable, given the differences in where intersex versus transgender individuals are coming from with regard to gender and sexual identity. The intersex individual typically has had the sex assignment surgery early in life and then finds that their gender and sexual identity do not fit the socially constructed gender box they've been assigned to. The transgender/transsexual individual early in life feels that their gender and sexual identity do not fit the socially constructed gender box they've been assigned to, and so some then seek sex reassignment surgery to "fix" this.

The nature of intersexuality is rarely considered in theoretical discourses on gender and sexual identity. With the label of "other" being used in the context of women, then queers, and finally the "other" for the category of transgender individuals, it can be argued that intersex individuals have still not found a home to which they can promote coalition building and advocacy. Arguably, intersex individuals are at the outskirts of feminist, queer, and transgender theories of gender. Feminist theory, with its ties to the gender binary, would have a difficult time accommodating intersex individuals who are of both biological sexes. The intersex individual who searches for an empowered gendered identity in feminism, would be questioned by feminists as not being a real women, since the intersex individual has not experienced living as a female within the patriarchy associated with being a woman (Hird 2000). For queer theory, the importance of an ambiguous

embodiment—for the identity of the intersexual individual is ignored, and the absence of sexual identity and expression that can result from some surgical procedures, can render many intersex individuals as not belonging to a performative gender or sexual identity category. Once again, as has been discussed throughout this chapter, there is an issue of feminist and queer theory being unable to handle fluid, but nevertheless partly embodied gender and sexual identities. Interestingly, as far back as the writing of Money et al. (1957), there is a discussion of how "gender role and orientation is not determined in some automatic, innate, instinctive fashion by physical agents like chromosomes. On the other hand, it is also evident that the X of assignment and rearing does not automatically and mechanistically determine gender role and orientation" (p. 333–334). The performance of gender outside a clearly defined biological and physical gender can leave the individual trying to construct a gender role that inhabits the limitations of both genders or is not clearly defined by others who subjectively define the intersex person as lacking the ability to perform both. Nevertheless, it should be noted that historical changes in societal reactions to children being born as intersex, partly the result of gender-related social activism, partly inspired by feminist and queer theory, has caused many parents to now choose to not have the corrective surgery, when the child is born, but rather wait till the child is old enough to make the decision themselves (Preves 2005).

Transgender theory, to be discussed in detail in Chap. 5, and the choice to change one's gender versus the nature of being born with a biological difference, has become a topic of heated debate among transgender theorists regarding intersex individuals. The idea that transgender individuals have the option to conform to their assigned biological gender whereas intersex cannot brings to light the opinion that many transgender individuals, like gay individuals, can pass, if they choose to. Although both intersex and transgender individuals have to construct an embodied experience of their gender through an artificial labeling of their external genitalia tied to their assigned biological sex, there is the ongoing perception that transgender sex reassignment surgery is a choice that doesn't have to be made.

To counter that, though, the need to understand embodiment can occur at the crossroad of transgender and intersex identity. For transsexuals, "both/neither" (Roen 2001) means that the embodied aspects of their gender identity can switch between the male/female poles or be fluidly in-between. The psychological conflicts about gender identity have been about embodied experiences that run counter to socialization processes associated with being in an assigned biological sex, thus starting the sex reassignment surgery process is the first time that transgender individuals experience the essence of the intersex experience, which is to be physically "both/neither." For intersex individuals, "both/neither" is the embodiment of their biological sex; the attempts of society to force them into one physical and psychological gender identity or the other is different from that of transsexuals in that embodiment is always an issue.

At the end of this chapter on feminist and queer theories, it is clear that both theories are limited in incorporating embodiment into their understandings of gender and sexuality. Wilchins discusses how "We might well declare that there are

only two genders, or a 100, or even none, because gender is entirely constructed. But we need to qualify our assertions with the understanding that these are not just statements of reality but political statements as well: they serve certain agendas, they empower or erase certain bodies" (p. 102). Our bodies are too complex to provide clear-cut answers about sexual difference. The more we look for a simple physical basis for "sex," the more it becomes clear that "sex" is not a pure physical category. What bodily signals and functions we define as male or female come already entangled in our ideas about gender (Fausto-Sterling 2000, p. 4). As Wilchins (2004) notes, "it may be that binary gender is so fundamental to social reality that it may be impossible to evolve the discourse. We may need to nuke the discourse, to completely undermine it" (p. 97). "Nuking the discourse," however, may be more about a dialectical transcendence than about leveling everything and starting all over. As the quantitative and qualitative research findings presented in the next two chapters will make clear, the gender binary, however socially constructed, does universally define and enforce an all-encompassing set of socially expected appearances and behaviors. While there are certainly variations in these expected gender-related appearances and behaviors, with some of these variations deriving from intersections with other social identities, such as those of race/ethnicity, social class, etc., there is much broad understanding and agreement as to what these gender expectations are, whether one is strictly heteronormative, gay/lesbian, or transgender. The pervasiveness and stability of this heteronormative gender binary system in defining individuals' gender and sexual identities, whether these individuals are conforming to or reacting against this system, needs to be included in any theory of gender and sexual identity. To the extent that embodied experiences are important in reinforcing or challenging heteronormativity, this must be understood in the context of the dynamic interactions between socially constructed versus embodied experiences in defining both of these kinds of experiences in gender and sexual identity. And finally, to the extent that all of these socially constructed and embodied aspects of gender and sexual identity can be queered for the empowerment of individuals or groups, there must be an acknowledgment that merely de-stabilizing gender and sexual identities through queering them is insufficient to self-construct a truly empowered identity.

Chapter 3
The Quantitative/Positivist Approach to Socially Constructed Identities

Written with Gabrielle Filip-Crawford and Allison Varley

To challenge the social dominance of men, feminist theory challenged the assumptions that gender roles were inevitably tied to gender. Instead, feminist theorists argued that masculinity and femininity were social constructs, i.e., that traditionally defined gender roles were the result of historical and cultural forces and not necessarily inherent in being male versus being female. This immediately begs the questions of what other causal forces define gender roles and to what extent individuals can control their self-perceived and manifested social identities, questions which are addressed in other parts of this book.

In this chapter and the next, the following questions will be considered: (1) What do we mean when we assert that gender roles and, for that matter, the expected behaviors and appearances for any social identity, are "socially constructed?" (2) How are empirical research methodologies, whether quantitative or qualitative, appropriate for understanding the socially constructed bases of gender and sexual identities? (3) What have we learned from previous research and the series of investigations conducted by the present authors about the socially constructed nature of gender and sexual identities? This chapter considers the quantitative approach, summarizing both correlational and experimental research on gender-based prejudice and on the perception and definition of gender-based characteristics. The next chapter will consider the qualitative approach, summarizing previous research on individuals' perceptions of how their gender-related characteristics are defined, with a particular focus on the responses of our interview participants to the question of what defines masculinity versus femininity. Given the vast psychological literature on gender and gender roles, it is not in any way our intention to provide a comprehensive review of this literature. Rather the present chapter is primarily a narrative of how our ideas about gender and sexual identity arose through the conceptualizations, implementations, and interpretations of a series of quantitative correlational and experimental studies that built on previous studies in the literature and in Craig's lab, as well as built on our developing understanding of the findings from the interview study and from the theoretical literature in women and gender studies.

An overarching theme of the present quantitative research chapter is that such a quantitative approach is largely an outside-looking-in perspective that reflects a number of implicit biases with regard to assumptions about the nature of human nature. One assumption is that human psychology is largely, if not entirely, physically determined, obviating the need to consider "internally generated" cognitions and behaviors arising from some "non-physical," magical "free will." This assumption validates the use of objective assessment instruments and statistical procedures derived from combining the responses of many sampled individuals. With regard to social identities, such as gender, one can then assume that such identities can be well understood by looking at the physiological processes inside the individual and the environmental forces outside the individual that act to determine the individual's perceptions of their identity within some social category, as well as their expected behaviors derived from membership in that category. As far back as Charles Cooley's (1902) ideas about the looking glass self is the notion that an individual's ideas about him/herself are based on the individual's perceptions of how those around him/her define him/her.

Positivist Epistemology of Psychological and Social Reality

Positivism was coined by Auguste Comte (1875–1877) to emphasize a scientific epistemology based solely on empirical observations. Such an epistemology should eschew speculations and be geared toward finding practical solutions for human problems. In the traditional research paradigm (Keat and Urry, cited in Neuman 2000 p. 66) derived from a positivist approach, the researcher and subject are separate entities in which the truth is waiting to be discovered in an objective and value-free way. According to Durkheim (1938), the discarding of sensations, such as the researcher's feelings, values, and emotion, is an imperative and integral aspect of building knowledge. In applying the scientific method and avoiding bias and speculation, there is a need to develop specific theories and hypotheses that will then be formally empirically tested. The researcher then desires to find causal pathways between the predictors (the independent variables) and the consequent reaction (the dependent variables).

In conceptualizing the place of empirical research in feminist inquiry, Hesse-Biber (2007, pp. 7–8) similarly conceptualizes the approach in terms of "Truth lies 'out there,' in the social reality waiting to be discovered, if only the scientist is 'objective' and 'value-free,' in the pursuit of knowledge building. It posits 'causal relationships' between variables that depend on the testing of specific hypotheses deducted from a general theory. The goal is to generalize research findings to a wider population and even to find causal relationships that predict human behavior."

In contrasting quantitative versus qualitative research approaches, Stewart and Cole (2007) note, "Courses in research methods typically represent the research process as composed of two sequential phases: the context of discovery, in which the hypotheses are generated, and the context of justification, in which they are

tested. In this tradition, qualitative research methods are often presented as subjective, unsystematic, and inherently unreliable and, thus, only appropriate for the context of discovery. In contrast, the strengths of quantitative methods are held to be reliability, replicability, and generalizibility" (p. 328).

Quantitative research, based on standardized responses from often hundreds of research participants, thus offers many advantages for addressing questions of interest to feminist scholars, and the bulk of this chapter is the presentation of empirical findings that shed light on aspects of gender and sexual identity. Among these advantages is the promise of deriving free-standing, objective knowledge that can be generalized to nearly all human beings and which identifies causal mechanisms that can be intervened with for the betterment of humankind. As will be discussed in the next chapter on qualitative research on gender roles, however, whether such quantitative research is truly objective has been widely debated among feminist theorists. Nevertheless, as will be presented in this chapter, useful insights can be gained from empirical research, in the same way that useful information can be gained from qualitative research, despite its lack of control and subjectivity.

Psychological Research on Gender Roles and Gender Identity

In psychology, gender roles are defined in terms of the emotions, cognitions, and behaviors associated with being male or female. These psychological phenomena are thought to be largely acquired through a socialization process primarily based on social learning, where appropriate behaviors are modeled and reinforced by authority figures and members of identified-with reference groups, while inappropriate behaviors are ignored or punished. It is also acknowledged that some aspects of gendered behavior, such as aggressiveness in boys, may have some biological basis (Maccoby 1998). For males, traditional "masculine" gender roles typically promote being active, aggressive, and expressive of anger, but without displaying sadness (Block 1983) and are focused on attainment of goals external to the social interaction process (Gill et al. 1987). In turn, traditional "feminine" gender roles socialize women to be passive, compliant, and expressive of sadness without showing anger (Block 1983), giving primacy to facilitating the social interaction process (Gill et al. 1987).

Block (1983) provides a theoretical framework for understanding the distinctions between sex, gender roles, and personality by noting how possibly small biological personality differences at birth between boys and girls are accentuated in complex ways by socialization into socially appropriate gender roles and by the different ways that mothers and fathers treat boys versus girls in the socialization process. Because mothers are typically the primary role model for, as well as spend the most time with both boys and girls in the early years of childhood, coupled with parents' lesser willingness to allow girls to engage in rough

and tumble, independent play, girls typically are more consistently, but also less harshly socialized into the feminine gender role. Such developmental experiences encourage social relational approaches to social problems in girls, in addition to the already present social expectations for feminine cognitions, emotions, and behaviors. For girls, learning the feminine gender role is *lesson learning* based on the imitation of a readily available model. For boys, learning masculine behaviors requires both a shift from identifying with the mother to identifying with the father and an extrapolation from the limited opportunities for observing father behaviors, thus this learning of the masculine gender role becomes an issue of *problem learning*. Coupled with parents' greater willingness to allow boys to engage in risky play, these developmental experiences encourage an instrumental approach to social problems in boys, in addition to the already present social expectations for masculine cognitions, emotions, and behaviors.

Spence's (1984) functional model of gender roles suggests that gender role socialization influences an individual's vulnerability to both stress and distress, and consequently, the amount of distress experienced. Spence argues that personality attributes are adaptive through either instrumental or expressive/relational coping behaviors, which is then inversely related to pathology. For example, highly instrumental individuals are less likely to see events as being threatening and are more likely to effectively cope with stressful situations that arise (Nezu and Nezu 1987; Towbes et al. 1989). Highly expressive individuals are also less likely to have pathological problems, due to their effective interpersonal skills and high levels of social support (Wells 1980; Steenbarger and Greenberg 1990).

In terms of gender identity, social learning theories propose that the self-perceptions of such identity result from the learning of gendered behaviors, i.e., gender roles. In contrast, cognitive-developmental theories propose that gender identity results from children's developing cognitive appreciation of the permanence of sex as an identity, in spite of perceived changes in appearances and behaviors (Kohlberg 1966). Contemporary psychological conceptualizations of gender identity are primarily based on a gender schema theory that uses an information processing approach that combines social learning and cognitive-developmental approaches. The development of self-perceptions of gender identity is seen as the result of both the social learning processes that teach and reinforce gender-stereotyped preferences and behaviors, as well as the cognitive organization of these experiences into gender schemas used to interpret the world (Martin 1993; Martin et al. 2002). Even in this psychological account of gender identity, as opposed to the completely deterministic psychological account of gender roles, one can see what looks like a problematic Cartesian mind–body dualism, where there appear to be qualitative differences between the physical forces in the social environment versus mental processes that "make sense" of these physical forces.

Gender roles, masculinity versus femininity, in fact, are much easier to measure quantitatively, and there is much more agreement about the validity of these scales, compared to measures of gender identity. The most commonly used measures of gender roles, the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem 1974) and the

Personal Attributes Questionnaire (Spence et al. 1975), have been around for decades, with each measure asking research participants to indicate the extent to which each of a set of personality-based adjectives is descriptive of themselves. Interestingly, recently Lippa (2000, 2001) has proposed a conceptualization of masculinity and femininity in terms of "gender diagnosticity." His factor analysis and validation work with items reflective of occupational interests and hobbies yields a bipolar M-F dimension, while he argues that the use of personality-based items yields separate masculinity-instrumentality and femininity-expressivity dimensions that map onto the traditional "Big 5" dimensions of personality. It can be argued that the bipolar M-F dimension for gendered occupational interests and hobbies reflects the power of the social construction, definition, and enforcement of heteronormative gender in society.

In contrast, while nearly all psychological research reports sex/gender differences on the variables of interest, almost no psychological research asks about gender identity other than an individual's self-identification as being either "male" or "female." One of the very few scales of gender identity, by Stern, Barak, and Gould (1987), consists only of four statements asking participants to describe their feelings, appearance, behaviors, and interests with one of five gender descriptors (very masculine, masculine, neither masculine nor feminine, feminine, and very feminine), and it is obvious that this scale confounds gender identity with gender roles. As will be seen below, one of the studies we undertook was, in fact, to see how heteronormative individuals construct gender identity.

Interestingly, the psychology research literature does contain a study wherein transgender and/or trans-sexual individuals were quantitatively assessed to obtain their views on transgender identity. Docter and Fleming (2001), looking to identity the components of transgenderism, developed a 70-item questionnaire that was administered to 516 participants, including 455 transvestites and 61 male-to-female transsexuals who were all biological males. The study was an extension of a 1992 questionnaire that contained 113 items which identified factors that were considered important components of transgenderism. These factors included cross-dressing identity, feminization of the body, sexual arousal, and social/sexual role. Docter and Fleming's research identified and interpreted five factors from the questionnaire responses: (1) transgender identity, identifying oneself as being transsexual; (2) transgender role, performing mostly social behaviors associated with the feminine gender role; (3) sexual arousal, being sexually aroused by dressing and acting as a woman; (4) andro-allure, being particularly sexually attracted to men, while assuming the feminine role; and (5) pleasure, feeling happy when in the feminine role. Docter and Fleming (2001) found many similarities between the responses of transvestites and transsexuals, suggesting that, in contrast to homosexuals who maintain a male gender identity, their participants in both groups were rejecting the male gender role. Docter and Fleming also found that the five obtained factors were fairly independent of each other and not supportive of a simple gender dysphoria explanation for the behaviors of their participants. Instead, the researchers argue that transsexualism is highly complex and made up of multidimensional cognitions and behaviors.

Psychology's lack of interest in considering possible complexities in gender identity reflects the heteronormative assumption that gender roles are essentially linked to gender identity, which is essentially linked to physical sex. Nearly all of Craig's earlier published research, as is the case with nearly all psychological research, also treated gender in this way, for example, presenting sex/gender differences in factors predictive of educational and occupational attainment (Nagoshi et al. 1993) or sex/gender differences in levels of alcohol-related behaviors and predictors of these behaviors (Camatta and Nagoshi 1995), without considering the nature of the gender identity checked off in the binary response items by research participants. "Sex" and "gender" were used interchangeably. This changed with the arrival in 1999 in Craig's lab of undergraduate and eventual graduate student Heather Terrell, now an assistant professor of psychology at the University of North Dakota.

Heather had taken several women studies classes at Arizona State and considered herself a feminist, but she was also interested in doing research based on evolutionary psychology (Buss 2004). Evolutionary psychology can be fairly argued to be the most antifeminist movement in psychology, with its crude essentializing of gendered behaviors regarding mating and aggression in terms of supposedly biologically evolved psychological mechanisms. At the extremes of the tenets of evolutionary psychology, as baby makers and child rearers, women are biologically programmed to use relational skills to nurture their children and compete with other women to obtain and retain long-term relationships with socially dominant men who possess large amounts of resources to provide for children. As gene spreaders, untethered from actually needing to raise the children they spawn, men are supposedly biologically programmed to use competitive, aggressive behaviors to compete with other men for short-term sexual encounters with physically attractive, and hence, fertile women. For the few feminist scholars who paid attention to evolutionary psychology, these ideas would be caricatures of the binary, presumably socially based gender role assumptions they had been challenging for decades, but such evolutionary psychology ideas are taken very seriously by some psychologists and have come to dominate thinking about social behaviors, particularly in social psychology.

Craig was already skeptical of evolutionary psychology, based on his understanding of genetics and Darwinian evolution, but was willing to mentor Heather and to be open-minded about designing research to test the predictions of evolutionary psychology with regard to mating and aggression. There were, in fact, two strong theoretical frameworks that explained sex/gender differences in aggression either in terms of more biologically essentialist mechanisms (Archer 2004) or in terms of interactions between biological factors and the ecological and cultural context for these behaviors (Eagly and Steffen 1986). Heather then designed and supervised the completion of three questionnaire-based studies of expected aggressive behavior in a party scenario in which male and female undergraduate study participants imagined being rudely bumped by a same-sex party goer. Participants were randomly assigned to conditions that varied the level of provocation, physical attractiveness, and social dominance of the aggressor and

the imagined mating motivations of the participant (alone vs. with a potential short-term relationship partner vs. with a long-term relationship partner). The findings (Terrell et al. 2009) were complex and did not easily fit an evolutionary psychology interpretation, as men and women often responded the same way to physical attractiveness and social dominance cues of the aggressor. Mating motivations did increase the likelihood of expected aggression in men but not women, but the characteristics of the aggressor that affected the likelihood of expected aggression were the same for men and women.

For her master's thesis in social psychology, Heather ran an experiment using a laboratory aggression paradigm, where participants were led to believe that they were competing against and could deliver aggressive noise blasts to another research participant on a computer in an adjacent lab room (responses of the "competitor" were actually just programmed into the computer participants worked on). This study was meant to test the findings from her scenario study, but with actual aggressive responding being measured, so the participants were again randomly assigned to face same-sex "competitors" who varied in their levels of physical attractiveness and social dominance. The findings were again complex (Terrell et al. 2008) and not easily interpretable through the lens of evolutionary psychology. By now, going through and discussing these findings with Heather had given Craig an additional basis for being skeptical about evolutionary psychology, and feeling that, not withstanding the efforts of psychologists like Stewart and McDermott (2004), most psychologists, untrained by the perspectives from women and gender studies, just did not "get it" about gender.

Predictors of Homophobia and Transphobia

In November 2005, Julie had begun her master's thesis interviews with transgender and gay/lesbian individuals on gender roles, gender identity, and sexuality, while Heather started interviewing straights from the introductory psychology subject pool. By the end of the year, Julie had recruited an undergraduate student from Women and Gender Studies at Arizona State, Kathy Adams, to work on the transcription of the interviews. By February 2006, the interviews were being transcribed, with the aim of Julie being able to defend her masters in social work in the summer.

It was February of 2006, as Julie and Craig were sitting at the renaissance festival near Globe, Arizona, when Julie noted the experiences of prejudice and discrimination reported by all of the interviewed transgender/transsexual participants and asked if there was in the research literature a quantitative scale of transphobia, prejudice against trangenders or against anyone who violates heteronormativity with regard to gender identity. We somehow had missed that, late in 2005, Hill and Willoughby (2005) had published in the journal *Sex Roles* their Genderism and Transphobia Scale. What we did have going on was that Heather and grad student Eric Hill (now an assistant professor of psychology at Albion College) were about

to launch a questionnaire study on aspects of sexual attitudes and behaviors, so it seemed easy to add a transphobia measure and validate it against the measures already planned for the questionnaire study, including religious fundamentalism (Altemeyer and Hunsberger 1992), right-wing authoritarianism (Altemeyer 1981), gender roles (Personal Attributes Questionnaire; Spence et al. 1975), sexual restrictiveness versus permissiveness (Sociosexuality Inventory; Simpson and Gangestad 1991), rape myth acceptance (Rape Myth Acceptance Scale; Burt 1980), "hypermasculinity," as reflected in proneness to aggressive behavior (Aggression Questionnaire, particularly the physical aggression and anger subscales reflective of the endorsement of violence as a manly attribute; Buss and Perry 1992), and homophobia (Wright et al. 1999). Heather suggested adding benevolent and hostile sexism (Ambivalent Sexism Inventory; Glick and Fiske 1996) to the validating measures for the transphobia scale study.

Hill (2002) defines transphobia in terms of "emotional disgust toward individuals who do not conform to society's gender expectations," which is similar to Weinberg's (1972) definition of homophobia as the irrational fear, hatred, and intolerance of being in close quarters with homosexual men and women. Hill (2002) then goes on to conceptualize prejudicial and discriminatory behavior toward transgenders in terms of genderism and gender bashing, which brings in Sugano et al. (2006) definition of transphobia in terms of "societal discrimination and stigma of individuals who do not conform to traditional norms of sex and gender" (p. 217). An important difference between homophobia and transphobia is that homophobia is not necessarily about an identity status, i.e., someone self-identifying as being gay or lesbian, but about non-heteronormative sexual behaviors, with a challenge to normative gender roles a secondary effect. Transphobia, in contrast, includes revulsion and irrational fears of not just transgenders and transsexuals, but also cross-dressers, feminine men, and masculine women (Weinberg 1972), i.e., in being about larger issues of gender roles and gender identity and not just sexual orientation.

Even in supposedly more tolerant college environments, prejudice and discrimination against LGBT individuals are well-established phenomena. Rankin's (2005) study of LGBT college students found that many of these students had experienced harassment on their college campuses, and most of those attending or employed by the university described their general campus climate as "homophobic." Meanwhile, Ivory (2005) noted that community colleges have been slower in their development of support programs for LGBT students.

An early study by Leitenberg and Slavin (1983) compared attitudes toward transsexuals and homosexuals among straight-identifying (i.e., heteronormative) university students. Their survey of university students asked questions about general attitudes toward and beliefs about, job discrimination of, biological causality of, and child adoptions by homosexual and transsexual individuals and found that more students felt that homosexuality was wrong compared to transsexuality, with women being more favorable toward transsexuals than males.

Other studies, however, and the reported experiences of our transgender interview study participants suggested that experiences of prejudice and

discrimination may be even worse for transgender individuals. Lombardi (2001) examined the difficult process of transgender individuals' coming out, as well as their day-to-day life experiences. Throughout their lifetime, over half of the transgender sample had fallen victim to either violence or harassment, and almost 40 % of the sample had experienced economic discrimination of some type. In addition to experiences of prejudice and discrimination, Beemyn et al. (2005) also focused specifically on difficulties encountered by transgender persons on college campuses, which are often just as—if not more so—numerous as those difficulties faced by LGB students. By addressing important, yet difficult to control, aspects of transgender life (such as restroom use, health care, and the choice to change gender on official university documents), Beemyn et al. suggested ways to develop and manage policies to ease the navigation of transgender students and staff of these all too common obstacles. As of Spring 2006, there had been almost no quantitative research comparing levels and predictors of homophobia with transphobia, and the development of a standardized and validated measure of transphobia seemed like a good idea to us.

Hill and Willoughby's (2005) 32-item Genderism and Transphobia Scale was meant to measure emotional disgust, violence, harassment, and discrimination toward transgenders, transsexuals, and cross-dressers. In the last of three studies, the new Genderism and Transphobia Scale was administered to 180 undergraduate and graduate students with results that found large amounts of intolerant attitudes toward people with gender variance. The new scale was significantly positively correlated with Wright et al.'s (1999) homophobia scale, a variant of Herek's (1987) Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gays scale, and traditional gender role beliefs (Kerr and Holden 1996), but was not correlated with self-esteem nor with masculinity and femininity as measured by the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem 1973).

While Hill and Willoughby (2005) are to be commended for breaking new ground in developing a transphobia scale, there were a number of psychometric problems with the scale as well as gaps in establishing the construct validity of the measure. In terms of psychometric properties, Hill .and Willoughby intended their scale to measure not just transphobia, but also genderism (negative evaluation of gender nonconformity) and gender bashing (assault/harassment of gender non-conformists). The three resulting subscales of their 32-item measure, however, were not developed through factor-analytic procedures that would mathematically define the underlying dimensions. In fact, the transphobia, genderism, and gender bashing subscales had extremely high intercorrelations among them (ranging from 0.73 to 0.84), which were confirmed in factor analyses of the scale items with the later college student sample, and these high correlations undermined the discriminant validity, i.e., the differentiability, between these subscales. It seemed that a much shorter and tighter measure would capture all of the relevant variance of the Hill and Willoughby scale.

Another issue with the Hill and Willoughby (2005) scale was that the constructs chosen by the authors to validate the scale were based on an etiological theory of transphobia that only emphasized adherence to traditional gender roles

Table 3.1 Items for the Transphobia scale

1. I don't like it when someone is flirting with me, and I can't tell if they are a man or a woman
2. I think there is something wrong with a person who says that they are neither a man nor a woman
3. I would be upset, if someone I'd known a long time revealed to me that they used to be another gender
4. I avoid people on the street whose gender is unclear to me
5. When I meet someone, it is important for me to be able to identify them as a man or a woman
6. I believe that the male/female dichotomy is natural
7. I am uncomfortable around people who don't conform to traditional gender roles, e.g., aggressive women or emotional men
8. I believe that a person can never change their gender
9. A person's genitalia define what gender they are, e.g., a penis defines a person as being a man, a vagina defines a person as being a woman

and sexual orientation, as well as lack of familiarity with transgenders. As will be discussed below, however, the literature with regard to homophobia and social prejudices, in general, suggests a wider range of validating constructs that could have been used. While finding a high degree of overlap between transphobia and homophobia, the Hill and Willoughby did not assess the discriminant validity of their transphobia scale relative to homophobia, nor did they consider gender differences in the predictors of transphobia, in spite of the extensive research literature showing important gender differences in the predictors of homophobia.

In constructing our Transphobia Scale (Nagoshi et al. 2008), rather than starting with a pool of 150 items and then using iterative procedures to whittle down to a final scale, as was done for the Hill and Willoughby (2005) measure, the 9 items of the our measure were specifically focused on attitudes toward what Bornstein (1994, 1998) considers to be the key issue of transgenderism, the fluidity of gender identity and how deviations from expected heteronormative manifestations of gender identity fundamentally challenge individuals' sense of self. These 9 items, listed above, were adapted from Bornstein's (1998) *My gender workbook* Flexibility of Gender Attitudes (pp. 9–10) questions, which assess a person's degree of discomfort when encountering individuals who don't conform to conventional gender norms. Bornstein's items are clearly reflective of the range of experiences encountered as a transgender individual interacting with heteronormative individuals (Table 3.1).

In terms of developing a measure of individual differences in homophobia, O'Donohue and Caselles (1993) proposed three types of reactions one can have, emotional, intellectual/cognitive, and behavioral, to homosexuality and homosexuals. In this context, Wright et al.'s (1999) homophobia scale included 25 items that assessed negative cognitions regarding homosexuality, negative affect and avoidance of homosexual individuals, and negative affect and aggression toward homosexual individuals. We intended our Transphobia Scale to tap into similar kinds of emotional, intellectual/cognitive, and behavioral responses to transgender

individuals. In March 2006, Craig's grad students Heather and Eric launched their questionnaire study, with our Transphobia Scale, and by the end of April, 153 female and 157 male undergrads had completed the questionnaire in group testings. Analyses of these data and of data from a small sample of undergrads who completed the Transphobia Scale at two times separated by a month indicated that our scale was internally consistent, based on the correlations among the items, and stable over time.

Given the large literature on predictors of homophobia, as well as the expectation that transphobia would be highly correlated with homophobia, validating measures for our Transphobia Scale were chosen based on the known correlates of homophobia in the research literature. We were simply interested in showing whether there would be similar patterns of correlations of these validating measures for transphobia as had previously been found for homophobia. In the process of responding to reviewers' comments and revising our paper for publication in *Sex Roles*, however, we were eventually asked to lay out a specific theory of the causes of transphobia and homophobia, based on the differences in the correlations of homophobia and transphobia with the validating measures, as well as the sex/gender differences in these correlations. To formalize such a theory, we began with Stephan and Stephen's (2000) Integrated Threat Theory of Prejudice, which stresses that prejudice is caused by intergroup threats and fears that may be realistic or symbolic, that reflect intergroup anxieties in interactions, or that result from negative stereotypes of the outgroup. In reviewing the previous literature on correlates of homophobia and considering our own findings, we started thinking in terms of what the correlates and the sex/gender differences in these correlates indicate about the nature of the perceived threats posed by homosexual and transgender individuals. It appeared that there were three separable sources of threat in these gender-related prejudices, as reflected in these patterns of correlations.

In validating their homophobia measures, Wright et al. (1999) found that lower education was associated with greater homophobia, which is consistent with numerous studies showing that lower education is associated with a range of prejudices against social outgroups (Sullivan et al. 1985). Lower education, in turn, is associated with right-wing authoritarianism, defined as the combination of submission to government authority, approval of authoritarian aggression to maintain social order, and conventional social beliefs (Altemeyer 1981), which is also predictive of a range of prejudices against social outgroups (e.g., Heaven et al. 2006). Altemeyer and Hunsberger (1992) found that people who were high on the Right-Wing Authoritarianism scale (RWA) showed a much greater dislike for homosexuals. Peterson and Zurbriggen (2010) review several studies that show that both men and women high in authoritarianism "live in rigidly gendered worlds where male and female roles are narrowly defined, attractiveness is based on traditional conceptions of masculinity and femininity, and conventional sexual mores are prescribed" (p. 1,801). Similarly, studies have found that religious fundamentalism, defined as a close-minded, ethnocentric mindset with a general tendency to discriminate (Glock and Stark 1966), is correlated with measures of discrimination toward homosexuals (Glock and Stark 1966;

Hopwood and Connors 2002; Kirkpatrick and Hunsberger 1990; McFarland 1989). In contrast to the findings for gender role-related variables, discussed below, gender differences have not been found for the correlations of authoritarianism and religious fundamentalism with homophobia. In our study validating our Transphobia Scale (Nagoshi et al. 2008), we similarly found that both homophobia and transphobia were highly positively correlated with both right-wing authoritarianism and religious fundamentalism, with no sex/gender differences in these correlations.

The first component of our theory of gender-related prejudice was that this prejudice associated with right-wing authoritarianism and religious fundamentalism was based on socialization into a "conservative" and "traditional" worldview that regards any deviation in social identities from "normality"—whether of gender (such a worldview regards women as being inferior), race/ethnicity, social class, sexual orientation, etc.—as being a threat to a sense of security derived from believing in an orderly, predictable social world. Consistent with the general literature on prejudice and with this first component of our theory, homophobia has been found to be increased in individuals with lesser openness to experience (Cullen et al. 2002), as measured by the NEO Personality Inventory (Costa and McCrae 1985), with lesser empathic concern and perspective taking (Johnson et al. 1997), and who have less contact with outgroup members, in this case, homosexuals (Basow and Johnson 2000; Cullen et al. 2002). Also consistent with this theorized first component of gender-related prejudice, then-grad student Eric Hill ran a questionnaire study in Spring 2009 that found that lower need for cognition partially mediated the relationship between religious fundamentalism and both homophobia and benevolent sexism, i.e., those scoring higher on fundamentalism preferred automatic responding, rather than thinking out judgments and problems, and this lower need for cognition predicted greater gender-related prejudice (Hill et al. 2010). Recent cognitive science research, in fact, suggests that more socially "conservative" individuals, at least in the U.S., tend to have less flexible basic neurocognitive processing than more "liberal" individuals (Amodio et al. 2007).

The second component of our theory of gender-related prejudice (Nagoshi et al. 2008) was suggested by the obvious sex/gender difference in mean levels of homophobia. A consistent finding in the research literature is that men score considerably higher than women on measures of homophobia (Cullen et al. 2002; Hopwood and Connors 2002; Polimeni et al. 2000; Wright et al. 1999), including studies using earlier measures of negative attitudes toward homosexuals, such as the Assessment of Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men (Herek 1984). This was also found in our validation study of our scale of transphobia (Nagoshi et al. 2008). The second component of our three-component theory of gender-related prejudice considered what specific symbolic threats might cause men but not women to feel threatened by non-heteronormative individuals.

There is, in fact, a research literature specifically about what triggers homophobia just in men. A study by Bernat et al. (2001) found that anxiety and anger-hostility greatly increased among homophobic males who were exposed to

homosexual cues in the laboratory setting, whereas a non-homophobic group of males experienced significantly smaller increases in anger-hostility after being exposed to the same cues. Parrott et al. (2002) suggest that homophobia in men may not reflect necessarily negative sentiments specifically against homosexual males. Instead, homophobia may include more general negative attitudes toward feminine characteristics. Homophobia-related aggression may not be due to men's moral injunctions against homosexuality, but rather may be those men's negative behavioral expression, when the presence of homosexual stimuli evoke threats to masculine identity. As also reported by others (Patel et al. 1995; Sinn 1997), a positive relationship has been found between hypermasculinity (Mosher and Sirkin 1984) and homophobia. More specifically, endorsement of violence as a manly attribute, callous sexual beliefs, and finding danger exciting were positively correlated with homophobia (Parrott et al. 2002).

Several experimental studies have shown that a seemingly anxiety-driven defense of masculinity motivates homophobic responses in men but not women. Glick et al. (2007) found that men who were given bogus feedback about having a "feminine" personality were more likely to report increased negative affect toward effeminate, but not masculine, gay men. Carnaghi et al. (2011) found that male study participants stressed their heterosexual identity, but not their gender distinctiveness, when exposed to homophobic epithets, with this effect particularly enhanced when participants strongly negatively reacted to the antigay label. Falomir-Pichastor and Mugny (2009) found that men who endorsed higher levels of gender self-esteem, particularly when they were also motivated to distance themselves from gay men, were more likely to be homophobic. Falomir-Pichastor and Mugny also ran this study with female participants, but did not find these effects for women. This defense of masculinity by homophobic men also appears to operate for female targets. Reidy et al. (2009) found that more hypermasculine men were more likely to aggress, in a laboratory aggression paradigm similar to the one used by Heather Terrell (Terrell et al. 2008), against a woman who violated feminine gender role norms but not against a woman who conformed to traditional feminine gender norms. Finally, there might be an explicitly sexual aspect to this defense of masculinity. Hudepohl et al. (2008) found that high homophobic men became angry when exposed to videos of erotic and non-erotic intimate behavior between two men, but even low homophobic men became angry when exposed to the video of erotic intimate behavior.

Tomsen and Mason (2001) analyzed the interview responses of gay men and lesbians who had been the victims of homosexual aggression and who talked about the perceived motivations of their victimizers, almost all of whom were men. Their conclusion was that such homophobic aggression was motivated by "the urge to validate the gender conformity that is linked to a social system of heterosexual privilege," particularly for the "young and disempowered men who often

serve as 'gender police'" (p. 270). It is interesting that Tomsen and Mason (2001) then consider homophobic anxieties derived from beliefs about the body:

> The cultural understanding of the human body as naturally heterosexual and of non-heterosexual desire as a bodily threat or fault is reflected in the constructs of lesbians as unclean. Much violence against gay men suggests the cultural imagining of bodies as unbroken and powerful, protected from penetration and any emasculating desire (p. 270).

In our validation study of our Transphobia Scale (Nagoshi et al. 2008), we found results that were consistent with the idea that there is an anxiety-driven defense of masculinity that is associated with homophobia just in men. We found that homophobia and also transphobia were significantly positively correlated with the physical aggression subscale of the Aggression Questionnaire (Buss and Perry 1992) just for men. Hierarchical multiple regression analyses showed that this effect for men remained significant, even after controlling for the effects of religious fundamentalism and right-wing authoritarianism.

The third source of gender-related prejudice that we proposed derived from anxieties over having to defend traditional gender roles independent of defending traditional male privilege. In particular, we considered whether this would particularly drive gender-related prejudice in women. Women socialized to believe in traditional gender roles would regard their social status as being essentially based on their subordination to men and their special role as baby makers and child rearers. While such women may be threatened by lesbians, since lesbians challenge one aspect of gender roles, they would be particularly threatened by transgender individuals who challenge the essentialism of female gender identity. Our ideas were partially informed by the differentiation of gender roles, gender identity, and sexual orientation that emerged from our interview study of straight, gay/lesbian, and transgender individuals. Hamilton's (2007) qualitative research with heteronormative college women was also suggestive, arguing that gender roles were a separate issue from sexual orientation, with Hamilton's respondents ambivalent about the need to play traditional female roles in order to attract men. We thus argued that for women prejudice based on sexual orientation rested on a different ideology from prejudice based on gender roles and gender identity.

Whether more general adherence to traditional gender roles in general is predictive of homophobia is somewhat controversial. Stevenson and Medler (1995) found that more sexist beliefs were predictive of greater homophobia, while Theodore and Basow (2000) found that perceiving oneself as fitting traditional gender roles and seeing them as being important were predictive of homophobia in men. Whitley (2001) did find that women's adherence to traditional gender roles was associated with greater prejudice against lesbians. Similarly, Parrott and Gallagher (2008) found that women who endorsed more traditional beliefs about gender roles were higher in sexual prejudice and became angrier when viewing a video of relationship behavior in a female-female dyad. Basow and Johnson (2000), however, found that fitting traditional gender roles was not predictive of greater homophobia in women, while beliefs in more egalitarian gender roles was predictive of lesser homophobia. Polimeni et al. (2000) also found that traditional gender role beliefs were predictive of homophobia in men but not women.

Rape myth acceptance has also been consistently found to be predictive of homophobia (Kassing et al. 2005; Stevenson and Medler 1995). Such myths are defined by attitudes/beliefs that shift the blame for sexual assault and sexual violence from the perpetrator to the victim. Belief in such rape myths may also reflect a sexism that upholds traditional gender roles and the subordination of women. It is noteworthy, however, that Aosved and Long (2006) found that racism, sexism, homophobia, ageism, classism, and religious intolerance were all correlated with greater rape myth acceptance for both men and women. This may be due, as discussed above, to the more general socialization of some individuals into rigidly intolerant "conservative" attitudes against any outgroups that do not conform to a set of "traditional" norms for social behavior.

In support of our proposal of a third basis for gender-related prejudice based on an anxiety-driven defense of traditional gender roles, particularly for women, in our validation study of our Transphobia Scale (Nagoshi et al. 2008), we found that, while homophobia and transphobia were significantly correlated with the two indicators of belief in traditional gender roles in our study, Benevolent Sexism (Glick and Fiske 1996) and Rape Myth Acceptance (Burt 1980), for both men and women, benevolent sexism and rape myth acceptance were particularly correlated with transphobia in women. Hierarchical multiple regression analyses confirmed that this effect for women just for transphobia remained significant, even after controlling for the effects of religious fundamentalism, right-wing authoritarianism, and physical aggression proneness. It should be noted that our study was the first to explicitly compare predictors of homophobia with those for transphobia.

Our validation study of our Transphobia Scale (Nagoshi et al. 2008) had thus not only confirmed the reliability and validity of the new scale, but had also validated a theory of gender-related prejudice that explicitly proposed three different sources of perceived threats from non-heteronormative individuals that drove these prejudices. Two of these threat sources were explicitly about the social meaning of gender and sexuality. In the Summer and Fall of 2008, Craig's honor student Katrina Warriner ran a questionnaire study on an undergrad sample of 30 gay men and 30 lesbians to see if the same predictors of homophobia and transphobia found for straights would also predict homophobia and transphobia in gays/lesbians. Katrina found that mean sex/gender differences were smaller for gay men/lesbians for homophobia, aggressiveness, benevolent sexism, masculinity, and femininity, when compared with the straight sample from Nagoshi et al. (2008). Interestingly, it seemed that violations of sexual orientation heteronormativity were a threat for lesbians, while violations of gender role/identity heteronormativity were a threat for gay men. Fundamentalism, right-wing authoritarianism, and hostile and benevolent sexism were correlated only with homophobia in lesbians, while fundamentalism and authoritarianism were correlated only with transphobia in gay men (Warriner et al. in press).

In the Spring of 2011, Craig's honor student Angela Garelick supervised a questionnaire study that sought to replicate the findings of Nagoshi et al. (2008), including testing the three-component theory of gender-related prejudice, but also adding a consideration of the applicability of the theory to biphobia, prejudice

against bisexual individuals (Eliason 1997). Angela's study (Garelick et al. 2013) with another sample of ASU introductory psychology student did, in fact, replicate the findings from Nagoshi et al. (2008) and showed that the predictors of homophobia and transphobia also applied to biphobia.

Visible Versus Concealable Identities

Biphobia is an interesting gender-related prejudice in that it is found among straight men, who regard bisexuals as being homosexual, straights in general, who view bisexuals as being "confused," and gays/lesbians, who regard bisexuals as "fence-sitters," "confused," or "opportunists" (Eliason 1997). Biphobia is also interesting in that the targets of the prejudice have identities that are largely concealable. It is interesting, however, that a recent study by Ding and Rule (2012) found that, when viewing photos of faces of self-identified straight, gay/lesbian, or bisexual individuals, straight men, and women could reliably distinguish bisexuals and gays/lesbians from straights but could not distinguish bisexuals from gays/lesbians. In fact, many individuals who engage in bisexual behavior do not self-identify as being bisexual. Even in the case of homophobia, however, while the heteronormative stereotype is that gay men and lesbians reveal their sexual identities through manifestations of gender role inversion, i.e., feminine men and masculine women are believed to be more likely to be homosexual, this is not always the case. In contrast to homophobia and biphobia, the targets of transphobia have non-heteronormative identities that are difficult to conceal, given all the visible signs of gender identity based on physical body form, dress, and behaviors that have been socially defined to signify one gender identity or the other. Having established the three-component theory of motivations for gender-related prejudice, many of the follow-up quantitative studies conducted in Craig's lab focused on the signs that invoked gender-related prejudice in heteronormative individuals and what this indicated about the mechanisms that drove such prejudice.

In the Fall of 2006, with the analyses of the data from the initial transphobia study underway, Julie, Craig, and undergrad research assistant Kathy Adams were discussing what the follow-up study should be. Kathy asked about whether specific violations of heteronormative gender roles versus gender identity versus sexual orientation were what provoked homophobia and transphobia, and she came up with a set of items, carefully balanced by the sex/gender of the target, that depicted such domain-specific violations of heteronormativity (Table 3.2).

In the Spring of 2007, a questionnaire with these items, as well as the measures used in the first transphobia study, was administered to 145 female and 194 male ASU undergraduates, with participants asked about their global affective reactions to each of these behavioral violations of heteronormativity. One question addressed by the study concerned whether gender role prejudice, gender identity prejudice, and sexual orientation prejudice were separable, and it was found that these behavior-based components of gender-based prejudice were, in fact, highly

Table 3.2 Items on the gender nonconformity prejudice scale

Gender role prejudice
(6) You see a woman physically beat up a man
(9) You see a woman getting her head shaved at a barber shop
(12) You meet a man who is giggly and keeps touching you.
(14) You meet a man wearing women's clothes
(15) You see a man getting a manicure at a beauty salon
(17) You meet a woman who is aggressive and keeps using foul language
(25) You meet a woman wearing men's clothes
(27) A masculine woman speaks in class
(30) A close woman friend hits you with her fist
(32) An effeminate man speaks in class
(33) A close man friend hugs you and starts crying
(34) You see a man crying as a woman yells at him

Gender identity prejudice
(3) In a public restroom you see someone who you first thought was the same sex as you, but you now suspect they are of the opposite sex.
(4) You hear a man saying, "I am a woman"
(7) A man you meet is taking female hormones to become more feminine
(13) You hear a woman saying, "I am a man"
(16) You meet a woman who wants to be a man
(18) A woman you meet is taking male hormones to become more masculine
(20) You can't identify the sex of someone you meet
(22) You hear about a woman receiving surgery to become a man
(24) An open transsexual is coming to speak to your psychology class
(29) You see a couple kissing, but you can't identify the sex of either of the people
(35) In a public restroom you see someone whose sex you can't identify
(37) You meet a man who wants to be a woman
(38) You hear about a man receiving surgery to become a woman

Sexual orientation prejudice
(1) A person who is the same gender as you asks you out on a date
(2) You see two lesbians kissing in public
(5) You have a sexual dream about a person of the same gender
(8) You see a film portraying two lesbians as the main romantic figures
(10) You overhear a gay man talking about his partner, saying they have "been together for 2 years"
(11) Your professor discusses the life of a homosexual historical figure in class
(19) You overhear a lesbian talking about her partner, saying they have "been together for 2 years"
(21) Your best friend—who is the same gender as you—comes out to you as being gay
(23) An on-campus group—consisting of gays and lesbians—openly advertises their club on campus
(26) You see a film portraying two gay men as the main romantic figures
(28) You see two gay men kissing in public
(31) You see two gay men holding hands in public
(36) You see two lesbians holding hands in public

correlated with each other. Nevertheless, other analyses demonstrated that these components did yield differential correlations with homophobia and transphobia and with the predictors of these gender-related prejudices. Path analyses designed to show the relationships among all the variables showed that, as predicted, for both men and women, homophobia was particularly associated with sexual orientation prejudice, while transphobia was particularly associated with gender identity prejudice (Adams et al. 2010).

Another question asked was whether prejudice based on specific perceived behavioral violations of heteronormativity would mediate the relationships between the predictors from the three-component model of gender-related prejudice (Nagoshi et al. 2008) and homophobia and transphobia, i.e., are higher scores on a predictor of prejudice, such as right-wing authoritarianism, associated with more negative emotional reactions to a specific behavioral violation of heteronormativity that, in turn, predicts greater homophobia and transphobia. Such mediated effects would suggest that encountering manifested instances of behavioral non-heteronormativity is what triggers gender-related prejudice, with the possibility that these triggers may be different for the more concealable versus the more visible targets of homophobia versus transphobia. For both men and women, it was found that the pathways from right-wing authoritarianism and benevolent sexism to homophobia were significantly mediated by sexual orientation prejudice, while the pathways from right-wing authoritarianism and benevolent sexism to transphobia were significantly mediated by gender identity prejudice. The pathway from religious fundamentalism to homophobia was mediated by sexual orientation prejudice for men only, while the pathway from benevolent sexism to homophobia was mediated by sexual orientation prejudice for women only. This, in fact, suggested that specific behavioral violations of heteronormativity were associated with the first and third components of the three-component model of gender-related prejudice (Nagoshi et al. 2008), those concerned with general social conservatism and with defending traditional gender roles, particularly for women. For men only, the path analyses also yielded a significant direct path from physical aggression proneness, associated with hypermasculinity, to homophobia, and the mediated pathways from physical aggression proneness to homophobia or transphobia were nonsignificant (Adams et al. 2010). The second component, the defense of the privileges of masculinity by men, thus seemed to be driven by the idea of homosexuality or the existence of homosexuals and not by the perceived non-heteronormative sexual behaviors of homosexuals.

While the finding of a direct path from physical aggression proneness only to homophobia just for men might seem contradictory to the findings of Hudepohl et al. (2008), which found that exposure to videos of erotic intimate contact provoked anger in straight men low and high in homophobia, it should be noted that the path analyses' inclusion of transphobia and of gender role and gender identity prejudice allowed for a test of prejudice based on sexuality independent of prejudice based on gender *per se*. Consistent with the idea that homosexual identity and not behavior is what drives homophobia, a previous study by Schope and Eliason (2004) presented respondents with vignettes of encountering gay and

straight individuals manifesting gay- versus straight-acting behaviors and found that it was the homosexuality of the target person and not the gender role-deviant behaviors that sparked homophobic responses. On the other hand, studies by Blashill and Powlishta (2009a, b) found that heterosexual college students associated gender role deviations with homosexuality, with male participants rating male targets more negatively on the basis of both the targets' homosexual identity and of their feminine characteristics. Blashill and Powlishta also found that targets with unspecified sexual orientation were rated as gay if they displayed feminine characteristics.

With regard to more concealable sexual identity, there thus remained the question of whether one aspect of homophobia was based on perceived behavioral violations of heteronormativity or on just on having a non-heteronormative identity. In the Spring of 2011, Craig's grad student Gabrielle Filip-Crawford conducted a masters thesis experiment to test one aspect of this question, the "sin versus sinner" basis for religion-based homophobia. The framing of homosexual behavior as 'sinful' and immoral by most religious traditions may provide a powerful motivation for gay men and lesbians to attempt to change or conceal their sexual identity, whether or not they themselves view these behaviors as undesirable. Many religious institutions advocate a position of "hate the sin, love the sinner," where the repudiation of homosexual behavior is seen as a pathway to moral purity, freedom from internal conflict, and self-acceptance. The underlying assumption of this position is that individuals, particularly those high in intrinsic religiosity, are able to separate category membership (i.e., being gay) from behavior (i.e., engaging in 'gay' behavior), and therefore an individual who experiences homosexual attraction will be viewed equally positively to a straight individual, as long as he or she does not act on those same-sex attractions (Mak and Tsang 2008).

Previous research by Batson et al. (1999), Bassett et al. (2005), and Mak and Tsang (2008) had provided some evidence that religious individuals were able to separate homosexual identity from behavior in their likelihood of helping behavior, but these studies had several methodological flaws, including a lack of clarity about whether presented behaviors were seen as violations of religious values and a lack of consideration of the degree of homophobia of the participants independent of their religiosity. Gabrielle's master thesis experiment explicitly contrasted prejudicial responses of straight undergrads, when confronted in a questionnaire vignette with a same-sex, self-identified homosexual target who was either in a homosexual relationship versus celibate or in a straight sexual relationship (responses to comparable straight targets were also assessed to provide a control condition). The homophobia level of participants was also analyzed as a moderating factor. Her analyses revealed both a "sinner" and "sin" basis for homophobia, with individuals who scored high on both religiosity and homophobia having more negative responses in general to the self-identified homosexual target compared to the self-identified straight target. On the other hand, there was also a significant effect of behavior, with individuals high in both religiosity and homophobia also rating the self-identified homosexual target who was celibate or in a straight relationship less negatively than the homosexual target in a homosexual relationship.

Kathy's and Gabrielle's studies had thus both provided evidence that gender-related prejudices, at least with regard to homophobia, were triggered by both the target's membership in a non-heteronormative gender or sexual identity group and by their non-heteronormative behaviors. In the Spring of 2011, Craig's grad student Allison Varley took a different approach to addressing the same question for the more visible identity of gender. Current theories of impression formation state that physical features and category membership each serve a role when stereotyping others (Fiske and Neuberg 1990). However, there is significant debate about whether category membership or physical features play a larger role in this process, under what circumstances each are used, and how using one or the other may lead to prejudice and discrimination.

According to traditional models of impression formation, people use an individual's physical characteristics to categorize him or her along dimensions, such as age, gender, and ethnicity (Fiske and Neuberg 1990). Here, physical features serve only to place the target into the most fitting social category, which is then used to infer target characteristics. Early work on stereotyping, the attribution of socially constructed group characteristics to individual members of a social identity group, demonstrated that category labeling influenced stereotyping more than variations in physical appearance (Secord et al. 1956). This "categorical model" suggests that discrete patterns of stereotyping occur, where all members of a category are stereotyped similarly, despite within-group variations in physical appearance.

In contrast, recent research has found evidence of "feature bias" in stereotyping. In the context of the visible identity of race, Blair, Judd, Sadler, and Jenkins (2002) discovered that faces with more Afrocentric features were stereotyped more than those with less Afrocentric features in both Black and White targets. Additionally, Livingston and Brewer (2002) found that participants assigned more negative implicit evaluations to highly prototypic Black faces than to less prototypic Black faces. These studies suggest that, independent of target categorization, a direct association may exist between target facial cues and people's characterizations of the target. Therefore, this "feature model" suggests that, as physical features become less stereotypical, characterizations of individuals with these physical features also become less stereotypical.

Allison's Spring 2011 experiment compared the feature model and the category model of gender stereotyping. To test the feature model of gender stereotyping, she presented undergrad research participants with five pictures of computer-generated faces that had been modified with face-morphing software to have 100 % male, 75 male and 25 % female, 50 male and 50 % female, 75 female and 25 % male, or 100 % female features, with participants asked to rate the gender-related personality traits, roles, and occupations of each person depicted. To test the category model, participants were randomly assigned to conditions where the sex/gender of the persons depicted were either explicitly labeled (i.e., the pictures were labeled "This is a male" or "This is a female.") or left unlabeled, allowing for the participant to decide the sex/gender of the person. The data collected indicated that whether or not the target person's gender was labeled had no effect on

the gender-related characterizations of the person, whereas physical facial features had a significant effect, with less stereotypical gender attributes being assigned to the more physically ambiguous faces (Varley et al. 2012). There was, however, an interesting order effect, where participants presented first with the 100 % male face rated all five target people as more gendered, on average, than those participants presented first with either the 100 % female or the 50/50 % face. We interpreted this in terms of males representing more of a threat in social situations, such that both men and women presented with an unambiguously male target revert to more automatic processing of gender cues. With regard to the intersectionality of more visible gender identity with more concealable sexual identity, Allison found that research participants were more likely to rate the ambiguous faces as homosexual (attracted to members of the same-sex) than the 100 % male or 100 % female faces (Varley et al. 2012). Allison's findings clearly have implications for understanding significant differences between homophobia–based on perceived violations of concealable sexual heteronormativity—and transphobia—based on perceived violations of visible gender heteronormativity.

Quantitative Analysis of the Social Construction of Gender

The quantitative research studies discussed above define the factors that appear to cause prejudice and discrimination toward non-heteronormative individuals and behaviors. The impetus for these studies was to try to understand what drove behaviors in heteronormative individuals that acted to define and circumscribe the behaviors and appearances of non-heteronormative individuals, as reported by particularly the transgender participants in our interview study. However, based on the averaged responses from large samples of heteronormative research participants across a series of studies, the conclusions we drew were that the causal factors for homophobia and transphobia derive from these straight participants somehow being socialized to perceive threats to social and psychological status from LGBT individuals. Such apparent fear, the "phobia" in homophobia, transphobia, and biphobia, suggest that such prejudices also reflect the social forces that enforce heteronormative behavior in heteronormative individuals. From the women's studies literature, theorists like Jackson (2006), analyzing the intersectionality of gender, sexual, and other social identities, point out how the social construction and performance of the many aspects of "heteronormativity" act to enforce these behaviors in heteronormative individuals. So, besides the implications derived from our series of quantitative studies on gender-related stereotyping and prejudice, what can a quantitative, positivist research approach tell us about the social construction of gender?

Only a few previous quantitative studies have directly addressed the question of the definition of gender as perceived by heteronormative individuals. Pryzgoda and Chrisler (2000) surveyed a college and community sample in New England on their usage and understanding of the words "gender" and "sex," finding that their

participants differed widely in their responses, with participants at one end treating gender and sex as being the same, while those at the other end of the continuum had more complex and nuanced ideas about the nature of gender as differentiated from biological sex. Interestingly, those participates who rated themselves as more "feminine" in their gender identity had more fluid ideas about the relationships between sex and gender (sex did not necessarily have to match gender, gender is a social interpretation of bodies, and gender can change with experience), while those who rated themselves as more "masculine" in their gender identity were more likely to endorse a tight connection between sex and gender (men should be masculine, women should be feminine).

Twenge (1999) identified the factors or areas of masculine/feminine attributes that were most prevalent in prior research on gender roles. These areas were: personality traits (instrumentality/expressiveness), occupations, abilities, and leisure activities, physical/material attributes (e.g., appearance), stylistic and symbolic behaviors (nonverbal gestures and body posture), personal-social relationships (sexual/romantic relationships, family roles, and friendships), attitudes toward women and feminism, and global self-ratings on the adjectives masculine and feminine. Twenge (1999) factor analyzed college students' self-reports on existing quantitative measures of the areas listed above to mathematically derive underlying psychological dimensions of participants' beliefs about gender. Separate factor analyses were conducted for males and females. The factor analysis for men yielded a four-factor solution, (1) male dominance, (2) occupational and leisure interests, (3) male/female self-rating and smiling, and (4) appearance and instrumentality. The factor analysis for women yielded a more complex seven-factor solution, (1) occupations/leisure, (2) traditional feminine, (3) feminist attitudes, (4) masculinity (as measured by the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ; Spence et al. 1975)) and sports, (5) social behaviors, (6) smiling, and (7) expansiveness. Thus "gender-related characteristics are multifactorial, and an individual who possesses one type of 'masculine' or 'feminine' trait does not necessarily possess the others" (Twenge 1999, p. 498).

Twenge theorized that the less complex factor structure for men than women indicated that men had a clearer idea of what defines gender roles. She discussed these results in terms of the rigidity of traditional male gender roles and the impact of changing social norms on female gender roles, noting that "women may no longer recognize the salience of gender-related characteristics, and may choose behaviors and answers on questionnaires according to their own individual choices, obscuring most patterns dictated by gender" (Twenge 1999, p. 499).

Rather than using existing scales, as in the Twenge (1999) study, as part of the initial validation study of our Transphobia Scale (Nagoshi et al. 2008), Kathy Adams and Julie generated a set of 55 heterogeneous items descriptive of behavioral aspects of gender, including aspects of traditional masculinity and femininity, as well as sexual behaviors, and physical aspects of gender, including physiology and clothing, to which research participants would respond in terms of the extent to which each item was descriptive of "being a man" versus "being a woman." Eliminating ambiguous items, factor analyses of responses on these items from

the sample used in the initial transphobia study yielded four readily interpretable factors, (1) Masculine Gender Role (sex with men and women (-), powerful, weak (-), competitive, emotional (-), follower (-), short hair, aggressive, strong, passive (-), independent, physically attractive (-), business suits, leader, protective, tall, dependent (-), short (-), hard-working), (2) Feminine Gender Role (intelligent, loving, gentle, soft skin, forgiving, loyal, understanding, graceful, dangerous (-), abstaining from sex, nurturing, calm), (3) Physical Female Gender (physically female versus male, including sexual orientation) (panties, skirt, long hair, deep voice (-), sex with women (-), muscular (-), make-up, bras, estrogen, vagina, boxer shorts (-), sex with men, high heels, facial hair (-), breasts, penis (-), perfume, testosterone (-), wearing neck ties), and (4) Chromosomal Sex (X chromosome vs. Y chromosome) (Nagoshi et al. 2010). It is notable that the Physical Gender factor was a bipolar one that contrasted maleness versus femaleness and also included the heteronormative sexual orientations. Meanwhile, the behavioral aspects of gender (i.e., gender roles), were clearly differentiated for both men and women into separate masculine and feminine gender roles, consistent with theoretical conceptualizations of the independence of these gender role dimensions (Bem 1974; Spence 1984). It is interesting that these findings are consistent with Lippa's (2000, 2001) ideas, noted above, about masculinity and femininity as gender diagnosticity, with a bipolar M-F factor derived from gendered occupational interests and hobbies, but separate masculinity-instrumentality and feminine-expressivity factors derived from personality measures. Our findings were also consistent with the findings from our interview study, to be presented in subsequent chapters, showing that heteronormative college students regard gender roles as social constructs, but have more essentialist ideas about gender identity and the gender binary. There were sex/gender differences in the factor structures suggesting that men more closely associate physical gender with sexuality. This finding may be similar to Twenge's (1999) findings that factor analyses of existing gender role measures yielded less differentiated and complex factor structures for men than for women.

These factor analysis-derived dimensions of gender were then scored to reflect greater or lesser adherence to traditional heteronormative beliefs about gender. More stereotypical beliefs about gender would thus be indicated by scoring masculinity as defining being a man and femininity and physical female gender as defining being a woman. For men, such stereotypical responding was correlated with their own masculinity, and with right-wing authoritarianism, homophobia, transphobia (prejudice against transgender individuals), physical aggression proneness (indicative of hypermasculinity), and both hostile and benevolent sexism. The same patterns of correlations were found for women only for right-wing authoritarianism, religious fundamentalism, homophobia, transphobia, and benevolent sexism. Notable correlation differences were also found across factors for men, with stereotypical beliefs about masculinity and physical gender, but not stereotypical beliefs about femininity, correlating with homophobia and transphobia. The upshot of these findings is that the predictors of gender-related prejudice derived from the three-component model of such prejudice (Nagoshi et al. 2008)

are also related to socialization into stereotypical heteronormative beliefs about gender. It is also notable that these findings again echo previous research and theorizing (e.g., Tomsen and Mason 2001) suggesting that men's gender-related prejudice may be particularly driven by a fear of loss of male privilege from any source that symbolically undermines the masculinity/male identity of these prejudiced men.

To summarize, from the outside-looking-in perspective of positivistic, quantitative research on large samples of heteronormative individuals, it is clear that these individuals have been socialized to be in general agreement about heteronormative social constructs of the nature of gender roles, gender identity, sexual orientation, and their tight inter-relationships. These socially constructed heteronormative ideas about gender and sexual identity then drive and mediate heteronormative individual's stereotypes about and prejudice and discrimination against non-heteronormative individuals. Echoing Jackson (2006), these quantitative research findings also reflect how the social construction of heteronormative gender and sexual identity acts to enforce such heteronormativity in heteronormative individuals. In the next chapter, we will consider this system of socially constructed heteronormative enforcement from the inside-looking-out perspective of qualitative research.

Chapter 4
The Qualitative Approach to Socially Constructed Identities

As discussed in the previous chapter, quantitative research offers many advantages for addressing questions of interest to feminist scholars, including the promise of deriving free-standing, objective, and widely generalizable knowledge which identifies causal mechanisms that can be targeted for socially beneficial interventions. Yet, one could argue that quantitative research is not as objective as we may think. Though many quantitative researchers may argue that the scientific method is value-free, there are many subjective layers that are involved in quantitative research, for example, what population you choose to study, where you choose to study them, what questions you choose to ask, and even more importantly what questions you choose not to ask. Many times, the researchers choose the mainstream populations to run their experiments on. The college environment is a prime place to study behaviors and relationships, and many times these college samples are used as the baseline comparison groups to the larger population. Within this context, these college students are mostly white, middle-income students that are unfortunately overrepresented in the research literature, due to the scientists' necessity for the use of convenience samples. It should be noted that this research climate in the social sciences is now rapidly changing, as more and more studies are conducted with online samples, but such samples have their own set of biases which limit generalizability, as well as skew the kinds of research questions which are asked.

In the present chapter, we consider the social construction of gender, particularly gender roles, from a qualitative research perspective, with most of the chapter presenting the interview responses of our sample of straight, gay/lesbian, and transgender participants to the questions of what defines "masculinity" and "femininity" and how participants viewed their own masculinity and femininity. These questions, in a lot of ways cover the same ground as the quantitative research discussed in the last chapter, asking how individuals define gender, with their definitions presumably the result of a lifetime of socialization into the expected physical appearances and psychological manifestations of heteronormative gender and sexual identity, and how individuals see themselves in terms of these socialized

beliefs. The qualitative approach, however, allowed interview participants to give their unique perspective on not only what gender roles are, but how they work and where they come from. These perspectives became even more unique, when interview participants wrestled with the question of defining their own masculinity and femininity.

As noted in Chap. 1, a unique aspect of our interview study (Nagoshi et al. 2012a; 2012b) was that, unlike most qualitative research that tries to recruit a small, relatively homogeneous sample, in order to develop an in-depth understanding of a specific group, we deliberately recruited participants from three different gender/sexual identity groups: straights, gays/lesbians, and transgender individuals. The logic of this was in a lot of ways similar to the comparison of straight college students with gay/lesbian ones on homophobia, transphobia, and predictors/correlates in the quantitative study by honors student Katrina Warriner (Warriner et al. in press), discussed in the previous chapter. While the large number of interviews conducted did allow for some weak quantitative comparisons across groups, the important difference for our interview study was that, with our qualitative research, we were primarily looking for qualitative differences in the responses across groups, not quantitative ones based on the sizes of means and correlations.

Postmodernism and Qualitative Research

As one feminist researcher states, "Social research turns the chaotic and confusing experiences of everyday life into categories of people in society, categories that reflect prevailing political arrangements. The social sciences then assign causal relations to people and social relations in these categories. These causal accounts enable institutions to govern our everyday lives in ways that fulfill the interests and desires of these institutions, and of the social groups that design and manage them, but not the interests and desires of our societies' most economically, socially, and politically vulnerable groups" (Harding and Norberg 2005, p. 2009).

Feministic empiricism was initiated by the critique of positivism and the fact that women had been left out of traditional research, such that their perspectives and experiences were not part of mainstream epistemology (Hesse-Biber 2007). Feminist empiricists brought not only attention to women as the bases of research, but also to women being left out of the production of knowledge itself. Men were previously seen as the ones who create the science and knowledge building. Hundleby (2007, p. 29) argued "for envisioning how sexism might be eliminated from science, considering the subject or agent of empirical knowledge, the knower, to be an individual person seems inadequate. So many feminist empiricists among them reject the traditional empiricist distinction of epistemology from political considerations and, within epistemology, the viewers of knowers as isolated individuals."

Feminist empiricists recognize these wider ranges of determinants as ways of explaining observations. While all scientists are able to make observations, they

are limited in the fact that the researchers only interpret what they are conditioned to see, based on their own limited male perspective. Feminist empiricists are in some sense more objective by acknowledging the limitations of the male researcher and the fact that their experiences and objectivity does not equal the absolute truth regarded in science as the standard.

Feminist methodology and epistemology are part of the postpositivist movement. "Feminist researchers have developed the controversial notions that research itself can contribute to producing a liberatory, transformative subjectivity in an oppressed or marginalized group and that this kind of engaged research can produce knowledge that such a group desires" (Harding and Norberg 2005, p. 2011). Knowledge is thus created and embedded in whoever has power. Knowledge comes from context, the individual, and this individual has the voice and power to construct new knowledge (Gannon and Davies 2007). While postmodernism recognizes that knowledge is biased, truth is possible through multiple perspectives that have the ability to mobilize and ground social action. Feminist methodology asserts that knowledge and truth are partial, situated, subjective, power imbued, and relational (Haraway 1988). Men as theorists cannot capture how one would think when positioned as a women and fail to take this into consideration (Gannon and Davies 2007, p. 73). As such, feminist methodology does not try to understand one's experience but rather recognizes the need to take in plural experiences.

As noted above, objectivity must be rethought, and with this, the need to measure behaviors and relationships. Qualitative research offers the researcher the ability to highlight the individual's perspective and experiences and also gives the researcher the power to see things in new ways through dialog and themes that are learned in the dynamic process of interviewing. Unlike positivist research, Hesse-Biber (2007) believes it is unrealistic to assume that emotions and values do not arise during the process of doing research, whether it is quantitative or qualitative. Our emotions, in fact, are an essential part of why certain topics and research questions are studied and how theories are derived (Guba and Lincoln 1994). Postmodern research allows the research to be contested and questioned, to be looked at from multiple perspectives, and to have multiple truths. The scientific method is thus not assumed to be the absolute truth; therefore, knowledge is not taken for granted by the "privileged researchers." Postmodern research focuses on the process of research and the actual mode of writing, including acknowledging the researcher's responsibility for reflexive methodologies.

Postmodernism also questions the essential binary gender categories associated with essentialism. Essentialism was based on the positivist perspective that each entity has to have certain characteristics and traits that are considered to be permanent and unalterable. Essentialism was used as a means to help compare groups and to distinguish one entity from another. According to McPhail (2004), "These group statuses are frequently divided into binary categorizations such as male/female, while/people of color, heterosexuals/homosexuals, wealthy/poor, and abled/disabled, with the former groups defined as having power and later groups defined as being powerless" (pp. 4–5). Essentialism equals universal experience for groups, but the social identity experiences of individuals within groups are

often far more complex, with many wavering between wanting an identity within a group and not wanting to be defined by this group identity.

Postmodern theorists saw essentialism as a limit of and constraint on both thought and identity and thus acknowledged multiple identities (Gannon and Davies 2007) and intersectionality. Through this intersectionality, feminists were able to disrupt these categories and theorize about the interrelationships between gender, class, ethnicity, and sexuality (Dill et al. 2007). "Intersectionality is the mutually constitutive relations among social identities"…thus "one category takes its meaning as a category in relation to another category" (Shields 2008, pp. 301–302). Identity is not just about one's own self-identification but is also relative to the larger social structure and the power differentials associated with belonging to a certain group. These intersections generate both oppression and opportunity (Zinn and Dill 1996). As Risman (2004) states, "one must always take into consideration multiple axes of oppression; to do otherwise presumes the whiteness of women, the maleness of people of color, and the heterosexuality of everyone" (p. 442). Through this deconstruction of social identities, identity was able to become more fluid and dynamic.

McCall (2005) discusses three approaches that can create a methodology of intersectionality. An "anticategorical complexity" would deconstruct essentialism and the binary utilization of categories. "Intracategorical complexity" looks at intersectionalites of identities in order to understand the "lived experience within such groups" (McCall 2005, p. 1774). And third, the "intercategorical complexity" urges scholars to examine categories across groups in terms of understanding power inequalities.

For many researchers, quantitative and qualitative research represent opposites in meeting researchers' different needs. They do not go hand and hand and are looked at as being two distinct groups that should remain split for numerous innate reasons. These polarities include the focus on object versus subject, making larger generalizations versus the individual's reported experience, rationality and value-free observations versus emotion and reflexivity, the researcher as part of the process versus being removed, and the researcher as being a person of power over the subject versus the researcher as an ally of knowledge (Hesse-Biber 2007; Gannon and Davies 2007; Stewart and Cole 2007).

By conducting qualitative research, one can contextualize more of the individual's unique experiences. Interviewing the individual allows the ability to observe and feel emotions within the person's story. This process cannot occur during quantitative research. This type of research also allows one to explore the interviewee's responses in a more dynamic way. The respondent can talk longer about certain topics, there is an ability to talk about experiences that they would not have reported or even thought of by using a questionnaire, and the person being interviewed is able to feel more comfortable in discussing certain sensitive topics as rapport is built.

Lin (1998) argues that quantitative approaches aim to identify relationships between the variables that are generalizable to different contexts. In contrast, qualitative methods are designed to reveal the agent that underlies these relationships. While there may be a split in these types of research, she argues that postmodern methods can be used in research with both types of epistemological aims. Stewart and Cole (2007) discuss six

ways in which the feminist researcher can integrate qualitative and quantitative data, in order to capture the phenomena that they are studying. For one, the researcher can transform qualitative data or narrative into quantitative data that can be analyzed. They can use qualitative data to frame findings from a quantitative study. Third, the researcher can use qualitative studies as a follow-up to quantitative analysis. Researchers can use both methods to ask different questions, themes are then searched for through qualitative data and statistics are found through quantitative data. A project can bring together team members from different methodological backgrounds. And lastly, researchers can take quantitative indicators and construct a qualitative analysis based on these indicators.

One major thrust of this book is that research approaches that employ complementary quantitative and qualitative methodologies can derive more understanding about the nature of social identities than either approach alone. As discussed in the previous chapter, the responses from our interview study about how straight, gay/lesbian, and transgender individuals define gender roles, gender identity, and sexual identity and about how they psychologically and socially understand these phenomena in their own lives inspired the series of quantitative, positivistic studies of how heteronormative individuals perceive different aspects and manifestations of gender and sexual identity. In turn, the findings from the quantitative research have confirmed many of the observations made by our interview participants. For example, as discussed in the previous chapter, analyses of the responses about what defines "being a man" versus "being a woman" on a heterogeneous set of gender-related behavioral, physical appearance, and physiological items yielded findings that mapped surprisingly well onto ideas about the independence of gender role behaviors (masculinity as instrumentality and femininity as expressivity) and the essentialism of physical traits that define heteronormative gender and sexual identity (Nagoshi et al. 2012b). These quantitative findings have also inspired questions about mechanisms that would be worth pursuing in future qualitative research with both heteronormative and non-heteronormative individuals.

Another aspect of this "multimethod" approach is the drawing on perspectives from multiple disciplines with different theoretical and research methodological traditions and interests. This, in turn, is reflective of our trans-identity theory (Nagoshi and Brzuzy 2010; Chap. 5) of how social identities are constructed at the social and individual level and of how the individual understands their own dynamically intersectional identities. The knowledge derived from the positivistic psychological approach or the postmodernist feminist/queer theory approach or the socially pragmatic social work approach all reflect the socially constructed, agreed upon epistemological assumptions and traditions of their respective fields. Within these epistemological social constructs are the spaces within which new knowledge is allowed to emerge and be created through the accumulated embodied experiences and lived narratives of the practitioners of these disciplines. We have much to learn from each other.

We would like to end this section on a reflexive note and a quote from Patti Lather (2007, p. 30). "A very classic move of deconstruction is you identify the binaries, you reverse them and then you use the energy of the reversal to try to get to the third place which is both-and AND neither-nor—both rational and

emotional and something that is neither rational nor emotional…What we're trying to do is get beyond the binary of rationality and emotionality into a place that is both of them and yet some place that is beyond both of them." I believe that this quote applies to the new generation of multidisciplinary, multimethod research in which we can get beyond the binary limitations of quantitative and qualitative research and dive into the new realm of combinations that mixed methods and transgender/trans-identity research can offer us.

Qualitative Research on Gender Roles in Non-Heteronormative Individuals

Researchers interviewing gays about the bases of their sexual and gender identities have proposed theories that essentially argue that these identities are cognitive constructs resulting from the developing interactions between social contexts that define normal gender roles and behaviors and the individual's self-defined identity. Gottschalk (2003) argues that childhood gender nonconformity is not causally related to same-sex sexuality and that any correlation between the two may, in fact, be the result of struggling to conform to a patriarchal society's pressures for normal gender and sexual roles. In other words, one's sexual orientation does not necessarily determine one's gender identity, but the struggle to conform to society's expectations about gender identity and sexual orientation is experienced by adolescents as a pressure to bring gender identity and sexual orientation in line with traditional heteronormative beliefs.

Steven's (2004) interviews with gay college men revealed a developmental process wherein gay identity formation involved a back-and-forth process between social contexts that fostered identity explorations but then repressed open expressions of one's gay identity and the individual's developing internal sense of self and self-empowerment. Abes and Jone's (2004) interviews with lesbian college students were interpreted in terms of meaning-making capacities that developed from at first defining oneself in terms of one's social contexts and social expectations to eventually being able to better filter the social contexts to more autonomously define one's self-identity. In both the Stevens (2004) and Abes and Jones (2004) studies, a more fully developed gay identity was characterized by more cognitive complexity that allowed for self-identity to include a multitude of socially based identities. Finally, Striepe and Tolman (2003) argue that having to negotiate the societal pressure to conform to normal male and female gender roles and sexual behaviors, in order to develop a functional gender identity, is a difficult task for all adolescents. Heterosexual adolescents typically find that their self-identity struggles are often focused on trying to reconcile their own deviations from normative gender roles and sexual behaviors with the pressures to conform to these normative gender ideologies.

While interview studies of gender and sexual orientation development in gays/lesbians typically find that gays/lesbians do not question their gender identity, but

instead focus on defining their gender roles and identity as homosexuals, it might still be expected that for some gays/lesbians the violation of societal gender role and sexual orientation expectations would cause some questioning of the nature of their gender identity. An interview study by Hiestand and Levitt (2005) of 12 "butch" lesbian women did suggest that these lesbians' perceptions and experiences were consistent with viewing "butch" as a gender identity distinct from male and female. These women questioned their gender identity as women from an early age, took on more masculine gender roles, despite societal pressures to conform to feminine gender roles, and achieved more stable identities by integrating their lesbianism with a gender identity distinct from female or male.

Green (2005) asked eight trans-men and four non-trans-men six questions about their notions of masculinity, including whether maleness and masculinity are the same thing, whether masculinity depends on having a male body/having a penis, how does a trans-man (FTM) come to understand their masculinity, where does masculinity come from, how is masculinity expressed, and what does it mean to be masculine or to have masculinity. Green found that his participants unanimously agreed that maleness and masculinity were not the same thing and that masculinity was not dependent on having a male body/penis. In terms of coming to understand one's masculinity, there were two types of responses. The first response was external, where participants were defined by others' social expectations, while the second kind of response was internal, where participants felt that they did or did not fit being masculine. Most participants believed that masculinity was determined by behaviors or actions, and that these qualities and associated behaviors are based on peoples' expectations that are placed on the male body in any given culture. Therefore, this masculinity stems from one's ability to correlate his/her behaviors/actions with those expected from people with male bodies. There were many stereotypical answers given as to how masculinity is expressed, such as body language, behaviors, speech vocalizations/inflections/content, occupations, and stereotypical cultural actions. The greatest divergence between trans- and non-trans-men occurred for responses to the question of what does it mean to be masculine or to have masculinity. FTMs were more conscious of the ways in which masculinity is interpreted as power, conveys privilege, but at the same time puts them at greater risk. Non-trans-men saw masculinity as a psychic destiny that is opposite and complementary to that of femininity and expressed by living a life characterized by separation from other people, particularly women. This separation could only be ended by a reunion with the right partner. Femininity was viewed in terms of an opposite to masculinity maintenance of unity, integration, relationship, and communion (Green 2005).

Dozier (2005) interviewed 18 trans-identified people, 20–45 years of age, who were all born female. The questions asked were about participants' experiences with the medical community, the trans community, and their families, and participants' relationship to masculinity. Participants reported that the meanings assigned to gender-related behaviors were relative to the participants' fluid understandings of their gender identity.

Dozier's (2005) interviews also focused on the relationship of sexual orientation to gender roles for these transgendered individuals. From a heteronormative

gender perspective, opposite-sex sexual orientation is simply another gender role that is an essential manifestation of binary gender identity. This idea would obviously be problematic for transgender individuals. Dozier tested whether sexual orientation was not only based on object attraction but also on the gendered meanings that are created in sexual and romantic interactions. Thus, sexual orientation can be seen as being fluid. In contrast to traditional theories that assume that gender is the behavioral, socially constructed correlate of sex (i.e., that gender is "written on the body"), Dozier (2005) argues that her interviews revealed the opposite relationship, as well as the importance of sexuality for defining gender identity. Many of her interviewees reported changing their sexual orientations after transitioning to have a more physically male identity, whether in terms of genitalia and/or other readily visible physical characteristics, and that changing their sexual orientation, in turn, reinforced their transformed gender identity. As Dozier (2005) concludes, "Doing gender, then, does not simply involve performing appropriate masculinity or femininity based on sex category. Doing gender involves a balance of both doing sex and performing masculinity and femininity" (p. 314). This is an idea that seems to echo the "fuzzy gender" concepts of Tauchert (2002) discussed in the next chapter, where the social construction of gender roles and identity dynamically interacts with the physical manifestations of gender associated with sexual behaviors.

Rubin's (2003) interviews of 22 female-to-male transsexuals replicated the findings described above. As in Green's (2005) study, all of Rubin's participants differentiated between the socially constructed behaviors that define masculinity versus the personal and embodied identity that defines maleness. Rubin's (2003) participants also felt that their gender identity was to some great extent embodied in their physical being, with many participants believing in the necessity of a surgical transformation to make their body conform to their gender identity. In contrast to Dozier (2005), many of Rubin's (2003) participants rejected any connection between their gender identity and their sexual orientation. Nevertheless, Rubin (2003) found that becoming lesbian was part of the developmental process for over half of the female-to-male transsexuals interviewed, but that most of these individuals still nevertheless did not feel that being a lesbian was consistent with their gender identity, i.e., that having a lesbian sexual orientation was not the same as being male. When the female would transition to becoming a male, they would then see their orientation as being different. Prior to the surgery, they would be viewed by society as being a lesbian, yet they would identify themselves as being straight. After the surgery, they would see themselves as being male and would continue to see themselves as being straight.

Social Construction of Gender Roles

Previous qualitative research asking gays/lesbians and transgender individuals to discuss their ideas about gender roles, gender identity, and sexual orientation/identity thus found that non-heteronormative individuals pretty much all perceived

gender roles, masculinity versus femininity, as being socially defined, constructed, and enforced and that, therefore, such gender roles could be challenged and reconfigured in response to developmental changes in gender and sexual identity. Such challenge and self-construction of gender roles, including sexual behaviors, would certainly be consistent with the ideas from feminist and queer theories presented in Chap. 2. There was far less agreement, however, even among gays/lesbians, about whether gender and sexual identity were understandable as just social constructs. Here, the issue of embodiment becomes salient, and this will be discussed in the next two chapters.

What follows then is a presentation of our interview findings from straight, gay/lesbian, and transgender individuals in response to three questions: How would you define masculinity and femininity?, How do you see yourself in terms of masculinity and femininity?, and What caused you to see yourself that way? Given the previous theoretical and quantitative and qualitative research literature, we expected that all interview participants would have a clear idea about what defines masculine versus feminine gender roles and that they would understand that these gender roles are *largely* socially defined, constructed, and enforced. At the same time, we were looking for nuances within and across groups with regard to how they understood such gender roles to work, particularly as applied to their own sense of masculinity and/or femininity.

Before proceeding with the presentation of the interview responses, it should be noted that qualitative, as opposed to quantitative, research, because of its inherent subjectivity on both the researcher and the research participant's parts, requires some reflexivity. The interview transcripts show how, even for the straight participants, while definitions of masculinity and femininity were quickly and often glibly given by participants, there was often back-and-forth dialog with the interviewers, when participants were challenged to think about their own gender roles and where such gender roles came from. As will be discussed in Chap. 6, such back-and-forth dialoguing became more prevalent, as particularly straight participants were challenged to think about their gender and sexual identities as possibly being separate from their gender roles. Just considering gender roles, however, the need to pause and think about the question, particularly for straight participants, suggested that this was not something that they thought much about.

There is also an issue about subjective effects coming from the interviewers. Nearly all of the gay/lesbian and transgender participant interviews were conducted by Julie, while nearly all of the straight participant interviews were conducted by then-grad student Heather Terrell. Both of these interviewers appeared to the participants to be straight, White women. Given queer theory ideas about gender roles being the performance of socially constructed expectations, it is interesting that Sallee and Harris' (2011) analyses of their own qualitative data seem to show how men differentially perform their masculinities, depending on the gender of the interviewer. This was probably an issue in our interview study, and the impression we got from the interview transcripts was that, in fact, straight and gay men were more cautious in their responses about their own masculinity than straight women and lesbians were about their femininity.

Another issue of interviewer subjectivity was that both Julie and Heather were well aware of the basic thrust of the study to separate out perceptions of gender roles versus gender identity versus sexual orientation/identity and to analyze interview responses in terms of Deductive Qualitative Analysis (Gilgun 2010). There was obviously a fine line to be walked, however, between prompting interview participates to express their own ideas about these concepts, which they might not have thought of previously in this way, versus leading participants on in their responses. As described in Chap. 1, specific prompts were scripted to foster discussion, and Julie and Heather did discuss the need to use prompts in ways that did not lead participants on.

In terms of the interview responses with regard to gender roles, consistent with previous qualitative studies, all of our participants, whether self-identified as heterosexual, gay/lesbian, or transgender, in response to the questions on what defines masculinity and what defines femininity, readily defined these gender roles primarily in terms of traditional, socially defined expressive behaviors, with a lesser emphasis on easily observable physical characteristics and dress. Masculinity was characterized by aggressiveness, dominance, and lack of emotion, while femininity was characterized by empathy, nurturance, communication, and emotion.

In general, the descriptions of masculinity and femininity by straight participants were brief, at times focusing on superficial behaviors. One straight man focused on "strong, and darker colors, like I wouldn't associate pink with it, that would be more feminine" regarding masculinity, in contrast to femininity, for which he said, "I'd associate pink with that, lighter colors, women, usually petite but doesn't have to be beauty." One straight woman talked about "strong, man-like qualities," in contrast to "being girly, I think, shopping and things like that." Interestingly, she did note that "you don't have to necessarily be a guy to have masculinity or be a male," so there was for her an idea that such gendered behaviors were not necessarily attached to gender identity.

Two of the straight participants explicitly defined masculinity and femininity in terms of an economic hierarchy, but it was the straight man who used this to seemingly justify male dominance over women. The straight woman contrasted masculinity as "someone who is strong, both physically and mentally, someone who can take on a lot, mostly physically, someone who can take care of their family, who can protect others" versus femininity as "more of an emotional side, someone who is in touch with their emotional side, someone who carries their life through their emotions, deals with certain conflicts through emotions." The straight man also described masculinity as "to provide for other people, not necessarily just your family, but people you care about, kind of be the care giver," but femininity was "taking a back seat to, not necessarily providing for like primary needs like food and clothing and shelter—like the primary needs that I think are associated with masculinity, but I think that, providing for more secondary needs like emotional needs and stuff like that."

Even though most of the gay men and lesbians interviewed were college students, like the straight participants, nearly all of the gay/lesbian participants gave much longer, more nuanced responses with regard to what defines masculinity and

femininity. The one seemingly superficial description by a lesbian of masculinity and femininity might actually have been deliberately ironic: "they're kind of like big, kind of like jugs, kind of like football players… masculinity" versus femininity as "they like to wear a lot of makeup and they will go shopping for really long periods of time." In contrast to the straight participants, definitions of gender roles by the gay/lesbian participants were often precise in terms of the socially constructed nature of gender roles, such as this definition of masculinity from a lesbian participant, "masculinity is the societal expectations and values and attitude and performance about how men are supposed to behave, and look and act and dress and, some would say, even think." One gay man explicitly talked about the fluidity of gender roles: "Masculinity, I think, is a combination of being male and female, and I think probably the only difference, that I don't even think necessarily goes across gender, or not gender, but physical sex. I think that masculinity is being protective, and I think that's feminine, I think women can be that way too, and being brave as being self-sacrificing, and like being rough—or kind of being rough, and kind of self-centered but with a balance in there, where you do kind of have traits that are more considerate, as well. Just tends to be more of a— Masculinity tends to stick out on one side more than the other." For some gays/lesbians, this social construction of gender roles also emphasized male social privilege. One gay male stated, "they (men) are portraying their masculinity by acting how a man is supposed to act and how a man is supposed to act is completely dictated by the society in which we grow up in. I mean, you have all your patriarchy and everything, where the men dominate—masculinity, like, is a dominant term over femininity" while femininity is "very submissive, very weak and fragile, like how women are portrayed to be…when you say masculinity, I picture a man, how a man is supposed to be—like a biological, physical man. When you say femininity, I picture a little cat—a woman, a female that is supposed to be weak and just like masculinity is the dominant term over femininity—men are dominant over women—in every way, physically, biologically, socially, economically."

Interestingly, one gay man debated between the behavioral and embodied aspects of masculinity and femininity: "big muscles, in general, is a masculine thing. Also, kind of the center of gravity is more around the pelvis and there is also more, I think there is more movement of the calves when men walk, kinda of masculine walk. Lets see, um, I would say, that is about as far as I can go because behaviorally I think that there are major differences, but if I would say if I were to tend to think of what is masculine I would say that men tend to be more logical, more, more likely to want to know the facts of a situation, but I don't think that is true for a lot of men because I think there is strong temper, and there is just very much like being overcome by anger, but that is also true of women so I don't know if I can make that I can even make that kind of generalization, but I would say that really the only thing that I can talk about saying is masculine would be physiological differences." Femininity was about "having female genitalia, and also fattier I mean like more higher body fat percentage, well, I would say that there is also, I think that women tend to have more of a maternal instinct and tend to be more nurturing, I know a lot of women who are not nurturing, a lot of men who are

very nurturing. I'd say that there is a mothering, like there is an instinct to have children, yeah, I don't know I do this with certain things, like submit themselves and maybe in the general sense, but women tend to be more submissive than men in a general sense, but I don't know that I would say that a women wasn't feminine just because she wasn't submissive, so I don't know that I would say that that is a characteristic of women, but that doesn't necessarily define femininity as opposed to masculinity."

As was the case for the straight and gay/lesbian participants, there was good agreement among all eleven of the transgender participants as to the kinds of expressive behaviors that defined masculinity, as opposed to those that defined femininity. Similar to the gay/lesbian participants, half of the transgender participants were explicit about masculinity and femininity being social constructs, with the remainder implying this in some way. For example, a transgender participant gave this precise set of statements about masculinity and femininity: "Socially constructed set of ideas and values. Strong, butch, aggressive, big. Doesn't cry. Yells." versus "Socially constructed, but same values, ideas. Soft-spoken. Weak. Gentle, loving, caring. Sensitive. Cries easily. Curvy." As with the gay/lesbian participants, descriptions of these behaviors tended to be more nuanced and elaborated than was the case for the straight participants, for example, this description of femininity by a transgender participant as "that soft side that…. Here's how I define the difference between men and women. And I attribute it to someone else, because I think I read it somewhere, but I'm not sure. And it goes something like…and it may be original with me but I don't think it is…if it is, I came up with a great idea. Men see a thing that they want, and they ask themselves, 'How can I get that thing?' Women see a thing that they want, and they ask themselves, 'How will getting that thing affect those around me?' So that's the difference. Men see what they want and they go get it. Women see what they want, and they still might go get it, but they always pause to ask themselves, 'If I get that thing, how will it affect other people?' They may in the end decide that they don't need it that badly. Men generally go get it."

It is interesting that, like the one gay man quoted above, three of the transgender participants debated the behavioral versus the embodied aspects of masculinity and femininity. As one transgender participant put it, "Well, there's biological. But there are also social constructs to go with it. If we talk in terms of biological, chromosomal. If we talk in terms of social constructs, it's masculine behavior characteristics that…behavior characteristics can cross the lines of…. In terms of gender identity, there are a lot of 'butch' women, there are a lot of masculine women. Masculinity defines a set of behaviors that are characteristically attributed to men in our society. But I would define it behaviorally. To me, in terms of specific characteristics…. I really can't define it in terms of specific characteristics, because I could say 'facial hair', but I know a lot of masculine women who don't have facial hair. Those behavior characteristics, it's generally about…being more dominant in relationships, it's about social roles, it's about being the one who opens the car door and the restaurant door and pulls out the chair. More than it is about facial

hair or chromosomes." Another transgender participant talked about how "a lot of people say that like being masculine is something that has something to do with muscles or sports or facial hair, or you know something to that effect, just like, male characteristics, secondary sexual characteristics. I don't know, I just think um, masculinity depends on how you like hold yourself and how you hold yourself in a culture too, because it depends on how a culture sees masculinity. If masculinity is wearing dress then, well that's masculinity is a woman and you're wearing a dress." A side note here is that one can see from the responses above how these responses from all groups, but particularly the transgender participants, inspired the quantitative study on the definition of "being a man" versus "being a woman" (Nagoshi et al. 2012b) discussed in the previous chapter.

The transgender experience, in fact, meant a special appreciation by the transgender participants of the power differential associated with gender identity, including the privileges, risks, and even deprivations associated with masculinity. Two transgender participants noted that female gender identity meant a loss of social power and privilege, "…in our society,…in my community, a transsexual, a male-to-female is regarded as lower than a female-to-male… Why? Because most men—men are still intolerant in this country, and for the most part, in the world—men can understand one taking power, but they can't understand wanting to lose power. So our society, and the world in general…are still dominated by the male of the species. So as such, moving from male-to-female is almost a slap at masculinity. However, moving from female-to-male is an atonement for that, and saying, 'Well, this girl wants to be a guy, obviously she knows what she's doing, because she's moving from the weaker sex to the power sex.'"

In terms of privileges, as one participant described it, "It's better because the attributes of being strong, aggressive—I mean, we're an aggressive society. All the attributes that are male are, for the most part, more positive in our society. And the attributes of female, of crying easily and sensitive, for the most part are seen as more the negative aspects, or some kind of a weakness."

On the other hand, two of the transgender participants described the different bases of power and/or privilege that femininity may hold in our society. One participant noted that women are regarded in society as being more "moral" than men, while another participant described feminine power in terms of sexuality, "Women control sexuality in terms of men's perception. Okay? Unless you're willing to perform an act of violence to get sex, women have control. There's a reason why we don't earn as much as men do. It's a power game. We don't have as much money, therefore we need men to pay, and if they pay, we give them sex. It's a bartering system. The societally-imposed differential of power. Women have all the pussy, men have all the money. Bring the two together, you have dating rituals. And the expectation that the men will pay and the woman will put out. That's where it all came from, I think. So, from the women's side, they perceive the men have the better slice of the pie. From the men's side, they think women do. And, you know, just fucking get over it. You know, that's just societally-imposed, again."

Social Versus Self-Construction Versus Embodiment of Gender Roles

When asked about whether the straight participants considered themselves to be masculine or feminine, four of the six straight men considered themselves masculine, and three of the six straight women considered themselves feminine, with the remainder of the straight participants considering themselves as having both masculine and feminine characteristics. On the other hand, while some of the straight participants indicated that they were both masculine and feminine, there typically was not the amount of elaboration that characterized the responses of the other two groups. It should also be noted that, while many considered themselves to have both masculine and feminine characteristics, these individuals still defined these gender roles in traditional, binary ways. One heterosexual female said, "I think I have traits of both. I am really emotional sometimes. I am also really strong willed in my beliefs, which is to say I am not going to agree with you, that's what I believe, that's it!"

It is notable that, when pressed about their own masculinity and femininity, some of the straight participants started giving the kind of elaborated and nuanced responses that the gay/lesbian and transgender participants gave with regard to defining masculinity and femininity in general. There was also more expression about the socially constructed nature of gender roles. For example, one straight man talked about his masculinity in terms of how "I think society plays this kind of um, especially at this college level, this age. I think society has a tendency to force men to promote their masculinity, to kind of over, you know, portray their masculine side. Some people do, you know it's overkill, and they try to, you know, prove that they're masculine as opposed to, you know, feminine like. You know, like more macho like." A straight woman described the fluidity of her gender roles in a developmental context: "It is kind of weird for me. I don't know if it is just a coincidence but when I deal with my dad, who would be, you know, the male, that is when I would get emotional. When I deal with my mom, the female, that is when I am like yelling at her and I'm like no blah blah blah. So it is like opposite what I feel with my dad. But then again my parents are like opposites. My mom is like totally not emotional, and my dad like cries for everything, so I have parents that are like opposite. So when I am talking with my dad I get emotional and that is where the femininity comes out, but for my mom I get angry and strong willed and just want to fight with her." The fluidity of and ability to self-construct one's gender roles was expressed by a straight man: "Well, I think that I am masculine but at the same time I think that I have a lot of feminine qualities, too, to help balance it out. Like I said I don't identify myself like a lot of guys. Like a lot of my friends are girls, and because a lot of my friends are girls, I see how guys treat girls, and I don't want to be like that. So I am masculine but I take into account feminine qualities, so I can balance it out to be a better person, I guess."

In reading these interview responses from straight men and women discussing their understanding of their masculinity and femininity, one can see how important

nuances of meaning get lost in quantitative research approaches attempting to define and understand gender roles. As was discussed earlier in this chapter, while quantitative approaches aim to identify relationships between the variables that are generalizable to different contexts, qualitative methods are designed to reveal the agent that underlies these relationships (Lin 1998). Seeing such agents allows for an understanding of the self-construction of gender roles that counters the imposition of the socially constructed aspects of masculinity and femininity.

Of the 12 gay/lesbian individuals, only 3 gay males saw themselves as exclusively masculine or feminine. Even for these self-perceived masculine males, however, there was more questioning of the bases of their gender role. One gay male stated, "I see myself as very masculine. I think I perpetuate a lot of masculine images and stereotypes all the time in my life…and sometimes I wonder if I'm doing it because I think I have to or if I'm doing it because that's really me or if the person who is really me is someone that perpetuates images."

More so than for the straight participants, the gay/lesbian respondents gave more elaborate discussions of the social negotiations and complications of manifesting both masculine and feminine attributes. One lesbian stated, "I'm not particularly masculine, and I'm not particularly feminine. I'm definitely more on the feminine end. And I say that because I don't like to wear ultra-feminine clothing. I don't wear makeup, I have super-short hair. I wear jewelry. I have a slight build, so it's difficult not to be seen as feminine. That's one of the things about femininity… you're not very buff, masculine, big or aligned. In my mind, I'm more like a butch woman, but I'm not perceived as butch."

The idea that gender roles could be taken as being a choice was elaborated on by some gay/lesbian participants. For example, one lesbian participant talked about her masculinity and femininity in terms of: "Androgynous? That's how I consider myself. If I'm with a whole bunch of guys, most of the time, I'm not feminine. If I'm just in an open crowd—it can be females or whatever—I tend to be more masculine. I put on that shield to wear, but sometimes if I'm with a girl or a guy, in a more intimate situation, then I'll be a little more feminine. Other times out in the open, but not most of the time, I feel like somebody will see or detect that. They'll try to take advantage and I'd rather not let that happen. I think I'm actually a little bit of both, it just depends. I think I like both." Another lesbian participant discussed how "I've become more aware of how other people see me. I know that…I think I…. I don't think most people perceive me, in terms of my actual looks, as masculine. On the other hand, I know—not just as someone who teaches—but in terms of out in public, service in a restaurant or whatever, people don't tend to defer to me in the same way, or expect deference from me in the way that they would someone who is more—what they perceive—feminine. So I see myself very much in the middle of that. But my experience is also that I'm a lesbian, and within that world I know that lesbians that are more feminine tend to see me as more masculine, and lesbians that are more masculine—again, these terms are awkward, but I know what you're going for here—tend to see me as clearly more on the feminine side. Which, in those categories and otherwise, has nothing to do with my intellect or—but more just in terms of physically. So I wrestle with

these gender issues all the time, so actually talking about this is kind of interesting. But I want to say that everything is…well, there are no actual boundaries. But I'm also very aware that we still function within those."

The fluidity of gender roles and their behavioral versus embodied aspects was expressed by a gay man: "I would say that I am, if there was a spectrum and we have fem on the far left and masculinity on the far right, I would say that I am, well, I mean biologically I am very masculine. I have a male chest, I am not very muscular, but I have more regular tone to muscularity, which I would say is more characteristic of females who are more athletic, but obviously I don't have breasts. Let's see, as far as mannerisms, I think I tend to have for a male, I tend to have fairly feminine mannerisms. I talk with my hands a bit, which is I think of as more Italian, than as feminine, but I think in American culture that tends to be thought of as feminine, using both hands and articulating in general, but I just think that comes from my Italian family as a matter of what is masculine. I put quotes around the masculine, by the way. Let's see. I would say overall I think I think of myself as fairly masculine, but I think that there is also, I have a very strong protecting instinct, I like to protect women and men around me. I tend to be very assertive. I tend to be outspoken, but then I say these but I did not really talk about them how they define what masculinity was, so I guess when I think about them in terms of myself, these are the kind of things I think of. I have a very high pitched voice, which is very feminine, like I have kind of a feminized voice. My features are kinda feminine. I have softer skin. I have blue eyes. I have blond hair. It is very like the Greek boy, kind of, and teeming with my muscularity, I am not really muscled, so that is kind of how feminine physicality."

When asked about whether they considered themselves masculine or feminine, all eleven transgender participants readily responded that they expressed both masculine and feminine behavior and physical characteristics, e.g., as one participant described, "I fall at both ends of the spectrum. I'm very feminine in some of the things I do, and very masculine in the other things I do. Personally, I don't have a problem with that. I am who I am."

Beyond that, however, participants differed in their perceptions of where they fit on the masculinity-femininity continuum, with some participants noting that they were more masculine than feminine or vice versa or that it was more difficult to express one gender role versus the other. One transgender participant said, "the feminine side of me came very naturally. The masculine side I had to cultivate intensely. It was not…it wasn't natural to me at all." Two of the transgender participants expressed a view of their masculinity–femininity that transcended traditional categories, e.g., "I'm just accepting the fact that I believe my gender is all encompassing or it is something completely different of what our society knows, of outside the gender binaries."

Two of the transgender participants expressed a view of their masculinity-femininity that transcended traditional categories. One said, "I would say that I am a well-rehearsed, well-practiced androgynous person, who has discovered my own sense of masculinity and femininity through a variety of different relationships," while the other stated, "Well, I try to say that I am all encompassing. I don't feel

very masculine and I don't feel very feminine, I don't feel like that I fit both of those roles, I just know that, like amongst, when we talk about transgender people, among transgender people, I don't feel that I should be a part of that because I am not changing my name or my look or anything about me that I was born with, I'm just accepting the fact that I believe my gender is all encompassing or it is something completely different of what our society knows, of outside the gender binaries." When applied to their own selves, participants thus seemed to regard gender roles more in terms of self-construction and embodiment.

As was the case for some of the gay/lesbian participants, some of the transgender participants explicitly talked about the self-construction of their masculinity and femininity. One transgender participant described how "I don't see myself as being balanced in both, but I definitely see both aspects within myself. I would say that I'm predominantly feminine, in the respect that I'm the 'Suzy Homemaker' type. I'm attempting to be nice, and do things nicely, and I'm not very aggressive, although I like to get my point across, whatever that point is. So I would say I am more feminine, but there are definitely aspects of masculinity. You know, when I want something done, I'm not afraid to say, 'this is what I have to have done, now you're going to do it,' whatever. You know, because I'm paying you or whatever the situation is, or because you were supposed to do this when you told me to. And I think that that's part of that masculinity, too, that all people should have. You have to have balance—to be able to live in the world and get what you need. And traditionally, I think people think of the masculine person as going out and taking what they want, and the feminine as being accepting, and acting nicely and sweetly around—instead of saying, 'This is what I need,' and going to get it."

As expressed by another transgender participant, this active self-construction of gender roles is a necessary part of the transgender experience: "I see myself as predominantly feminine, but with a healthy dose of social masculine. I am…I have absolutely no desire to ever say or pretend to be or go stuff. I will never deny the fact that for thirty years I lived as a man. I think that makes me stronger as a woman. I'm proud of that, I've lived. And actually survived. So I define myself as embodying both, but more woman than man. Although it's been a long time coming. It's getting ingrained culturally in sort of—behavior patterns, and the natural response—the default response—for the longest time is to respond in the old way, just act natural. At first you have to actively say, 'Okay, now how would a woman think?,' if you can imagine. But eventually it becomes ingrained, it becomes second nature, you shake off the dominant narrative, and you begin to express your own self, a sense of spirituality and connectedness. So I would describe myself as having reached a point where I am more feminine than masculine."

The idea among our transgender participants that masculinity and femininity were defined by different sets of socially constructed expressive behaviors was consistent with the findings from Green's (2005) interviews of eight female-to-male trans-men that similarly found agreement that masculinity was different from maleness and consisted of behaviors and actions defined by others' social expectancies. Rubin's (2003) sample of 22 FTM transsexuals also differentiated between the socially constructed behaviors that define masculinity versus the

personal and embodied identity that defines maleness. One interpretation is that some of the participants in the present study were simply giving the societally correct definitions of gender roles and gender identity, even though the participants themselves did not believe these definitions. It would, in fact, have been desirable to have asked a follow-up question about whether participants agreed with their stated definitions of masculinity, femininity, maleness, and femaleness.

To summarize, from the outside-looking-in perspective of the quantitative research presented in the previous chapter, it seemed reasonable to understand gender roles—masculinity and femininity—in terms of longstanding social definitions, performativity, and enforcement, partly conditioned by biological sex differences. In fact, there was good agreement among our straight, gay/lesbian, and transgender participants about the definitions of masculinity and femininity, which is consistent with the findings from the quantitative research discussed in the previous chapter. Such a positivistic approach and methodology, however, would have a difficult time incorporating the challenging and self-construction of these gender roles, including sexual behavior, proposed by feminist and queer theories. From the inside-looking-out perspective of the qualitative research on gender roles presented in this chapter, the importance of the self-constructed aspects of masculinity and femininity becomes apparent, even for the straight participants in our interview study. What our interviews reveal, however, even just at the level of understanding supposedly socially constructed gender roles, is the importance of embodiment—as it interacts with the socially constructed and self-constructed aspects of gender and sexuality. The issues of embodiment and the narratives of lived experience that integrate the dynamic interactions among socially constructed, self-constructed, and embodied aspects of gender and sexual identity are considered in the next chapter on transgender and trans-identity theory.

Chapter 5
Transgender and Trans-Identity Theory

As discussed in Chap. 2, among feminist theorists there has been considerable controversy over whether gender identity, as opposed to gender roles, is essential. Such an essentialist view of gender identity posits that being born physically male versus physically female immutably defines one's membership and self-identification in one side or the other of the gender binary. While essentialism is not the same as embodiment, there is the implication that the bodily experiences of being a woman versus being a man create a sense of identity independent of socially constructed definitions of the expected physical and behavioral manifestations of gender. Meanwhile, all feminist theorists could agree that it was these latter socially constructed aspects of gender that could be challenged and ultimately self-constructed for the personal and social empowerment of women.

The controversy, however, was about whether such gender role self-construction and empowerment required a sense of identity and solidarity with other women that came from essentializing gender identity. Queer theorists, wrestling with the intersectionality of gender identity with sexual identity, perceived such essentializing as a trap that limited the range and multitude of self-constructed, empowered, and intersecting expressions of gender, sexuality, and identity. Queer theorists thus rejected any essentializing of these identities. Here again, essential is not the same as embodiment, but queer theory has been criticized for its inability to encompass the transgender experience.

As will be seen in the next chapter, the interview responses of all of the transgender and some of the lesbian participants in our study indicated that these individuals believed that (1) their gender identity was at least partially defined by bodily experiences, i.e., embodied, but that (2) this gender identity was nevertheless fluid. These are the aspects of gender identity that are not easily understood from either a feminist theory or queer theory framework, and in the present chapter, we consider aspects of feminist and queer theory that have attempted to address these issues. The bulk of the chapter, however, is on the emerging transgender theory approaches to gender and sexual identity, as well as our own Trans-Identity theory.

Transgender Theory: Beyond Essentialism and Social Constructivism

While queer theory created more of a social and political space to accept variations in gender and sexual identities, many transgender individuals nevertheless express dissatisfaction with the purely social constructivist assumptions about gender identity inherent in the theory. A theory of gender identity, gender roles, and sexual orientation from the perspective of transgender individuals might be an even more radical challenge to traditional heteronormative beliefs about gender.

Transgenderism presents special challenges to both feminist and queer theories. A feminist theoretical approach to transgenderism that retains an essentialist view of gender would clearly be problematic. As Heyes (2003) points out, such an essentialist view would make one's body a proxy for identity, with female to male transgenders being betrayers of their oppressed identities, while male to female transgenders, who had relinquished male privilege, still would not be considered "real" women. The social and psychological meaning of being able to modify one's body with regard to gender would also be problematized. Heyes describes how "many MTF transsexuals are developing their own forms of feminist consciousness and expressing their own forms of politics by both refusing certain medical interventions and asserting their right to transform medical requirements" (p. 1115), i.e., some, but not all, transsexuals are rejecting the implicit essentialist assumption from feminist theory that gender identity derives from an unambiguously gendered body.

In terms of queer theory conceptualizations and political mobilizations regarding gender and sexual identities, there is often also a feeling in the transgender community that the gay/lesbian community really does not understand the nature of transgenderism. As Green (2004) points out:

> Many gay people do not understand how gender identity issues are related to sexual orientation. Many gays think that their community is about who they have sex with. They do not think about the violation of gender norms that homosexual expression constitutes in the eyes of heterosexual people. A gay man can be perceived as having more feminine qualities and a lesbian woman can be perceived as having more masculine qualities. Straight people often believe that gay people want to be the opposite sex or they think that crossdressing, transsexualism, and homosexuality mean the same thing. Much of the violence and oppression of transpeople is the perceived link between transness and homosexuality (p. 78).

While queer theory's ideas advance understanding of sexual identity and oppression and provide a voice for political challenge, as noted above, many transgender individuals express dissatisfaction with the purely social constructivist assumptions about gender identity that is inherent in queer theory. As Hausman (2001) argues, queer theory as applied to transgender individuals may still promote gender role stereotyping by seeming to accept gender categories, even as it attempts to queer, i.e., destabilize them. While queer theory may accept feminine males and masculine females, as well as a plurality of gender identities, it nevertheless builds on the assumption of the binary male versus female gender categories.

Transgenderism is in many ways a more radical challenge to traditional gender expectations. Bornstein (1994) quotes her transgender lover on whether the transgender community is like the lesbian/gay community, "no, because the lesbian/gay communities are based on who one relates to, whereas the transgender experience is different: it's about identity—relating to oneself" (p. 67).

Much contemporary social theory still describes gender and sexual orientation in a categorical context. The social meanings of who is "masculine" and who is "feminine" and what those gendered bodies do and/or feel about one another is what we refer to as "sex". Contemporary society uses the concept of gender and sexuality to note the difference between same-sex desires in normative-gendered individuals as being homosexuality, while the desire to transition to another gender is termed transsexuality (Valentine 2004). The fundamental problem of this type of language is the need to use descriptions of gender in a categorical way. The concern is that categories are used as if these categories were valid and complete descriptions of the experience, when such categories are not using all of the means for understanding that experience (Valentine 2004).

Lindsey (2005) also addresses the fundamental flaws with language in the context of gender identity. She asks, "How to describe, in accessible language, such complicated and personal issues as one's gender identity or the choice to medically transition or how a searing homophobic or transphobic remark can damage our psyches? How to define words like "transgender" or "transsexual" or "queer"-loaded words that some of us claim, others of us do not, and some do not even recognize or understand" (p. 185). The idea that we are just men and women, and the effortlessness of this binary view, can lead us to reify a simplistic binary view of gender (Looy and Bouma 2005). The fact that the majority of people are comfortable with this binary is often taken by heteronormative individuals as evidence that this system works and is functional as a whole.

As is apparent from the above discussion, sexual orientation is not the same as gender identity and becomes just as problematic for homosexuals and heterosexuals, if genders are, in fact, fluid, multiple, or not necessarily male nor female. The concept of transgenderism makes sexual orientation controversial on the individual level, leading some to identify as several orientations at once at different times. It also destabilizes the categories of heterosexual, gay, lesbian, or bisexual on a social level. It disrupts the means by which one's subcultural membership and sexual attraction are communicated (Monro 2000). The challenge of transgenderism is that, by suggesting a more essentialist basis of gender identity, it contrasts with the social construct approach of queer theory, discussed above, but its assertion of the fluidity of gender identity also contrasts with the essentialist, dichotomous view of traditional heteronormative gender theories.

The postmodernist view of transgender and transsexual people that can be derived from queer theory, attempts to address the fluidity, multiplicity, and paradoxes of gender identity that can be found in these groups. However, the gender politics that stems from this approach still tends to be based upon discrete male–female categories, even when practiced by feminists and gay rights advocates, thus remaining problematic. As Monro (2000) points out, even the postmodernist

model fails to account for the sense of self or the impact of social structures on the fluidity and plurality of gender expression.

Transgender theory as a critique of queer theory developed from Roen's (2001) ideas that transgenderism included more than just an "either/or" conceptualization that accepted the fluidity of gender identity but still retained the gender binary. Roen argued that transgenderism also included a "both/neither" conceptualization of gender identity outside the male/female binary, where transgenderism is seen as transgressing the gender binary, not necessarily about physically transitioning from one gender category to the other. While essentialism was based on the positivist perspective that each entity has to have certain characteristics and traits that are considered to be permanent and unalterable, a postmodernist view not only recognizes the fluidity of intersecting identities (Shields 2008), such as those of gender and sexuality, but it also recognizes the individuals caught between wanting an identity within a group and not wanting to be defined by this group identity (Hawkesworth 2006).

Broad (2002) suggests that "Gender categories were destabilized not only through assertions of not fitting either gender, but also through claims to actually being a bit of both. It is the notion of *transgender*, meaning both man and woman, that drives many in the gender community to hold up intersexuality as perhaps the best way to describe transgender existence…. The idea is that by being transgender, one really embodies an 'intersexual' identity of being both man and woman" (pp. 256–257).

Bornstein (1994) writes, "I never did feel like a girl or a woman; rather it was my unshakable conviction that I was not a boy or man. It was the absence of a feeling, rather than its presence, that convinced me to change my gender" (p. 24). Bornstein (1994) adds, "I'm constructing myself to be fluidly gendered now…. I don't consider myself a man, and quite frequently I doubt that I'm a woman. And you—you still think gender is the issue! Gender is not the issue. Gender is the battlefield. Or the playground. The issue is us versus them. Any us versus any them. One day we may not need that" (p. 222).

As someone quoted by Monro (2000) said:

> I think if you put the end aims of gay people and transgender people together you don't really have much gender left…if both sides get what they want I think it can only lead to complete breakdown of gender…I think it is possible to get rid of gender to some extent. Of course it depends on how you define gender. I mean I would tend to define gender in terms of not all the little bits and pieces that make up gender, like active, passive, weak and strong, but in terms of putting them together in one package (p. 36).

The second set of major ideas for transgender theory came from Monro's (2000) argument for the need to understand the lived experiences of transgenders and the limitations on the fluidity of gender imposed by the body and biology. She pointed out that even the postmodernist model fails to account for the sense of self or the impact of social structures on the fluidity and plurality of gender expression. Furthering the idea of the importance of embodiment in understanding one's gender and sexual identities, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) make the case that "the common social scientific reading of bodies as objects of a process of social construction is now widely considered to be inadequate. Bodies are involved more

actively, more intimately, and more intricately in social processes than theory has usually allowed. Bodies participate in social action by delineating courses of social conduct—the body is a participant in generating social practice" (p. 851). An example of this is Bornstein's (1994) description of transgender "gender outlaws" whose "mere presence is often enough to make people sick" (p. 72), i.e., whose physical being is in itself a political statement.

Many transgender theorists, however, recognized that the understanding of embodied experiences interacts with the socially constructed aspects of gender and sexual identities. Stryker (1994) notes that "bodies are rendered meaningful only through some culturally and historically specific mode of grasping their physicality that transforms the flesh into a useful artifact. Gendering is the initial step in this transformation, inseparable from the process of forming an identity by means of which we're fitted to a system of exchange in a heterosexual economy…. Gender attribution is compulsory; it codes and deploys our bodies in ways that materially affect us, yet we choose neither our marks nor the meanings they carry" (pp. 249–250).

There was thus a need for a theory of gender identity that incorporated both a fluid self-embodiment and a self-construction of identity that dynamically interacts with this embodiment in the context of social expectations and lived experiences. Tauchert (2002) agreed that an "essentialist" view of gender as being based on the body (e.g., femaleness as deriving from the potential for pregnancy and childbirth) reinforces traditional stereotypes about gender and gender roles. Nevertheless, she argued that conceptualizing gender as being solely a social construct is also problematic in denying the sense of identity that comes from a body that continues to exist as a seeming self between the social performances of gendered behaviors. The social constructivist approach also undercuts any basis, other than personal choice, i.e., self-construction, for feminine identity to counter the political assumptions and consequent social dominance associated with masculinity. Tauschert (2002) saw the social constructivist approach as an assertion of the mental over the physical that is consistent with the mind–body dualism that is the basis for Western thought, in which the mind is seen as being separate and dominant over the physical body. In contrast, she proposed a "fuzzy gender" approach that recognizes the essential continuity between the body and the mind, where everything consists of "shades of grey" in moving between more physical versus more mental aspects of gender. Such an approach still allows for recognizing the variations in gender identity and gender-related behaviors and sexuality, while also acknowledging the range of experiences, from physical or essentialist to wholly socially constructed, that are associated with gender.

Hird's (2002) history of theories of transsexuality similarly moved from essentialist to social constructionist ideas of gender to even more progressive ideas about the nature of gender identity, arguing that transsexualism purposefully violates and transgresses society's naturalization of sexual differences. Beginning with theories concerned with "authenticity," which assumed a real, presumably biologically based and measurable, binary gender paradigm from which transsexuals were deviant, feminist theory spurred the shift from an emphasis on authenticity to one based on "performativity," where gender identity is seen as solely an expression of learned social

behaviors and cognitions. Performativity theories (e.g., Butler 1990) are based on the idea of symbolic interactionism, i.e., "the continuous interactive processes between how individuals establish and maintain conceptions of self by reflecting back images of the self as objects" (Hird 2002, p. 585). Symbolic interactionism, in turn, challenges the authenticity of ideas of identity by not assuming that personal identity is a stable, coherent, and morphologically based object (Goffman 1971; Mead 1934). The extent to which transsexual individuals can "pass" as "real" men or women supports the assertion that sex and gender do not naturally adhere to particular bodies.

Where Hird's (2002) ideas go beyond feminist and queer theories is when she proposes that transgender theories lead to notions of "transgression," where the nature of the transsexual "renders obsolete the modern relationship of sex and gender." In terms of sexuality, Norton (1997) describes how "the m-t-f transgender who is attracted to men radically destabilizes the meaning of heterosexuality, in that her desire constitutes a homo-heterosexuality that deprives the regulatory homo/hetero binary of its force. Amidst the convolutions of transgender sexuality, it is no longer clear who it is that is desirous of whom, and in what kind of role relation. Even more vertiginously, the pronominal function itself breaks down, since the transgender antecedent is multivalent: it is not clear what 's/he' means" (p. 144). Here we see how transgenderism invokes the issue of the intersectionality of gender and sexual identities.

This transgender theory idea of fluid, embodied, and socially and self-constructed social identity can inform understanding of intersectional oppressed identities. This approach to intersectional oppressed identities would consider the different embodied experiences and different social oppressions associated with having multiple social identities, as well as the narratives of lived experiences through which individuals understand and negotiate these identities. For example, Namaste (2009) criticizes Anglo-American feminist theory for not considering the centrality of labor, prostitution, and social class to the bodies, identities, and lives of transsexual women. She notes how prostitution is often the only way for these women to be able to afford sex reassignment surgery and that this identity, based on labor, inevitably is a part of these individuals' transgender identities. That social class as an identity has embodied, as well as socially constructed and imposed aspects, is consistent with Adair's (2002) idea of poverty being physically "written on the body," as manifested in subconscious cowering postures and health problems from years of impoverishment and manual labor. Similar conceptions of embodied versus socially constructed aspects of racial identity are proposed by Collins (2005). In the following sections, we consider feminist theorists' ideas about embodiment, before returning to our expansion of transgender theory in Trans-Identity theory.

Identity as "Written on the Body"

The issue of identity being written on the body, interestingly, arose from attempts to understand gender identity as it intersected with other oppressed social identities, particularly those of race and social class. The phrase "written on the body" is

about how one's identity is determined and objectified by physical forces, particularly social ones. In this section we consider the writings of Linda Alcoff (2006), Siobhan Somerville (2000), and Vivyan Adair (2002) to elucidate different feminist theory conceptualizations of the ways that these physical forces work to determine the identities of individuals in oppressed identity categories.

For Alcoff, the key to the objectification of identity is one's physical appearance, which automatically puts one in an identity category that the dominant culture can then define.

> They (sex and race) are most defiantly physical, marked on and through the body, lived as a material experience, visible as surface phenomena, and determinant of economic and political status. Social identities cannot be adequately analyzed without an attentiveness to the role of the body and of the body's visible identity…. The social identities of race and gender operate ineluctably through their bodily markers; they do not transcend their physical manifestations because they are their physical manifestation, despite the fact that the same features can support variable identifies depending on how the system of marking works in a given culture (Alcoff 2006, p. 102).

For Alcoff, it is the visibility of certain identity categories that makes them particularly prone to politicization and to the enforcement of identity and behavior.

> In our society, today, race and gender operate without a doubt as visible identities; their visibility is key to the ideological claims that race and gender categories are natural, and that conflict is understandable because of our fears of what looks different. Visibility is also vital to how race and gender operate in the social world to allocate roles and to structure interactions. Thus, the experience of embodiment is in important respects a radicalized and gender-differentiated experience (Alcoff 2006, p. 103).

On the other hand, Alcoff (2006) makes a distinction between physically visible identities, such as gender, that are considered to be universal, natural, and taken for granted versus visible identities, such as race, that are more socially defined and politically charged. She argues that these latter visible identities are particularly powerful in objectifying the identities of members of oppressed identity categories. Alcoff states, "One could make an overall point here about the lack of analogy between racial/ethnic/cultural identities, on one hand, and identities such as age, disabilities and sex on the other. All are generally visible identifies, naturalized as marked on the body without mediation. But the markings that signify age, disability, and sex are qualitatively different in significance from those signifying race, ethnicity, and culture. This is not an argument about the virulence or priority of various form or targets of oppression. It is simply an argument about the quality of the physical basis for sex categories vis-à-vis race categories" (Alcoff 2006, p. 165).

Alcoff (2006) points out that race is less physical than gender, where physical features are a sign of cultural not biological difference and are less stable, bounded, and essential than sex, based on the biological division of reproductive labor. The gender division has zero meaning for anything else in life, but the problem is to name and specify sexual difference without giving characteristics eternal life. Race is phenomenologically real but is based on a social ontology which is dependent on social practice. The paradox is that race is thus irrelevant biologically but politically and socially vital. It is notable how these ideas of concealable

versus invisible stigmatized social identities relate to the quantitative research ideas and findings on gender-related social perceptions and prejudices we presented in Chap. 3.

Rather than separating and prioritizing identity categories, Somerville (2000) argues that race, gender, and sexuality are intertwined through history and not separate constructs in determining and objectifying the identities of those in oppressed identity categories. She agrees with Alcoff on the power of the dominant culture to objectify and politicize identities based on physical appearance, but argues that other, less visible identities also inevitably get mixed into this objectification and politicization process. This idea is consistent with Shields' (2008) ideas about the intersectionality of multiple oppressed social identities being a dynamic and interactive rather than an additive process.

Sommerville provides numerous historical examples of these intertwinings of different identity objectifications and politicizations, where "although scientists debated which particular anatomical features carry racial meanings (skin, facial angle, pelvis, skull, brain mass, genitalia), the theory that anatomy predicted intelligence and behavior remained remarkably constant. Behind these anatomical measurements lay the assumption that the body was a legible text" (Sommerville 2000, p. 23). In terms of how individuals understood their relationships within the world, the *nonwhite* body and the *nonheterosexual* body was seen as being pathological and inverted. Women's genitalia and reproductive anatomy held a valuable and presumably vital key to ranking bodies according to norms of sexuality, and this was confounded with racial stratification. In 1867, Flower & Murie compared the anatomy of African to those of White women and noted that the former had protruding buttocks and labia minora that were "sufficiently well marked to distinguish these parts from those of any *ordinary varieties* of human species." The racial difference of the African body was located in its literal excess, a specifically sexual excess that placed her body *outside the boundaries of the "normal" female* (pp. 26–27). Similarly a contemporary secondhand report by a scientific friend residing at the Cape of Good Hope referred to women's genitalia as appendages, with African American women said to have *double appendages* and to *flutter between genders*, at one moment masculine, at the next moment exaggeratedly feminine. *Sexual ambiguity* was said to delineate the boundaries of race. Medical journals as late as 1921 stated that "*physical examination* of [female homosexuals] will in practically every instance disclose an abnormally prominent clitoris, particularly so in colored women." There was a distinction between the "*free*" clitoris of "negresses" and the "*imprisonment*" of the clitoris of the "Aryan American woman."

Somerville (2000) argues for the need to understand the experience of individuals in oppressed identity categories in terms of how the dominant culture has simultaneously defined and politicized several categories. "The analogy often drawn between lesbian/gay and African American studies has produced unfortunate effects, including the illusion that they are parallel, rather than intersecting, bodies of scholarship…. In establishing the field, scholars have been preoccupied with distinguishing and separating categories of gender, race and, sexuality from

one another. But it is now necessary to account for ways in which these formulations have often depended on fixing other categories of difference…the challenge is to recognize the instability of multiple categories of difference simultaneously rather than to assume the fixity of one to establish the complexity of another" (Sommerville 2000, pp. 4–5).

While Sommerville describes how less physically visible identity categories become objectified and politicized along with the more visible ones, Adair's thesis is that, even for the less visible identity category of social class, the dominant culture conditions and brutalizes individuals in oppressed identity categories to make these individuals conform to the objectified expectations of these categories. Adair states, "…the bodies of poor women and children are produced and positioned as texts that facilitate the mandated of a didactic, profoundly brutal and mean-spirited political regime" (Adair 2002, p. 451). It is not just that one's experiences of embodiment are defined by socially constructed expectations of behavior and appearance, but that these expectations, through mechanisms of enforcing social conformity, actually change the body to make it more physically fit those social expectations. This idea that identity embodiment interacts with the social construction of identity in both directions is further explored in the next section of this chapter and is an important aspect of our Trans-Identity theory.

For Adair (2002), the identity category of poverty and low social class is literally written on the body through past illnesses, lack of medical care, lack of nourishment, insufficient clothing, and greater likelihood of physical abuse. Class identity then becomes manifest in physical appearance and behaviors. "Classes are inscribed upon the body in mannerisms as fundamental as those of sexuality, gender, and race" (Adair 2002, p. 453). In turn, all members of society are conditioned to maintain this identity category, that "simple, stable, and often widely skewed cover stories tell us what is 'wrong' with some people, what is normative, and what is pathological; by telling us who 'bad' poor women are, we reaffirm and reevaluate who we, as a nation and as a people—of allegedly good, middle-class, white, able-bodied, independent, male citizens— are" (Adair 2002, p. 455).

While Alcoff (2006) would continue to argue for the primacy of the more physically visible race over social class as the identity category most determined by the dominant society and most salient to the individual, Somerville (2000) would note the many ways that class identity is historically and culturally inextricably intertwined with race, gender, and sexual identity. If, however, Adair (2002) is correct about the power of the dominant culture to physically brutalize members of subordinate identity categories to conform to the expectations of that dominant culture, one may be pessimistic about the ability of individuals in more possibly physically determined categories, such as gender, or more socially salient and physically apparent categories, such as race, to determine their own identities. "These dramas produce 'normative' citizens as independent, stable, rational, ordered, and free. In this dichotomous, hierarchical frame the poor welfare mother is juxtaposed against a logic of 'normative' subjectivity as the embodiment of dependency, disorder, disarray, and otherness. Her broken and scarred body becomes proof of her inner pathology and chaos, suggesting the need for further punishment and discipline"

(Adair 2002, p. 462). Alcoff's perspective is more optimistic, proposing that "a more plausible account of the self…would hold that neither public identity nor lived subjectivity are separable entities, fundamentally distinct, or entirely independent of the other" (Alcoff 2006, p. 93).

In the conclusion of *Queering the Color Line*, Somerville (2000) provides some complementary afterthoughts on how individuals can respond to the social forces that multiply determine and objectify one's identities. In particular she discusses Leslie Feinberg's semiautobiographical novel *Stone Butch Blues* about arriving at a "transgender" identity, voice, and subjectivity that transcends the socially defined gender category. Ironically, it is the multiplicity of intersectional identities that allows Feinberg to achieve this, that "the emergence of this transgendered voice and subjectivity is mediated through racial discourses…through repeated invocations of Native American and African American culture and identity" (Somerville 2000, p. 171).

One can think of the term "written on the body" as the external basis of embodiment. Gender is theoretically written on the body by one's primary and secondary sex characteristics. The secondary sex characteristics are presumably essential and are what determines one's gender identity. For feminist theorists, however, there is still the question of the implications of believing these embodied aspects of social identities are essential, i.e., defining of identity independent of social constructions, versus believing that such embodied experiences are only understandable in terms of social constructions.

Queer theorists, on the other hand, believe that you can modify the external for the sake of performativity. Making your body counter to the expected performance and appearance can be considered to be queering your physical identity. To perform queer, your own gender can still be performative and written on your body. Presumably, other social identities, such as social class, can also be queered through counter-expectation performances and physical appearance. Such an approach, where all aspects of embodiment are socially constructed and thus able to be queered, dismisses the idea that embodied experiences may, in fact, be determinative of identity independent of these socially constructed aspects. In the next section we discuss feminist theorists who have considered these issues.

Embodiment

As Rubin (2003) states, "To get our heads around 'the body' we must come to terms with the experiences that subjects have of their bodies. Simply stated, subjectivity matters" (p. 11).

The social sciences in many ways have treated embodiment as the intersection of observed realities. To the extent that behavior can be observed, science can then measure its impact and social desirability. One could argue that social science does not understand embodiment, even as it rests upon such embodied manifestations in order to understand the psyche. The feeling that the mind and body are separate

yet undeniably connected leaves us with more questions than answers. "The body refers to a layer of corporeal materiality, a substratum of living matter endowed with memory. The 'self' meaning an entity endowed with identity, is anchored in this living matter, whose materiality is coded and rendered in language" (Braidotti 1994, p. 165).

One can ask the question, though, as to the extent that the mind can process and understand that living within the "casing" of the physical body can change one's perceptions of internal and external psychological reality. Living in your own skin is unique to each individual, and the understanding of what this phenomenon means has continued to elude researchers.

Maybe we can understand this process through the outside-looking-in perspective of science or we can move toward the inside-looking-out postmodern attempts to understand embodiment by listening to people's stories. Yet, as we came to write this, we soon realized that even the postmodernist movement has failed us in understanding embodiment. Namaste (2000) discusses the how both feminist and queer theories have used trans bodies as a way to self-promote their own essentialist and socially constructed views of gender identity. While queer studies remains a "hospitable place to undertake transgender work, all too often *queer* remains a code word for 'gay' or 'lesbian,' and all too often transgender phenomena are misapprehended through a lens that privileges sexual orientation and sexual identity as the primary means of differing from heteronormativity" (Stryker 2004, p. 214). At the same time, the gender politics that surround trans individuals offers a continued counter-example of gender identity as conceptualized by feminists as innate and queer theorists as performative. The idea that one can articulate the complex feelings, emotions, and physical responses of being in one's own body, while at the same time understanding the complex exterior world in which you interact with, is complex at best. Elliott argues "that the acquisition of sexed embodiment is crucial to the being and well being of all human subjects" and that "the social construction of gender shapes but does not determine how one inhabits or fails to inhabit a sex" (p. 104).

Rubin (2003) discusses how he wants to move the discourse away from the emphasis on central self and look more toward experience. Rubin goes on to articulate, "We must ask ourselves what it means that individuals feel like they have a 'true self,' even if we accept the idea that (gender) identities are fictionalized constructs of our collective imagination" (p. 12). Johnson (2012) argues that trans "embodied subjectivity" should be looked at as an ongoing process of *becoming* male or female. In turn, Prosser (1998) discusses this process as "entering into a lengthy, formalized, and normally substantive transition: a correlated set of corporeal, psychic, and social changes" (p. 4). For many trans individuals, this sense of "true self" can be well articulated in spite of a change in their physical body. For others, there is this deep need to move toward the feeling of embodiment versus before, where there was "an initial absence and subsequent striving for" (p. 7) the feeling of embodiment and a need to feel whole. In addition, one may argue that the actual change in the physical body and subsequent embodiment can help the individual to come to a better understanding of ones "true self," a "true self" that

is caught in the in-between of a world that only limits one to the gender binary categories, when in fact the construct of gender is limitless. "For many transsexuals, the rejection of the ascribed sex is not necessarily or even primarily a refusal of gender norms, but an inability to inhabit with any degree of comfort the sex to which those norms supposedly apply" (Elliott 2010, p. 98). If we as humans are limiting the possibilities of gender, then can we venture to say that the trans subject sees no limits and is rather exploring the infinite amount of gender variations that occur in nature.

Elliott (2010) notes that acquiring a sexed body is a complex social and relational psychosexual process with unconscious dimensions that need to be analyzed in terms of their meaning and structure, not "normalized, pathologized, or ignored" (p. 104). Tying one's sense of internal self to outside forces has continued to present identity as being somewhat contingent on social construction and society's acceptance of trans individuals. Butler (2004) discusses how, "One only determines 'one's own' sense of gender to the extent that social norms exist that support and enable the act of claiming gender for oneself. One is dependent on this 'outside' to lay claim to what is one's own. The self must, in this way, be dispossessed in sociality in order to take possession of itself" (p. 7). While we can move to essentialism to understand the physical bodied experiences, and we can attempt to articulate the social forces that interact within our daily lives, embodiment still requires a need to transcend both the physical and social dynamic in an attempt to experience these processes. With the discourse of embodiment becoming an ever changing dialog, though, one can wonder if trying to theorize embodiment has led us to actually essentialize *and* socially construct what embodiment should be to the individual. This is limiting the understanding of embodiment in a mere attempt to categorize what being male or being female truly is. If embodiment is contingent on the body in which you were born, then how do physical, psychological, and social factors change one's experiences of embodiment? Assuming that embodiment is not stagnate, but ever changing, one can then draw conclusions about the existence or lack thereof of a central self. Even though you have had embodied experiences, do these experiences map onto your identity, and if so, do they create a central essential self in which you experience the world around you or an ongoing changeable embodiment that creates a false sense of central self? Have we essentially queered embodiment? As Wilchins (2001) notes, "Perhaps all identification is a kind of displacement, a loss of self that is replaced by a reference to something else that one is not. But if that's so, identity is not a natural facto of bodies: it is a history. It emerged though specific kinds of language and knowledge that were a response to certain cultural needs" (p. 48).
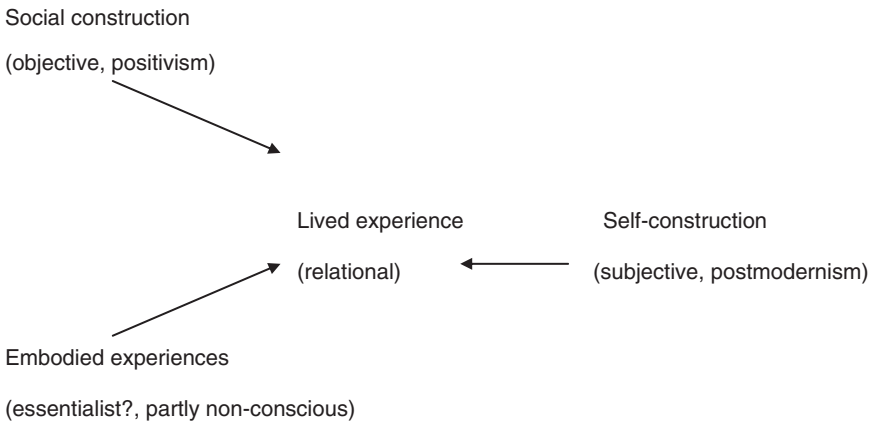
If we have queered embodiment, then where does this leave the individual who digests their world in a seemingly subjective context, where gender as a reality can be constructed, deconstructed, and almost pushed aside in a desperate attempt to understand identity and embodiment. To even assume that everyone wants to feel a sense of embodiment and wholeness can be scrutinized and argued. The socially constructed world that limits us can also be the world that enables us to transcend reality. If one believes that there are not multiple adequate gender expressions that can be

articulated and performed, can one then turn against identity as the key, the central self as the key if you will, and strive for another way to piece together the puzzle. With so much resistance to identity and resistance to understanding the meaning of embodiment, one can see how the queering of embodiment has left so many without a sense of central self and a feeling of being whole in the casing they call their body.

Wilchins discusses the intersection of theory and agency, stating "deconstructing subjectivity is not enough. Theory at some point will need to engage with us individuals. It is not enough to deconstruct someone's *docile body* or the *dressage of gender* they live in without engaging how that feels for him or her" (2004, p. 105). Salamon (2010) criticizes both theoretical approaches that render even embodied experiences as social constructions and theoretical approaches that emphasize a "real," embodied gender. In her words, "How we embody gender is how we theorize gender and to suggest otherwise is to misunderstand both theorization and embodiment" (pp. 71–72). While arguing that the queering of gender must include an understanding of embodied experiences, she also argues that the embodying of transgressive gender includes a performance "with a complexity and a self-awareness that are rendered invisible if we understand them as simply opposed to a theorizing that is unnecessarily complicated and complicating" (p. 72). She is clearly arguing for an understanding of gender identity as an interaction among socially constructed, theorized/self-constructed, and embodied processes.

Trans-Identity Theory

Diagram: Trans-Identity Theory

Social construction
(objective, positivism)

Lived experience
(relational)

Self-construction
(subjective, postmodernism)

Embodied experiences
(essentialist?, partly non-conscious)

Our Trans-Identity theory (Nagoshi and Brzuzy 2010) developed in the course of our narrative process of trying to pull together a conceptual framework that built on the ideas of transgender theorists like Roen (2001) and Monro (2000),

while also encompassing and explaining the findings from both our quantitative and qualitative research on gender and sexual identity. When the interview study was first being conceptualized, we already had the feminist theory view that gender roles were socially constructed, and both the quantitative and qualitative research findings presented in Chaps. 3 and 4 supported this conceptualization from both an external and internal, relative to the individual, point of view. The feminist and queer theory view could not be denied, that expected gender and sexual behaviors and physical appearances were socially determined and enforced by external social mechanisms of stereotyping, socialization, and reinforcement/ punishment and by internal identifications resulting from the repeated performance of these expected behaviors and appearances. From this, we accepted the implicit assertions of feminist and queer theories that the socially constructed aspects of gender and/or sexual identity meant that these aspects were not fixed in the embodiment of the individual and, therefore, could be challenged and reconfigured. Such a queering of social identities, however, implied the action of "free will," which opened the whole can of worms associated with Cartesian mind–body dualism which Tauschert (2002) critiques in her justification for her "fuzzy gender" approach.

From the writings of transgender theorists, but particularly from the interview responses of the transgender participants with regard to the fluidity of gender identity and the need for the body to match one's gender identity, which will be presented in the next chapter, it was clear that embodiment was another source of gender and sexual identity that was largely overlooked in feminist and queer theories of gender. The transgender participants' stories of negotiating a gendered world, presented in Chap. 7, reflected these participants' acute awareness of the socially constructed, embodied, and self-constructed aspects of their gender and sexual identities. What was also apparent from these stories, however, was how narratives were used to make sense of these different aspects of gender and sexual identity and to provide a sense of identity coherence, in spite of the radical changes in the socially constructed, embodied, and self-constructed aspects of gender and sexual identity experienced by these transgender individuals. The narrative of lived experience was clearly particularly important for transgender individuals, as Monro (2000) asserts. These were the threads from which Trans-Identity theory was formed.

While we were in the process of writing up and rewriting the Nagoshi and Brzuzy (2010) article, a reviewer for *Affilia* made us aware of an article by Shotwell and Sangrey that was published in a special issue of *Hyapatia* on transgenderism in 2009. Shotwell and Sangrey proposed a "relational" model of feminist theory that had many of the same ideas we were building into Trans-Identity theory. They built on earlier ideas by Brison (2002) to better conceptualize the complexity, experiences of oppression, and gender formation of transgender indivduals. In this model, as in transgender theory, embodiment is seen as an essential component of the self. Shotwell and Sangrey also explicitly argue for the role of self-construction as a narrative process and that this autonomous aspect of self exists in relation to and in interactions with the social

environment. Whether one regards Shotwell and Sangrey's model as an extension of feminist theory or as a distinct transgender theory is dependent on whether one believes that feminist theory can accept an embodied but fluid basis for gender identity.

In our Trans-Identity theory, we propose a further refinement of Shotwell and Sangrey's (2009) model, where an individual's identity within a social categorization is understood as a continually dynamic interaction between three sources (Nagoshi and Brzuzy 2010). First, consistent with Shotwell and Sangrey and with transgender theory, there is an embodied aspect of the self that generates bodily experiences, some of them undoubtedly unconscious, that really are essential for informing one's identity. Consistent with theorists like Salamon (2010), however, we recognize that embodied experiences are also partially understood through socially constructed processes, and vice versa. Agreeing with Tauschert (2002), we reject a mind–body dualism that completely separates the cognizing about identity from embodied experiences.

The second part of our Trans-Identity theory, also consistent with Shotwell and Sangrey, is the proposal of an explicitly self-constructed aspect of identity, one that derives meaning from the narrative of lived experiences. The ability to self-construct one's identity is also the basis from which queer theory's subversion of socially constructed and imposed identities can occur. The deliberately exaggerated "performances" of expected gendered behaviors is an example of such self-constructed subversions.

For Trans-Identity theory, however, it is necessary to explicitly define the socially constructed aspect of identity as a third source of identity. Consistent with Butler (1990), the social environment does essentialize social identity by enforcing individuals to conform to the expectations of identity categories, particularly when individuals belong to a socially subordinate identity category, and the repeated performances of these individuals in conformity with these expectations also acts as an essentializing force. Note that this is a different kind of "essentializing" than what is derived from embodied experiences in that it is the society that enforces a seemingly objective identity.

Finally, in our Trans-Identity formulation, the autonomous self exists only in relationship to and interactions with these embodied, self-constructed, and socially constructed aspects of identity. In turn, this autonomous self can only be understood in terms of the narrative of one's lived experiences that actively integrates these aspects of identity. These ideas are consistent with Alcoff's (2006) idea that "a more plausible account of the self…would hold that neither public identity nor lived subjectivity are separable entities, fundamentally distinct, or entirely independent of the other" (p. 93). These ideas are also consistent with Johnson's (2012) idea that transgender identity is an "embodied subjectivity" that should be looked at as an ongoing process of *becoming* male or female.

If we do not want to limit bodily experiences as the only measure of the body, then Trans-Identity theory offers a way to rectify this predicament by looking at lived experience and embodiment as both a socially constructed and essentially based manifestation of lived experience. Stryker and Whittle (2006) discuss how

transgender studies have in fact helped to "demonstrate the extent to which *soma*, the body as a culturally intelligible construct, and *techne*, the techniques in and through which bodies are transformed and positioned are inextricably interpenetrated" (p.12). Trans studies have much to offer feminist and queer theories, as a way of documenting the "subjugated knowledges" of trans individuals that have been either devalued, buried (Stryker 2004), or erased (Namaste 2000).

Trans studies also have the opportunity to move away from purely theoretical discourse and move toward issues of the agency of real transgender individuals. What does this mean for the trans individual who sits on the outskirts of academic theorization and mobility? How can we move away from the treatment of the trans community as outcasts for us to study and instead embrace transgenderism as being the core of understanding the infinite possibilities that gender and sex have to offer us? Trans-Identity theory offers a way to connect the theoretical understandings of essentialism, social constructivism, and embodiment to both lived experience and agency. The essentialist debate at the intersection of what we believe a body should be limits us to the understanding of many trans individuals who choose to transgress their outer casing. This is not to say that there is not an essentialist portion to trans-identity. What do we mean by essentialism? Essentialism is defined by the belief that the manifestations of being in a social identity category are inevitably tied to biologically determined aspects of that identity. The feminist argument is that, where being in the gender identity category is essential, the expected manifestations of that identity, i.e., gender roles, appearance, sexuality, etc., are social constructions. To say that bodily experiences are "essential" for understanding one's identity in a category like gender is simply to acknowledge that there are such experiences that exist independently of socially constructed understandings.

Some argue that there is not a core trans essentialist identity that pertains to the body and that the trans body is merely an artifact constructed by the limitations of medicine and science. On the other hand, many trans individuals actually have an essentialist identity that transgresses onto the physical body, even if that body does not match their gender identity. Why deny them their lived experience?

If there is an essentialist component to transgressing gender, then there is also the ability to embody the actual transgression. Does embodying a fluid gender identity then create the ability to transgress, but at the same time, create multiple essentialist and fluid identities? With this transgression, do we then map onto the socially constructed definition of the other biological sex? Does a trans individual have to deny their biological sex, as they move toward the opposite physical sex? Halberstam (1998) writes that "many subjects, not only transsexual subjects, do not feel at home in their bodies," that "there are a variety of gender-deviant bodies under the sign of nonnormative masculinities and femininities, and the task at hand is not to decide which represents the place of most resistance but to begin the work of documenting their distinctive features" (p. 148). "Documenting" these "distinctive features" would then create new gender categories and thus would destabilize the existing binary system (Hausman 2001). Hird suggests that "confronted with analyses of heteronormativity, marginalization in lesbian and gay

communities, and the general fragmentation of identities, multiplying sexes/genders seems to offer a way to express a variety of sexed and gendered identities without anyone actually having to give up their 'chosen' identity" (2000, p. 359).

Understanding the essential components of gender, while embodying the essentialist and socially constructed aspects, gives us the opportunity to move beyond solely feminist and queer theories and opens up the possibility of understanding the complex human being as multifaceted, complex, grounded, and yet changeable. This is the intersection of understanding the fixed, lived, and embodied experience and the experience that is also changeable and fluid. This is the past that constructs identity at the intersection of a future that carries limitless possibilities. Trans-Identity theory offers a grounding in essential, physical processes that one can embody, while at the same understanding the large vortex of influence that comes with society's fixation of understanding gender as a minimalist category. Society, for the most part, dictates the standards of what we conceive gender to be, a socially constructed web of ideologies that has been criticized for its inability to connect to and understand the individual human experience.

We argue that the understanding of one's essential nature, embodied experiences, and socially constructed influences can be grounded in a theory and move towards agency. The threads of the fabric that have been so strongly pulled on, in order to serve the political and social agendas of the time, can now be interwoven to build on and strengthen the importance of what true lived experience is. Understanding people's lived experiences and stories, gives us the opportunity to move toward an interdisciplinary realm where identity is not looked at as being additive but rather intersectional, embodied, and socially embedded.

Chapter 6
Embodied Identities

This chapter centers on the responses from our interview study of straight, gay/lesbian, and transgender individuals regarding the definitions of male and female, own gender identity, whether such gender identity is fluid, and whether one's body has to match one's gender identity. Our quantitative study of straight individuals' definitions of male versus female, presented in Chap. 3, showed that these individuals cognitively structured gender in terms of separable behavioral aspects, masculinity/instrumentality and femininity/expressivity, and a bipolar physical aspect, male versus female, that included sexual orientation. Gender roles thus seemed to be understood as being learned behaviors, but gender identity itself had strong embodied aspects. In Chap. 4, we then presented the interview responses of straight, gay/lesbian, and transgender individuals regarding their definitions and understandings of masculinity and femininity and how they viewed themselves in terms of these gender roles. Consistent with the quantitative research, nearly all of our interview participants, regardless of whether they were straight, gay/lesbian, or transgender, were in agreement as to what defined masculinity and femininity, and most also understood these gendered behaviors as being learned social constructs. As discussed at the end of Chap. 4, however, what emerged from our qualitative research on gender roles was the notion that these socially constructed behaviors may also have embodied aspects, something brought up by one straight participant and by several gay/lesbian and transgender participants.

Given this background, it is clear that embodiment is the key issue for understanding our interview responses with regard to gender identity. As discussed in Chap. 2, however, the acceptance and understanding of embodiment is controversial for both feminist and queer theory conceptualizations of gender and sexual identity, threatening to trap feminist theory in gender essentialism, while rendering queer theory irrelevant for comprehending this aspect of identity. The transgender/trans-identity approaches presented in the previous chapter attempt to integrate and transcend feminist and queer theory ideas about gender and sexual identity by incorporating a dynamic conceptualization of embodiment. As will be seen in the interview responses presented in this chapter, for our participants, particularly some of the lesbian and all of the transgender ones, embodiment is very important for understanding gender identity. This challenges

queer theory conceptualizations of gender and sexual identities as being primarily social constructs reified through repeated performances of the socialized behaviors/appearances associated with these identities. In turn, the belief among these same lesbian and transgender individuals that this embodied gender identity is, nevertheless, fluid challenges essentialist strands of feminist theory regarding gender identity. Here we have the essence of transgender theory, Monro's (2000) idea of fluid embodiment and Roen's (2001) idea of "both/neither" regarding gender identity.

Before proceeding to the qualitative research on gender identity, however, there needs to be a discussion of the methodological issues that arise from trying to research embodiment. Unlike the socially constructed aspects of gender and sexual identity, which by definition need to be socially communicated and learned, there is no easily accessible language for communicating body experiences. In the previous chapter, we noted Salamon's (2010) assertion that, while understanding embodied experiences is clearly important for the understanding and queering of gender, the individual's understanding of their body experiences involves a dynamic interaction between what is physically experienced and how these experiences are theorized and self-consciously performed, i.e., it is difficult, if not impossible to disentangle body experiences from the social construction of those experiences.

Rice (2009), in dissecting her experiences interviewing women about their body experiences related to ideals of feminine beauty, raises a number of challenging methodological issues. How does one get women to talk about "body secrets," aspects of their physical appearance, considered taboo to discuss? To what extent does the body manifestation of the interviewer affect the body self-consciousness of the interviewee? To what extent do the unexamined and unarticulated body experiences of the interviewer get imposed on the interpretations of the body experiences of the interviewee? Rice argues for a "de-centering" approach that, through the narrative interactions between the interviewer and interviewee, allows the interviewer to understand the body experiences of the interviewee from the perspective of the interviewee.

The issues brought up by Salamon (2010) and Rice (2009) are rarely considered in qualitative research on the embodied experiences of nonheteronormative individuals, and our interview study was also guilty of this sin. As noted previously, nearly all of the interviews with our gay/lesbian and transgender participants were conducted by Julie, an apparently straight, attractive, white woman. How this affected our participants' interpretations of their body experiences is unknown. Even without this bias, and without in any way invalidating what our participants said, it is likely that participants' interpretations of their body experiences were to some extent filtered through their social and self-constructions of the nature of gender and sexual identity.

Qualitative Research on Gender Identity in Transgender Individuals

Qualitative research with transgender individuals on their understandings of gender roles, masculinity versus femininity, and gender identity, maleness versus femaleness, has consistently found that these individuals view gender roles as

being social constructs, but gender identity of necessity had an embodied component. While Devor's (1997) interviews of 45 female-to-male transsexuals led her to the conclusion that gender was a social construct, the responses of the remaining participants, in accordance with transgender theory (e.g., Monro 2000), supported the idea that gender identity may have an embodied aspect somewhat independent of the social construction of gender.

Rubin's (2003) interviews of 22 female-to-male transsexuals replicated Devor's (1997) findings. Rubin's (2003) participants also felt that their gender identity was to some great extent embodied in their physical being, with many participants believing in the necessity of a surgical transformation to make their body conform to their gender identity.

In Chap. 3, we discussed Green's (2005) interview study of eight trans-men and four non-trans-men about their notions of masculinity, whether maleness and masculinity are the same thing, whether masculinity depends on having a male body/having a penis, how does a trans-man (FTM) come to understand their masculinity, where does masculinity come from, how is masculinity expressed, and what does it mean to be masculine or to have masculinity. Green's participants unanimously agreed that maleness and masculinity were not the same thing and that masculinity was not dependent on having a male body/penis. Consistent with the idea of masculinity being a social construct, most participants described masculinity as being determined by behaviors or actions based on peoples' expectations that are placed on the male body in any given culture. As in Devor's (1997) and Rubin's (2003) studies, Green's participants differentiated between the socially constructed behaviors that define masculinity versus the personal and embodied identity that defines maleness.

Roen's (2001) interview study of 11 self-identified transsexual and transgender people, asking about their gender experiences, perceptions, and identification, including self-identificatory and political positions, took a different approach to understanding these individuals' conceptualiztions for gender identity. Starting from the theoretical assumption that transgendered individuals are either "either/or" in their orientation, in which one tries to "pass" as either a man or a woman, versus "both/neither," where one refuses to fit within the categories of woman and man, Roen, in fact, found that her participants reported having to constantly negotiate and navigate between those two orientations. To quote one participant: "I know that I'm a combination of both, but it's not as if I'm going to go around with a sign on my head with 'transsexual' on it. All [onlookers] are going to perceive me as one or the other. To them there is no transgender option. For them there are just the two choices. But for me there is a private third choice, and that's a combination of the two" (Roen, 2001, p. 514). Roen (2001) concludes by arguing that the emphasis of transgender activists to get transpeople to take up the both/neither stance fails to recognize the contextual and experiential diversity of transpeople, as well as their ability to maneuver among the competing discourses of gender identity.

Hines' (2007) interviews of 13 MTF, 13 FTM, and four "bi-gendered" transgender/transsexual individuals similarly focused on the importance of embodiment for gender identity, but further theoretically explored how such embodied

gender identity was understood in the context of physical changes in the socially gendered aspects of the body. In accepting Roen's (2001) ideas about the fluidity of embodied gender identity, expressed by many of Hines' interview participants, Hines rejects Prosser's ideas (as critiqued by Halberstam 1998) that the understanding of transsexualism requires a clear physical demarcation of gender, the "belief in the two territories of male and female, divided by a flesh border and crossed between surgery and endocrinology" (Halberstam 1998, p. 164), i.e., Roen's (2001) "either/or." Instead Hines sees the construction of transgender identities in terms of narratives of "significant moments," subjective understandings of embodiment, and "rehearsed narratives," "which are constructed and reconstructed through repetition and retelling to particular audiences" (p. 50). Transgender participants' understandings of their gender identities through the process of transforming their gendered bodies involves a dynamic interaction between embodied experiences and the performance of the socially constructed definitions of gender associated with those embodied experiences, an interpretation of embodied experiences that echoes the conclusions of Salamon (2010) discussed above. To quote Hines (2007):

> The corporeal body is central to transgender sensibilities, and the body is experienced, managed and modified through subjective and social understandings of gender. Likewise, transgender identities can be seen to be constructed and negotiated both through and in opposition to medical discourse and practice, affective relations, and social, cultural and political understandings and networks (p. 83).

We turn now to our own interview findings across straight, gay/lesbian, and transgender individuals regarding gender identity and embodiment.

Defining Male Versus Female

Consistent with the responses to the question of what defines masculinity and femininity, our straight participants gave much less elaborated answers than the gay/lesbian and transgender participants with regard to the question of what defines male and female. Of the 12 straight participants, only five differentiated between biological aspects of gender versus masculinity and femininity, with one of the five having to prompted to make this distinction. Most of the straight participants thus treated gender identity as the same as gender roles, e.g., as one straight woman described being a male versus being a female: "Being a male, well, in today's society I would probably say just being a businessman and having a high power job, no crying, that would be like society's definition of being a male. Being a female you can, not as much correlated with having a high powered job and stuff—but more motherly, associated with family." Those straight participants that did differentiate physical from behavioral aspects of gender mostly expressed cursory understandings of the difference, such as this response from a straight man: "Well being male or female, from my point of view, is like purely based of sex. Like you can change your sex but you are who you are. But as far as

anything else I don't think how you handle your emotions or how you are sexually oriented matters. You are what you are." On the other hand, one straight man gave this more thoughtful response: "I mean obviously genitalia, but I think, you know, I think that definitely traits, personality traits, define, you know, separate man and woman, which is tough because I think some women may display personality traits that are, you know, often seen in men and vice versa. But, I think that, you know, you'd be able to tell if someone was a man. If, you know, you were talking to them and you like, you know over the internet, something, sometimes just the way people act, you can definitely tell. So, I think personality traits play a big role in that, as well, defining male and female."

As would be expected, to the extent that our straight participants understood they were being asked to define their own gender identity (a few participants veered off into a general discussion of gender), they gave clear "male" or "female" responses. Two of the straight women spoke about being "mostly female."

Five of the 12 gay/lesbian interview participants equated the definition of male and female with the definitions of masculinity and femininity, although it was interesting that two lesbian participants explicitly talked about gender identity: "I would define being a male as somebody who is male-identified, and acts out in male ways, but that could be different for different people. Different male people. I know males who are very stereotypical, and I know males who aren't. So being male differs for who they are." "If you're a male then you associate and you find yourself more comfortable in that male identity." Of the gay/lesbian participants who talked about embodied aspects defining male versus female, most of their descriptions were cursory, for example, this response by a gay man: "A male is a person who has male characteristics. Physical form. I guess you could just leave it right there, strictly biological."

Two of the gay/lesbian participants did give elaborated responses that considered the slipperiness of the embodied and socially constructed aspects of gender. As one lesbian participant stated: "and it isn't that I don't understand somebody has a penis, and somebody has ovaries. And some, of course, have combinations or different chromosomes. But I think that not only are the categories limiting, but they're actually problematic in and of themselves. Now, in terms of actually functioning in the world, I realize that we function in a world that includes the categories of male and female. Therefore, I tend to very much use the term in regard to—problematically—in terms of biological or chromosomal difference. So I—that there are males and females in the world, but I don't think those are the only categories. So, in terms of the awkward terms that we have—that I'd say that there is a biological—or can be, anyway, biological—component. But I am also willing to—and I've had friends that are transgendered, and I've had to figure out how to work with those categories. Do I consider them male or female? Or is it, again, an alternative category that doesn't really fit either? So I'm actually at the point where I'm having, you know, I don't accept the categories, but I also live in a world where we clearly have to deal with them." A gay man argued that, "I think it's a matter of degrees. And again, like I said earlier, females necessarily are any different than males, it just depends on the males. Some of them—some females

I think exhibit very classic male qualities, or more of one than the other. More aggression as opposed to less. Being a female really is having a vagina and boobs and with males and females both—I think having some innate—no, I should take that back. Being a female really is having those same qualities maybe in some instances less though than males, but some instances it's not necessarily true at all. I mean there are some females out there that are varied. I think they are very similar things, I think, to be honest. I think the only difference is anatomy. And I think some fundamentals, genetic and biological influences that don't necessarily have to be influences, it just depends. It's not a situation where you have clear lines, the way everyone would like us to think. You know, men are from Mars, women are from Venus. I hate that book! Hate that book! Because I think it's just too simplistic. You know, I think it's just degrees of one or the other. And for being a female, it has to do with how to do with how your skin feels, your skin is going to feel different than a male skin, you're going to generally have a little bit more body fat, not necessarily, you're going to have a vagina, you're going to have boobs, you're going to have certain physical characteristics. I think I equate male and female in more of a physical sense and gender as more of a trait or a personality sense."

A provocative finding from our interview responses of gay/lesbian individuals with regard to the question of self definitions of male versus female is that, while all of the gay men identified themselves as male, with little equivocation, in contrast, only two of the lesbian participants gave unequivocal answers about being female. For the remaining three lesbians, there was equivocation or an obvious reluctance to define themselves as female: "I am a female. There's no question up to me that I'm a female. I just don't act the way many people think females should. I wanted to be a boy when I was like five because they got all the cool toys. But that was, I mean, I've never really wanted to be a boy, I've never considered myself that I was, you know, a different gender than I am." "I'm not there's not that much about me in terms of traditional, like, sports, or competitiveness of being male. But I do really like to be confident, capable, and assertive. And I do have a lot of goals, and I am, in many ways, a very successful person. But I don't think anybody would look at those things on me and say, 'Oh, those are male qualities.'" "I see myself as a normal person. Ok, so, you know, when I go out like places, I mean, and it's just different 'cause I mean you have, like, like really like girly girl friends and then the guys, and you're neither, so you're just like—alright." "As a feminist, I use terms like 'woman' and 'women,' and I include myself in that category of people, because women have been discriminated against. And it's a category that others in society can understand that I can be described by others that fit in that category. A second issue would be, I am not going to include myself as a person of color, no matter how much I might empathize and try to understand. So politically, in terms of creating change, I'm comfortable with considering myself a woman. In terms of usefulness of that category as a gender category, I'm actually very uncomfortable with it. And, again, I follow—here in that part of my view—is that lesbians are not women. Because women, as a category, were created in opposition to man, and 'female' to 'male.' And if you don't accept the dichotomy, the term is rather problematic. So, with all

of that said, I classify myself because of those choices as a woman, but I would actually, as a political category, classify myself as a lesbian." These latter findings were similar to Hiestand and Levitt's (2005) interview study of 12 "butch" lesbian women who viewed "butch" as a gender identity distinct from male and female. In questioning their gender identity from an early age, these women took on more masculine gender roles and achieved more stable identities by integrating their lesbianism with a gender identity distinct from female or male.

In contrast to their responses on defining masculinity and femininity, transgender participants in our interview study had more difficulty and gave more diverse responses to the questions of what defines male and what defines female. Two participants, in fact, as was the case for most of our straight participants, fell back to defining maleness and femaleness in terms of heteronormative masculinity and femininity: "I don't think your genitalia defines your gender at all, really. I think that's definitely up in your brain, and what you believe that you are. But as far as males…I don't really know how to define it, I mean men are men. And you can tell that a man is a man, because of the fact that he's very masculine and very I guess what—as aggressive. Because they're very aggressive individuals, and for that matter, there's a lot of women that I know that would be very, you know I could define as a male, at least their personality type."

In terms of defining female, this participant continued, "Pretty much the same as far as, like, not what's your genitalia that defines your gender, but what's in your mind and what's in your heart. And I guess that obviously—with men, too, but I'm not really sure. I've got to think about it."

A third transgender participant justified these behavioral differences in terms of evolutionary biological needs: "The male of the species—and this goes back to the cave days—was required to be more aggressive, more assertive, go out and do the dangerous things, and not because he wanted to, but because he was better suited for it. Males are, by nature, larger in bone structure, larger in muscle mass, less body fat. It makes them stronger, faster, quicker, all those wonderful things for a hunter. So it makes perfect sense. It would be along those lines, it would be the necessity of protecting the home, protecting your partner, protecting your wife, your husband, whatever. Actually, it would be his wife. The breadwinner, generally. I know that's kind of an archaic concept, but when I say male, again that goes back to the first part of this is that male doesn't necessarily have to be the biological gender, although generally it does."

This bit of uncertainty was also found among the three transgender participants who defined being male and being female in terms of physical characteristics, genitalia, or chromosomes: "Male what is being a male? For me, that is probably more to do with physicality than anything else. Having pecs as opposed to breasts, having body hair, facial hair, having a lower voice, having more testosterone in your body, having more of a sex drive, and for the most part, having a penis. I'm not saying that you have to have all these qualities to identify as a male, but it helps, I guess," whereas being female is "more body fat, more curves. Breasts, not as much hair, higher voice. Having some type of a vagina of some sort. A bigger butt."

A second transgender participant noted, "Okay, um, being a male. Well, I would say there is a lot of, you know, assigned roles and being a male would be like I don't know, winning the bread, or like you know, having the job, being a male would be identifying with the body parts that come with XY. Um, being, you know, the protector, all that kind of stuff. I mean, it is essentially being male is to be masculine, but to also have that—like not nonchangeable, but I just want to say like born with the XY, the whole like having the penis and not having breasts, and having facial hair and having more muscles and fat for you body, and stuff. Female would be -very similar, being a female would be, you know, being the protected one, being the more feminine one, feminine meaning soft one, being more vulnerable, having more emotion, and then again, like having XX, having a uterus and everything that goes with that, and having breasts and having no facial fair, you know, stuff like that."

When asked whether they considered themselves male or female, of the nine born-female participants in the present study, eight indicated that they were predominantly female, while the last participant avoided the question but indicated being uncomfortable with being interacted with as a female. The one born-male participant indicated that they were primarily female, while the last participant said that they were of both genders. In moving from the interview responses on defining male and female from straight to gay/lesbian to transgender participants, there was clearly a trend toward more recognition of the embodied aspects of gender identity, as well as more awareness of the complexities of the interactions between these embodied aspects and the socially constructed ones.

Fluidity of Gender Identity

When the straight individuals were asked about how they viewed gender identity and whether it was fluid or changeable, four of the six female and four of the six male heterosexuals asserted that gender identity was categorical (as one straight man put it, "biological more male, and won't change, can't change"). Even for the remaining heterosexuals who proposed that gender identity was "movable" or "fluid," the emphasis was on being able to change gender role behaviors. A straight women asserted that, "I don't think anything should be categorized that's in our gender. It's not really like, 'you have to be like this.' Like it's become more socially okay for women to branch out, I guess."

Of the 12 gay participants, three gay men and one lesbian saw gender identity as being categorical, while four gay men and three lesbians viewed gender identity as being more fluid. The remaining lesbian gave ambiguous responses to the question. The gay men who regarded gender identity as being categorical gave the kind of curt responses that the heterosexuals also gave, while those who considered gender identity to be fluid often gave elaborate, thoughtful responses. As one lesbian put it, "I think society…does organize everything into categories. I think we have certain statuses that tell people how to behave toward each other. I have a

big interest in changing some of those categories, having them seen as more fluid, more of a continuum. Not 'male' on one end and 'female' on the other. A male continuum and a female continuum within a person. I do not see things in a binary way. The androgyny category is a step in the right direction, but I don't think it's the end of it. I see myself a little more in the androgyny category then anything in the female category, but that's kind of a fuzzy thing, I don't even know what it means, really."

One gay male described, "I think there is something else…one of my best friends is transgendered. Born biologically female, he always was s/he biologically, but s/he was a boy always. Even in elementary school, I am a boy, call me a boy, call me by this name, a male name cause I am not a female. He is actually transitioned now, has had surgery and all that and people always call him a boy and it's obvious. He still has a vagina that has not changed, but he considers himself male. If people were to see him, they would consider him male."

All 11 transgender participants supported Bornstein's (1998) assertion that gender identity was both on a continuum, fluid, changeable. One stated, "it's more fluid, because I think people switch back-and-forth…if you look at adolescent children, they flow between…they're not very rigid about this is this, and that is that, they just kind of flow between both of those worlds. They're creating their own identity." Another echoed Bornstein's (1998) idea that gender identity was "'Something else entirely.' I identify as gender queer, it's the closest thing I can find that can really identify me. Some days I feel more male, some days more female, but for the most part I feel I'm really neither or both. It's such a socially constructed thing, and I feel that it's not something that's as stable as a personality, it's always changing with every year, I feel like I'm becoming more of who I am."

Consistent with the findings from Roen's (2001) interviews with 11 transsexual and transgender individuals, one transgender participant noted the active negotiation the person engaged in between the "either/or" of traditional gender identity versus the "both/neither" position asserted by other transgender individuals: "I think categorization serves its purpose. If I go to the doctor, it's meaningful… there are issues that go with men and issues that go with women as defined by biology and by genetics…but I see gender as a concept occurring on a contingent. It can also be situational…in certain situations I'll play a more masculine role, in certain situations I won't. With certain women I'll play a masculine role. Gender to me is a concept that suits the need of a particular time. When I'm talking on the phone about somebody, about fixing my car, I don't speak with a high voice, though I can. I speak with a masculine voice, because it gets me a better price. When I'm trying to go out and pick up a girl at a bar, I'll moderate my tone, just so it's not quite so confusing. It's situational. Gender is not a black and white construct. You can use it to your advantage."

While all the transgender participants in the present study asserted the continuity and fluidity of gender identity, the difficulties of socially manifesting a gender identity of "both/neither" were reflected in all of the participants' responses to the question of whether one's body needed to match one's gender identity. Two participants answered no to this question, one arguing that "I identify as female because

it was what I was born as but I really don't care which one you think I am. But I definitely don't look female stereotype." Gagne, Tewksbury, and McGaughey's (1997) interviews of 65 male-to-female transgender individuals also found that these individuals were unable to overcome the social constraints that enforce the gender binary, and thus stayed within that binary as masculine men or feminine women.

Another transgender participant brought up other frustrations of having to conform to a binary gendered society: "I wish I could have children that I don't have to raise gendered, they can just decide for themselves whatever it is that they want to do. But they need to know what bathroom to go into. Then I need to know what bathroom to go into to change their diapers. Society doesn't function genderless. When we talk about transitioning names, when you're dealing with computer systems and bookkeepers, they're always going, 'Oh, no, no, no, we can't change the 'M' to the 'F' part because we have to keep that for—analysis.' And then I ask, 'Why is it relevant how many penises and vaginas are in Chem 101? And if it really is that relevant, do you go in and check and make sure? And if you do that, what rules make up the penis that's good enough to be in Chem 101 for it to count?' And if you're not willing to do that, take the f**king question off." In contrast to the straight participants, when transgender individuals considered the fluidity of gender identity, their responses were couched in narratives of negotiating their lives through the socially constructed and enforced expectations of gendered appearance and behavior, something which also motivated their responses with regard to the question of whether their bodies had to match their personally experienced gender identity.

Body Matching Gender Identity

Only two of six straight women and two of six straight men responded to the question of whether one's body and gender identity had to match by saying that the two did need to match. Even those who agreed with this idea, however, were somewhat ambivalent. As a straight man put it, "That's kind of a tough one… If you are born something, you will always have something be a part of you for the rest of your life, no matter if you try to change your personality or physically." For most heterosexuals, there was a taken for granted acceptance of the existence of a normative and limited definition of transgenderism. As another straight man proposed, "there are people who feel like they are trapped in the wrong body."

Only four of the gay males believed that one's body had to match one's gender identity. One gay man stated, "if it doesn't—there is a major psychological difficulty…it is really painful if you feel like what you are showing the world isn't consistent with who you are inside…you conceptualize yourself in a certain way and the body you have, therefore indicates all these other things to the world around you." In contrast, a lesbian asserted, "Your gender identity doesn't always have to do with what body you are in, gender doesn't have to do necessarily with

what body parts you have…it's much more than your physical attributes. You can feel and honestly believe that you are a woman and have a penis, but be comfortable with having your penis…you have the freedom to choose." In general, and reflective of real differences between these two nonheteronormative groups, most of the gay/lesbian participants' responses, in contrast to those of the transgender participants, reflected a comfort with their bodies, regardless of these gay/lesbian participants' nonheteronormative sexual identity status. It would appear that for gay/lesbian individuals, in contrast to transgender individuals, socially constructed experiences are more important than embodied ones for defining gender and sexual identity. As one thoughtful response from a lesbian put it, "I think that people are more comfortable when their body matches their gender identity. However, the whole scheme is socially constructed. If it was constructed differently, then your body could be whatever, and your gender identity could be whatever. And it's only because of the pressure we have to have these things that we line up in a certain way, primarily starting with the medical community, who want it a certain way. But right now, if you have a male person and you have a female person, or a female-appearing person, and the male, he's attracted to the female-appearing person, and they go on a date, and they're attracted to each other sexually, then the male is generally surprised when she's not a female-bodied person. In fact, she's a male-bodied person, or something. I think the person would be very surprised. That's not the cause, but I think that's the reason…. We're so programmed that it's a shock, and it is a shock, that's true. But really for transphobes, I know, that there's so much pressure to be a certain way, and if you're not, you can get depressed or suicidal, you may not know what to do, you may be alienated from yourself. I mean, that can happen to female people and male people anyway. But for trans people it can get pretty acute. So I think, to sum that up, that it's a totally socially-constructed expectation."

The transgender participants' discussions of the need for the body to match one's gender identity in general reflected a much greater salience of this issue than was the case for the gay/lesbian participants. The difficulties of socially manifesting a "both/neither" gender identity were reflected in all transgender participants' responses. Two answered no to this question, arguing that "I identify as female because it was what I was born as, but I really don't care which one you think I am. But I definitely don't look female stereotype." Another contrasted the social construct aspect of gender identity with the gender identity that comes from the body: "your body is your gender identity. But I think that your body is yours. What I'm guessing the question is getting at is the social construction of what your body is, the social construction of what your gender is. I don't think that should match because I don't think the social construction should be there in the first place."

The remaining transgender participants gave reasons for preferring one's body to match one's gender identity. One noted, "if you look in the mirror and it doesn't match, number one, it's confusing as hell, that's not a good thing. Right now, everything pretty much matches." Another described, "It makes life much easier. Imagine a transsexual going to a gym who had not had bottom surgery.

Might cause a bit of a stir in the women's locker room. Going to the beach, the restroom, buying clothes…the necessity of being among your peers in a semi-dressed or semi-undressed state, depending on the situation." This person went on to say, "If you wanted to date a guy, as a transsexual prior to surgery, you are now considered a 'fetish,' and as a fetish, you're dealing with a whole different group of partner possibilities, than you would if you were to be 'anatomically correct,' so to speak, and then looking for a normal partner, and going, 'Oh, okay, I'm here for the person, not because they've got something different between their legs.' It's a bit of a relief, in the sense that, there's a lot of less worry of being found out. The hypothetical is that you're in a car accident, your clothes are torn, the paramedics show up and they're like, 'She's a girl. Wait, wait, what's this'? So that identity is better for everyone else on the outside. But myself? It really made no difference, whether I had surgery or not. The surgery completed me, a complete transformation, and since my personality type said, 'Let's finish the job,' that made the most sense. Part of the reason I had the surgery was not only for me, but was for society, just to make society feel more at ease."

Another participant, in turn, described how "It makes life much easier. Imagine a transsexual going to a gym who had not had bottom surgery. Might cause a bit of a stir in the women's locker room. The same would be true for a female-to-male walking into the men's locker room. Just those little things. Going to the beach, the restroom, buying clothes. Things along those lines where assimilation into that group almost requires it, in some senses, because of the necessity of being among your peers in a semi-dressed or semi-undressed state, depending on the situation. It would hold true for a partner: if you wanted to date a guy, as a transsexual prior to surgery, you are now considered a 'fetish,' and as a fetish, you're dealing with a whole different group of partner possibilities, than you would if you were to be 'anatomically correct,' so to speak, and then looking for a normal partner, and going, 'Oh, okay, I'm here for the person, not because they've got something different between their legs.' It's a bit of a relief, in the sense that, there's a lot of less worry of being found out. I guess the hypothetical is that you're in a car accident and your clothes are torn, and the paramedics show up and they're like, 'She's a girl. Wait, wait, what's this'? So that identity is better for everyone else on the outside. But myself? It really made no difference, whether I had surgery or not. The surgery completed me, a complete transformation, and since my personality type said, 'Let's finish the job,' that made the most sense. But part of the reason I had the surgery was not only for me, but was for society, just to make society feel more at ease. Which is about as fucked-up as it gets. But it's a truism, and there's not much you can do to work around that. Now, please don't misunderstand me, I had the surgery for me. But don't get me wrong by saying, there was also an ulterior motive by saying that because I had surgery, and because I now fit into society's 'norms' of gender, my life will be a little easier because of that, once I kind of get past the transition phase, and my male life is left in the past." In these responses of the transgender participants, there is again a sense of how gender identity is continuously being dynamically negotiated between embodied experiences and socially imposed gender imperatives.

Importance of Gender Identity

It is interesting that all of the straight participants, when asked about the importance of gender identity for functioning in society, responded that it was important. While their responses were typically not as urgent as those of the gay/lesbian and transgender participants, and typically focused on gender roles, there was clearly an awareness of how gender acts to normalize and regulate social behaviors. One straight man stated, "I think just because like it's just that society needs gender roles to function. Like if you didn't have gender roles, then it would be really hard to, like it is always a mother and a father and like their kids. So in the same way people, I don't really know how to explain it, it's just different genders. You can't really be a guy that acts like a girl or a girl that acts like a guy because then that's not right and that's not ordinary. It scares people and it makes them feel weird. So I think it is very important for society to function." A couple of straight participants were well aware of issues of discrimination and harassment associated with transgenderism, as this straight man stated: "It's very important because, in jobs, if somebody finds out that your gender identity—your gender identity doesn't match what society says it should be, you could get fired, or harassed. I know there's been law suits against it, and I think usually the plaintiff wins but I'm sure not every case he has won. So in society, I think it's very important if you plan on working—you're not working for yourself or you don't have a lot of clients that you have to see. So, in society it's very important, but it's not only in the workplace, also it can be just out in public where people realize your gender identity is not what people think it should be and they'll go through a lot of abuse for that and also hate crimes can happen, too."

Nearly all of the gay/lesbian participants also agreed that gender identity was important for functioning in society, but their responses were more elaborated, more intense, and more likely to pick up on issues of transgenderism. For the two gay/lesbian participants who did not feel that gender identity was that important for social functioning, it was clear that this was due to their personal adjustments, as with this gay male: "I don't think that it is very important. I am not, I am not really caught up in gender, because, I mean, maybe it is easy for me 'cause I know that I am a male but I see there are differing levels of importance.' Before I came out as a homosexual, it was a much bigger deal to me, because people thought that I was gay."

For those gay/lesbian respondents who did regard gender identity as being important for social functioning, there were issues of discrimination and harassment. As one lesbian stated: "In general, a lot of people in society, like, certain jobs call for different things, you know, like, if you went for a certain job, like, I know that it's against the law, but a lot of people like, they discriminate and you can't prove to somebody that you're good for the job, you know, cause I don't—cause I dress differently or something. You know what I mean? Like if I went for a job say like in a very like, Louis Vuitton store or something dressed the way I usually dress and I didn't get the job—There's no way for me to prove that I

didn't get the job because of the way I am or something…" Or as a gay man put it, "probably very important because it involves inequalities and just fear. Just discrimination against what they don't understand and if somebody acts the way they don't look like, they should then they get scared." There was also the issue of fitting predictable social identity boxes, as one lesbian described, "because people want to have predictability, and they want to know how to behave toward someone. If you are heterosexual, you don't want to give the wrong cues to a male person. Because then you'll be gay, you'll—oh, my god—you'll be seen as gay. People want to know how to peg people, so they can behave appropriately towards them without misunderstanding." Or as a gay man put it with an intersectional spin, "it's huge, because when people see other people—and it's not like they intentionally do it—but if you look at someone, you like to be able to understand that person, or label them real fast. Like…if you see a white male, you see right away what his body type is. If he has muscles, then he's masculine. A jock, maybe. White, that's race. You just want to be able to understand him, you can do it in the span of a second. And then you quickly make judgments on what he is, or what type he is, his personality. But then you don't have to say anything to him, and then you just look away. You could be on the bus or something. And people get confused and start making comment's if there's, like, a transgender, or somebody who you're not quite sure what they are. And this can even play in with race. Like, if you're not really sure because their skin tone's a little bit different, they'll start questioning, and they'll start puzzling, and then maybe they'll think, 'It's alright.' You know? For some reason, people want to know who you are, so that they can put a label, so they can…so I guess they can kind of just figure you out."

For the transgender participants in our interview study, gender was clearly important for social functioning, with only one transgender participant in any way minimizing its importance, noting that "I would say 50 % important. And 50 % not. Because who you are day-to-day really has nothing to do with your gender. It just has to do with who you are. So it's like I said earlier, there's some day where you're thinking more in your gender mindset of, you know, this needs to happen because of that aspect of myself, so I need to have a husband because I'm a woman."

The other transgender participants described several aspects of the importance of gender identity for both personal and societal functioning: "I don't think they view individuals that don't fit into the gender categories. I think they just completely ignore them and push them out of their lives um, especially if you are on that level of like intimate relationship, and you find out 'Oh, this is uh what is called intersex person, or a person that was born with both male and female' defining characteristic genitalia. Then you are just like 'Oh I don't want to deal with you, let me see normal,' let me fit into what I am supposed to like, or something to that effect. I think that's very sad because its like, society is just kind of no we don't want to see you. Like, as long as you look female or male with your clothes on, you'll probably be able to pass. But if you obviously have defined characteristics with your clothes on that tells somebody or tells society that you are an intersex person or somebody that doesn't fit into, you know, the female, then um, obviously we have no place for them really in society."

Another participant again brought up the problem of bathrooms, as well as other frustrations of having to conform to an unquestioned binary gendered society: "I wish I could have children that I don't have to raise gendered, and they can just decide for themselves whatever it is that they want to do. But they need to know what bathroom to go into. And then I need to know what bathroom to go into to change their diapers. Society doesn't function genderless. I mean, it doesn't make any sense why it doesn't. And when we talk about transitioning names and stuff on college campus, when you're dealing with computer systems and bookkeepers, they're always going, 'Oh, no, no, no, we can't change the 'M' to the 'F' part because we have to keep that for—analysis.' And then I ask, 'Why is it relevant how many penises and vaginas are in Chem 101? And if it really is that relevant, do you go in and check and make sure? And if you do that, what rules make up the penis that's good enough to be in Chem 101 for it to count?' And if you're not willing to do that, take the fucking question off. It's not hard, you don't need to know it, because you don't actually look into it. You just take people's value, and you trust your own perception—how subjective is that?—to be able to know which box to check."

Another aspect of the frustration of having to function in a binary gendered society was expressed by a third participant: "They want to know how to relate with each other. Because if you're talking to a man, you're going to be, you might be more aggressive in certain areas, more subservient in other areas if you're a female. And if you're speaking with another female…actually, with me, I'm always very even with either one, but in general I…I think that a lot of people connect with others based on their gender. Because they may not have nothing else in common whatsoever, but their gender, and they become bonded because of that. And I don't necessarily do that myself all the time, but there are times when I do that." One can see in the responses of the straight, gay/lesbian, and transgender participants how the social construction of gender and the prejudices against gender nonheteronormativity discussed in Chap. 3 act to make gender identity much more salient for nonheteronormative individuals.

To summarize, the interview responses of our transgender participants with regard to the definition of male and female, i.e., gender identity, replicated previous qualitative studies by Devor (1997), Rubin (2003), and Green (2005) that found that transgender/transsexual individuals readily differentiate between socially constructed gender roles and more embodied gender identity. What was also apparent from the responses of our transgender participants was that their understandings of their embodied experiences, including the fluidity of embodied gender identity *a la* Roen (2001), reflected the narratives of their lived experiences confronting the definitions, barriers, and discrimination/harassment of socially constructed gender and sexual identity. This was consistent with Hines' (2007) qualitative research findings and theorizations.

The uniqueness of our findings is that they can be compared to the responses of straight and gay/lesbian individuals to gain a better perspective on the uniqueness and generality of these beliefs. Nearly all of our interview participants, whether straight, gay/lesbian, or transgender, understood that heteronormative gender,

as manifested in physical appearances and behaviors, including gender roles and sexuality, was powerfully enforced in society and strongly determinative of individuals' identities and social functioning. Reading between the lines of some of the quotes, one can even see inklings of understandings about how performances of these socially constructed appearances and behaviors can act to reify gender and sexual identities. The issue that differentiates straight from gay/lesbian from transgender individuals is clearly embodiment. For straight and gay/lesbian individuals, the lack of conflict between embodied experiences and socially constructed gender roles and gender identity seemingly renders the mind free from bodily constraints and allows for believing in infinite possibilities for the self-construction of social identities. Queer theory would seem to be quite adequate for the understanding of gay/lesbian gender and sexual identity, but as theoretically discussed in the previous chapter, queer theory is inadequate to understand the importance of embodied experiences of transgender individuals. That being said, a transgender theory of gender and sexual identity must recognize the dynamic role that the socially constructed aspects of gender and sexual identity have in understanding bodily experiences. There is clearly a process whereby transgender individuals maintain a sense of continuity of the self, in spite of the continuing conflicts between embodied experiences and socially constructed definitions of gender and sexuality, in spite of transformations of the physical body and resulting transformations in social reactions and relations, and in spite of a consciousness and free will with some capacity to reinterpret, reconfigure, and self-construct new forms of gender and sexual identity. This is the realm of the narrative of lived experiences, which will be considered in the next chapter.

Chapter 7
Intersectionality and Narratives of Lived Experiences

The traditional heteronormative view of gender is that gender roles, gender identity, and sexual orientation/identity are all of one piece, such that an individual with a female gender identity is essentially predisposed to engage in predominantly feminine behaviors and appearances and to only be sexually attracted to those with a male gender identity, while an individual with a male gender identity is essentially predisposed to engage in predominantly masculine behaviors and appearances and to only be sexually attracted to those with a female gender identity. Not only are gender roles and sexuality essentially tied to gender identity, maleness and femaleness constitute complementary identities in which greater power and initiative in gender roles and sexuality are ascribed to possessing the male identity (Segal 1997). As discussed in Chap. 2, feminist theory challenged the essentialist basis of the gender roles part of this system, arguing instead that these heteronormative gender roles that subordinated women to men were social constructs that could be reconstructed in the self and society to empower women. Queer theory, in turn, sought to empower sexual minorities by separating out sexual orientation/identity from gender identity and proposing that these identities and their associated behaviors and appearance were all social constructs that could be reconstructed in the self and society. However, as discussed in Chap. 5 and demonstrated in our interview findings presented in the previous chapter, feminist and queer theories are regarded by some transgender individuals as being inadequate to understand the embodied experiences of such individuals.

In the present chapter, we consider two more perceived limitations of feminist and queer theories for understanding the lived experiences of transgender individuals. The first concerns the necessary intersectionality of gender and sexual identity for transgender individuals. As will be presented below from our interview study, while gay men and lesbians, consistent with queer theory, could easily regard their sexual identity as being a social construct separate from their gender identity, for many transgender individuals, understanding their gender and sexual identities was a dynamic process in which social and embodied experiences informed a continual process of defining one's identity among the many intersectional permutations of gender and sexual identity. Not having gender and

sexual identities fixed by heteronormative social definitions, conventions, and enforcements, in turn, made it much more important for many transgender individuals to construct narratives of self-identity that integrated and made sense of these lived experiences of fluid gender and sexual identities. The latter part of this chapter thus compares the narratives of negotiating a gendered world from the perspectives of straight, gay/lesbian, and transgender individuals.

The Intersectionality of Gender and Sexual Identities

In fact, as will be seen in our interview responses presented below, our straight college student participants nearly all expressed the belief that sexual orientation was separate from gender identity. Nevertheless, as Blashill and Powlishta (2009a, b) found, heterosexual college students do associate gender role deviations with homosexuality, with male participants rating male targets more negatively on the basis of both the targets' homosexual identity and of their feminine characteristics. Similarly, targets with unspecified sexual orientation were rated as gay, if they displayed feminine characteristics.

Sandfort's (2005) review of the empirical literature poses the question of whether there is an actual relationship between sexual orientation and gender, particularly with regard to male homosexuality and feminine gender role behaviors and appearances. In fact, as Sandfort notes, from the earliest studies of the relationship between homosexuality and gender role inversion, researchers have noted gay subcultures that express extremes of "correct" gender roles. Consistent with queer theory, such inverted or consistent but exaggerated expressions of gender roles in association with a homosexual identity may be "performances" that legitimize non-heteronormative sexual identity and create a sense of group identity by queering heteronormative gender identity's assumption of heterosexuality. It is noteworthy that such self-construction and legitimization of sexual identity through the queering of gender identity would seem to only be possible due to the intersectionality of gender and sexual identity for non-heteronormative individuals, but queer theory regards both of these identities as separable social constructs.

It may, in fact, be that the social construction of heteronormative gender and sexual identities drives the intersectionality of these two identities, even for non-heteronormative individuals. Schrock and Schwalbe (2009) note how men who publicly identify as gay reject heterosexuality as part of their manhood acts, yet the power of the hegemonic ideal is reflected in the gay male subcultures, also noted by Sandfort (2005), that empahsize large bodies and muscularity, along with sexual risk-taking and voracity. Schrock and Schwalbe discuss how this hegemonic masculine ideal pervades the gay culture and sets a standard against which all manhood acts are measured, even though it is impossible for all men, gay or straight, to meet this hegemonic ideal. Sandfort (2005) notes how masculinity and femininity are not neutral terms. Since feminine characteristics are less valued than masculine ones in our society, in general, but especially in

men, transgressions into femininity by men are more negatively valued than transgressions into masculinity by women.

In contrast, Davidson's (2009) interviews with three adolescent "girlyboys," one gay, one bisexual, one straight, found that these gender benders understood that homosexuality, bisexuality, or the appearance of either is most often equated as feminine by the larger heteronormative world. Such femininity, in turn, was understood as being devalued by heteronormative individuals as effeminate and lacking in the sexual prowess essential to proving the masculinity that often substitutes for individual status and economic power. Davidson notes how these boys rename their manhood as authentically feminine in nature and publicly displayed feminine perceptions and personae, acting on holistic masculinities which were at odds with their peers. They understood this feminine perspective as a "rejection of and resistance to norms of learned patriarchy: dominance, sexual predation through penetration, homo-prejudice, violence, and oppositional dichotomies. At the same time, their feminine masculinity incorporates same-sex affection, nurturance of other 'girlyboys,' and reflexive self-knowledge. They understand that these stated and implied touchstones of holistic, feminine masculinities further define them as outsiders, or boundary dwellers, within their own marginalised cultures. The boys' use of 'feminine' as a descriptor is a necessary step in the process of redefining value and worth as experts in borderland realities" (Davidson 2009, p. 628).

It is noteworthy that, in addition to the empowerment derived from the intersectionality of gender and sexual identity, the boys interviewed by Davidson (2009) were also empowered by the intersectionality of gender and sexual identity with their non-Anglo White ethnic identity. Davidson's straight but feminine participant noted how, unlike Anglos and straights, Hispanics and gays were never surprised by his Hispanic and straight identity. He noted how, as outsiders most of the time, Hispanic and gay individuals' sensitivities were greater toward external performances and inner identity, and they were more aware of similarities than differences. This individual described his intersectional empowerment in terms of "being fluent in more languages" and being "accepted as an insider in other groups" (p. 626).

A similar example of intersectional empowerment was presented in Chap. 5 with regard to Somerville's (2000) discussion of Leslie Feinberg's semiautobiographical novel *Stone Butch Blues*, in which Feinberg's transgendered voice and subjectivity is mediated through repeated invocations of Native American and African American culture and identity. On the other side of empowerment, Gianettoni and Roux (2010) note how gender and race divisions act as instruments of domination by which dominant individuals (men, Whites, nationals, and so on) construct Others as groups (women, Blacks, non-nationals, etc.), resulting in a hierarchy between the dominant and the dominated groups generated by this process. Consistent with our ideas about the socially constructed aspects of social identities, Gianettoni and Roux propose that the dominants are not perceived and are not aware of themselves as a specific group but are instead seen as a universal point of reference for members of the dominated groups, but Gianettoni and

Roux's analyses extend this idea into considering the workings of such processes for the intersectionality of gender and race oppression. Similarly, Anderson and McCormack (2010) consider the intersectionality of sexual identity and race oppression as reflected in prejudice against gay versus Black athletes.

In considering the intersectionality of gender and sexual identity, researchers have proposed that this intersectionality may be different for bisexuals and transgender individuals, because of the fluidity of sexual identity in the former group and the fluidity of gender identity in the latter. There are, in fact, compelling parallel findings from these two non-heteronormative groups. Pennington's (2009) interview study of bisexuals found that many of these individuals were "critically aware of dominant conceptualizations of sex/gender as social structures of power" (p. 45), similar to the perceptions of the transgender individuals interviewed by Green (2005). Similar to the ideas of Monro's (2000) transgender theory, Pennington's respondents noted how their own lived experiences did not correspond with traditional notions of gender. Interestingly, in terms of intersectionality, Pennington's interviewees noted how their gender performances and power in relationships were negotiated between same- and opposite-sex partners not only on the basis of sex/gender, but also in terms of the extent of previous relationship experience of individual partners, age of relationship partners, and also physical size or stature.

Consistent with Roen's (2001) idea's about "both/neither" rather than "either/or" for transgender gender identity, Meyer (2004) describes bisexual and transgender identities in terms of "dialectical constructions that rest largely on tensions and interplays between 'both/and'- ness... Bisexuals are 'both' heterosexual and homosexual, transgender individuals are 'both' male and female, and both groups adopt discursive patterns of both the heterosexual and lesbian/gay communities" (p. 154). While many transgender individuals strive for, and achieve, identity as fully either male or female (Gagne and Tewksbury 1999), Cashore and Tuason (2009) expand on Meyer's (2004) viewpoint of a both/and existence:

> Some bisexual and transgender individuals do lead a both/and existence; for others, the existence may be better termed as neither/nor (neither heterosexual nor homosexual; neither man nor woman). For still others, the distinction may be between how they used to identify and how they now identify (Gagne and Tewksbury 1999). Fluidity of identity can be internally experienced, superimposed, or both. It can be a constant in one's identity or an element of one's identity history (Klein 1993). It is the ways in which bisexual and transgender individuals negotiate and navigate binary systems that make them unique among identities (p. 376).

Cashore and Tuason (2009) note the unique ways in which bisexual and transgender individuals negotiate and navigate binary systems, but suggest that this supports Rust's (1996) social constructivist view of bisexual identity being perceived in relation to other individuals, groups, and institutions. Environmental forces that shape "how, when, and to what degree one's true identity is recognized, understood, and expressed" are emphasized, along with "agency" that allows bisexual and transgender individuals to "see themselves as unique to their own processes, their histories, and the contexts from which they frame their

understanding of their identities" (p. 395). From the perspective of our trans-identity theory, what is missing from this formulation are embodied experiences, and future research should explore whether the salience of such embodied experiences differs for bisexuals versus transgender individuals.

In Chap. 4, we discussed Rubin's (2003) interview study of 22 female-to-male transsexuals. While many of Rubin's (2003) participants rejected any connection between their gender identity and their sexual orientation, Rubin nevertheless found that taking on the sexual identity of lesbian was part of the developmental process for over half of the transsexuals interviewed, but that most of these individuals still nevertheless did not feel that being a lesbian was consistent with their gender identity, i.e., that having a lesbian sexual orientation was not the same as being male. Transitioning to becoming a male changed their perception of their sexual orientation, as prior to the surgery, they would be viewed by society as being a lesbian, yet they would identify themselves as being straight, while after the surgery, they would see themselves as being male and would continue to see themselves as being straight.

Chapter 4 also considered Dozier's (2005) interview study of 18 trans-identified individuals. In contrast to Ruben but consistent with the ideas of Meyer (2004), Dozier found that for these individuals both gender and sexual identity were fluid and dynamically related to each other. Many of her interviewees reported that, after transitioning to have a more physically male identity, whether in terms of genitalia and/or other readily visible physical characteristics, this often led to changes in their perception of their sexual orientation, which, in turn, reinforced their transformed gender identity.

Similar to Dozier (2005), Hines' (2007) interview study of 13 MTF, 13 FTM, and 4 "bi-gendered" transgender/transsexual individuals led her to conclude that "transgender sexualities are often fluidly and contingently situated; experiences of gender transition may enable an increased freedom of sexual expression and offer a greater diversity of sexual identification. Conversely, gender transition may facilitate a more contented sexual presence" (p. 125). The shifting gender and sexual subjectivities and identity practices expressed by her interviewees inspires Hines to propose a "queer sociological perspective (that) enables an understanding of gender and sexuality as both distinct and conjoint" (p. 125).

We turn now to our interview study of straight, gay/lesbian, and transgender individuals' perceptions of the relationship of gender and sexual identity.

Does Sexual Orientation Define Gender Identity?

When asked if sexual orientation defined gender identity, only one of the six female heterosexuals and none of the six male heterosexuals believed that sexual orientation was determinative of one's gender identity. As with the issue of whether one's body had to be consistent with one's gender identity, among heterosexuals there was a taken for granted acceptance of the existence of homosexuality

as separate from gender roles and gender identity: "I know several heterosexual men who are very masculine or very feminine, and I know several gay men that are very masculine, and vice versa obviously, and I don't think that one necessarily has to do with the other." The straight participants rejected, with little elaboration, the notion that sexual orientation in any way defined being male or female. As a straight woman expressed, "Not for me, cause I'm a girl and I know I like guys and that's just how I've always viewed the world, I've never thought oh that girl is attractive or maybe that's how I want to swing."

In contrast, with regard to the question of whether sexual orientation defined male versus female, while one gay man and one lesbian in this part of the interview insisted that sexual orientation was entirely separate from gender identity, most gay/lesbian narratives of understanding their own gender identity reflected the intersectionality of gender with sexual identity. As one gay man described, "I don't know that I can say when it was, I can just always remember being a boy. I don't remember ever thinking, like oh, so I am a boy. It wasn't like that. I'd say but there was a question of whether I was a man. I mean that is kind of a more standard question for me, 'cause I was always a boy, but as far as being a man, it wasn't until I accepted my sexuality that I felt like I was a man because before, it was, if I am a homosexual, I can't be a man, like there was a disconnect between them. And then once I decided I am a homosexual, this is who I am, I am still a man, but that is kind of when it became, and that only happened I mean this year."

In addressing this question of whether sexual orientation defined whether he thought of himself as being male and/or female, one gay man started off by rejecting the connection, but then fell back to acknowledging the links between gender and sexual identity: "No it doesn't, although it's like the…the other thing, the typical things—the typically observed things—that males do. If one's sexuality doesn't fit into that, then you feel that maybe you're a little short on some things. Like, I don't like sports. Or watching sports. So where that could be, it doesn't bother me anymore, but a long time ago it used to bother me. Being gay sometimes gives me cause to, you know, stand a certain way to make sure that it's clear that I am, in fact, a male, and that's just an internal thing, it's an internal thing."

As another gay man discussed: "It's the upbringing. You're brought up, you get this, you get that, you hear this, you hear that, you see this, you see that. You experience it, behaving it, living it. You see how it's all laid out. You see the guys doing this and the women doing that. And then, at some point, you realize that the feelings that you have don't fit into that. And so there's this thing inside you that doesn't fit into that, and there's no way for it to fit into that. I'd say you get really worried about it. It's the ultimate insult. I don't know if it still is or not, but when I was a kid, I mean, the absolute ultimate insult was to call somebody a 'fag.' For one boy to call another one a fag. You can do about anything else, but if you heard that word, there was going to be a fight, for sure."

One lesbian participant, in fact, presented a narrative of how her coming out as a lesbian affirmed her gender identity: "At first I was shocked, you know, like some friends knew it, but in high school I played it off pretty well. They either thought I was very tomboyish or kind of on the border between gay or tomboy.

But I played it off very well. Like lately I've been seeing a lot of my high school friends, and I'm like, 'Hey, you know, I'm gay', and they are like 'what? You played it off in high school pretty well!!,' and I'm like, 'Yeah.' But it was a little hard at first 'cause' like, I came up to one of my friends, well, she asked me, and, I was like 'No, no, I'm not', and she was like, 'Yeah, you know you are,' and I'm like 'Alright, never mind, I am.' So I just gave in, and I knew."

As in Cashore and Tuason (2009) and Davidson's (2009) interview studies, discussed below, narratives of intersectional identities sometimes became narratives of empowerment through the exploration and affirmation of the identity experienced by the participant. In addressing the question of sexual orientation and gender identity, one of our lesbian participants expressed this process of exploration and affirmation: "I have to say, at least in my own position as a lesbian–I'm not trying to represent them all out there–it is very much about—physically, emotionally, and politically—allying with and being with females. And yet, again, where I'm still sort of wrestling with this is, for example, a person born male, but who's trangendered and is now a female, where am I in terms of that person? Especially when that person is often attracted to women. You know, how do I view that? Overall, there's still a component in my head that I'd like to be able to say still doesn't have any affect. It does, it still does intellectually. Again, part of it is because I want to change the society that says someone…. You know, we live in a society where someone can be so disassociated with what they…their…not just their appearance. I realize that there are other components, but someone who can do something so drastic. And on the other hand, that is the society that we live in, so why should I be so accepting of if that person classifies themselves as a female lesbian, why shouldn't I do likewise? And I am still wrestling with that one. I'm not uncomfortable wrestling with it. I'm uncomfortable…I want to get it solved, but I don't quite know what to think about it. So yeah, it's still my gender identity, my second category identity, I guess, and my sexuality—sexual orientation—are all very wrapped up together. But I think also that a lot of that is my feminine politics, and actually trying to create change, that, at this point, I actually feel that there is a reason to align myself with people who identify in that manner in order to create change, to point out the inequalities and to create change. But I haven't figured it all out yet."

When asked if sexual orientation defined gender identity, five of the transgender participants in the present study explicitly rejected any connection between the two, e.g., one transgender participant asserted that "because I like girls doesn't make me a male. So even if you walked up to someone and said this person likes females, they would be like oh this person is a male. But as far as stereotypes go, some of them are more, it's not like everyone who is gay is going to act like this." This is consistent with many of Rubin's (2003) participants who rejected any connection between their gender identity and their sexual orientation. Nevertheless, Rubin (2003) found that becoming a lesbian was part of the developmental process for over half of the female-to-male transsexuals interviewed, but that most of these individuals nevertheless did not feel that being a lesbian was consistent with their gender identity, i.e., that having a lesbian sexual orientation was not the

same as being male. When the female would transition to becoming a male, she/
he would then see his or her orientation as being different. Prior to the surgery,
she/he would be viewed by society as being a lesbian, yet she/he would identify
him/herself as being heterosexual. After the surgery, he would see himself as being
male and would continue to see himself as being heterosexual.

In contrast, Dozier's (2005) interviews with 18 trans-identified individuals
found that sexual orientation was not only based on the object of attraction, but
also on the gendered meanings created in sexual and romantic interactions. Some
participants in the present study described how their sexual orientation changed
with changes in their manifested gender identity, which in turn reinforced those
changes in gender identity. Consistent with this, many of the interviewees reported
changing their sexual orientation after transitioning to a more physically male iden-
tity, in terms of genitalia and/or other readily visible physical characteristics, and
that changing their sexual orientation, in turn, reinforced their transformed gender
identity. Devor's (1997) findings were also interpreted in terms of FTM transsexu-
als' sexual attractions changing in accordance with their changes in gender identity.

One of our transgender participants seemed to track their gender identity changes
by the changes in their sexual orientation, "When you're a transsexual, it's such a
huge all-encompassing issue—you don't even want to have a relationship. All you
want to do is figure out what gender you are. That's what it, that's what, goes with
you. So most people, before they were transsexual, are straight and they're born
gender. Born sex, excuse with me. So like I dated women. I even had sex with one
and wasn't my thing, but damn it I did it, you know, because that's what you're sup-
posed to do. You know, and when I started transitioning, in general, I didn't even
want to think whether I liked a man or a woman and the only boyfriend I ever had,
because I just started dating again like eight months ago, and I actually went, my
first boyfriend was like long-term relationship, it was like seven months and that
probably wasn't such a great idea, but anyway….um, enough of that and moving
on. You don't…It happens by accident when you discover your sexual orientation,
because you change. You know what I mean? You're so busy figuring out your gen-
der that you're just attracted to somebody and you're like, 'Oh, um, ok.'"

On the other hand, one transgender participant asserted that gender identity
defines sexual orientation: "My gender identity helped define my sexual identity.
Because prior to finally admitting that I didn't really fit in this binary system of
male and female, I realized that … how can I identify as someone who's gender
queer and be a lesbian, it doesn't make sense to me. Right now, I identify as queer,
as my sexual identity and my gender identity as gender queer. I just feel like …
I don't really see that there really is a binary. So I wouldn't even say bisexual,
because that's still acknowledging that there's a binary system. So…but it's taken
me awhile to figure that out. And then earlier I was saying that…it kind of helped
define me in the fact that if you were to take apart straight male and straight
female and both attributes of how that person acts, and then have the binary sys-
tem of gay male and gay female and what are the stereotypes of that, I am…I fol-
low in the gay male stereotype of my gender, for the most part. So in that way,
it kind of does define me, but I don't identify just as a gay male, because I like

women. And it's too constrictive. But if we were to try to use that binary system that's where I would end up."

For the other participants, the relationship between gender identity and sexual orientation was both complex and dynamic. Sexual orientation was viewed as being more fluid, in contrast to traditional theories that assume that gender is the behavioral, socially constructed correlate of one's physical sex (i.e., that gender is "written on the body"). As one transgender participant discussed, "I try not to define it, but I would say that the closest thing I can come to is to say omni-sexual or transsexual, something that includes every gender because um, I believe that I include every gender and I believe that's who I tend love, or who I can fall in love with is every gender. But if I defined myself as a female because I was born in a female body, I would say that I was also a bi-sexual or also—um, bi-sexual. Like, if I defined myself as a woman, but I only liked women, then I would say that I was a lesbian. Um, but I do define myself as all encompassing gender so I just think that the fact that I like women, shouldn't have a label, shouldn't be lesbian, shouldn't be, you know, heterosexual, it just shouldn't be defined. So it just depends on who I like, which the fact that I find myself everything and I can love anybody in any category, then I'm definitely kind of like very ambiguous sounding and very um—I think it's difficult for people to understand."

Another transgender participant described how "When I date women, I tend to be bossier, more controlling, and more 'my way or the highway.' Less flexible. I call the shots, I pay, I drive. I say, 'this is what we're doing now.' Most of the time, when I date men, I wouldn't even call them boyfriends. They're just kind of people I'm seeing. When I date women, there tends to be significantly more talking and sharing and mutual decision making."

A closer examination of interviewees' narratives of the changes in their gender identity, gender roles, and sexual orientations over time often reveals complex interactions among these domains. It is notable that, among our interviewees, gay men and lesbians were more willing to accept the intersectionality of gender and sexual identity than several of our transgender participants. This is perhaps due to the greater pressure experienced by transgender individuals to conform to heteronormative constructs of gender and sexual identity. As discussed by Diamond and Butterworth (2008), it is difficult to disentangle one's own gender identity from one's own experience, understanding, and interpretation of sexual desire. This was also the case for the responses obtained in the present research, and it would have been desirable to have built in some follow-up questions to explore the subtle ways that sexual orientation and gender identity may influence each other.

Narratives of Lived Experiences

In the previous chapter, we noted how our unique interview study comparing straight, gay/lesbian, and transgender individuals' perceptions of the nature of gender identity delineated how feminist and queer theories might be seen as adequate

for understanding gender identity for straight and most gay/lesbian individuals, but these theories would be seen as inadequate for some lesbian and all transgender individuals. The limitations of feminist and queer theories in conceptualizing embodied experiences are one area where transgender/trans-identity theories become appealing for those for whom such experiences are an important part of identity understanding and self-construction. Similarly, the comparative interview findings presented above, comparing straight, gay/lesbian, and transgender individuals on their perceptions of the relationships between gender and sexual identity, delineate how feminist and queer theories would be seen as adequate for understanding sexual identity for straight and gay/lesbian individuals. Feminist and queer theories are perfectly fine, if one believes that one's gender and sexual identities are merely the socially imposed versus self-constructed performances relative to otherwise fixed, socially constructed, and separable definitions of gender and sexuality. Feminist and queer theories are problematic, however, if one experiences socially constructed and embodied gender experiences as being fluid, as is the case for transgender individuals, or if one experiences socially constructed and embodied sexual experiences as being fluid, as is the case for bisexuals. For transgender individuals, the fluidity of gender identity necessitates an intersectionality with sexual identity, while for bisexuals, the fluidity of sexual identity necessitates an intersectionality with gender identity, and such intersectionalities are also inadequately understood within feminist and queer theories.

Similar to Tauschert's (2002) ideas, discussed in Chap. 5, social constructivist approaches that conceptualize gender and sexual identity in terms of performativity are an assertion of the mental over the physical that is consistent with a Western mind–body dualism. Here the self-constructive, queering mind is seen as being separate and potentially dominant over the determined, socially constructed substrate of gender and sexual identity. In contrast, a transgender/trans-identity approach to gender and sexual identity and their intersectionality is about the development and construction of a narrative of identity that integrates the continually changing socially constructed, embodied, and self-constructed experiences of gender and sexuality. The socially constructed part of identity for non-heteronormative individuals, in fact, often drives these individuals' narratives of identity development. McCam and Fassinger (1996) note how identity formation for sexual minorities, bisexual and transgender individuals included, occurs in a "context of pervasive environmental and internalized homophobia" (p. 508). Such a context brings these individuals face to face with the realities of oppression and the necessity of agency to resist this oppression.

Several researchers have used qualitative research methods to understand the narratives constructed my non-gender heteronormative individuals, particularly transgender individuals, to integrate their gender and sexual identities. It should be noted here that the inherently subjective nature of such narratives renders them accessible only through qualitative research approaches.

Schrock and Reid (2006) examined transsexuals' biographical storytelling as their means for expressing meaning about or conveying a transsexual identity. They noted research by Mason-Schrock (1996), who showed how members of a

transsexual support group created, adopted, and affirmed a standard repertoire of stories, including stories about early childhood crossdressing and denial narratives, that helped group members construct transsexual identities.

Schrock et al.'s (Schrock, Boyd and Leaf 2009; Schrock and Reid 2006; Schrock, Reid and Boyd 2005) interviews of nine male-to-female transsexual individuals yielded narratives of gender and sexual identity development that exemplify several aspects of our trans-identity theory. The intersectionality of gender and sexual identities was shown in Schrock and Reid's (2006) finding that their interviewees' sexual stories bolstered their transsexual identities through a rhetorical strategy of reconstructing previous sexual acts with men, in order to imagine what it would be like to be women. Stories of sex between two male-bodied people were not only construed as a small step toward womanhood, but interviewees sometimes depicted sexual encounters as life-altering epiphanies that spurred transition.

Schrock et al. (2005), in turn, focused on the embodied aspects of MTF transsexual individuals' narratives of developing a female gender identity, noting how the retraining, redecorating, and reshaping of their physical bodies shaped these individuals' feelings, role-taking, and self-monitoring of themselves as women. Schrock et al.'s interviewees could not just use discourse to overwrite their physical bodies, but needed to remake their physical bodies to fit cultural discourse (Butler 1990, 1993). Remaking their physical bodies was intimately tied to interviewees' self-perceptions as objects, feelings of authenticity, acceptance of pain for bodily conformity, and for some, stereotypical emotional orientations. Schrock et al. argue that, rather than reifying the essentialist, embodied nature of gender, as some feminist critics of transsexualism have argued, transsexual individuals' embodied experiences highlight the ways that society polices the gender binary - through restrictions on the body.

Finally, Schrock et al. (2009) discuss the "emotion work" of MTF transsexual individuals, where being out in public as women is more than just the cognitive performativity emphasized by queer theory. Taking a dramaturgical approach, Schrock et al. present their interviewees narratives of their preparatory emotion work to mitigate anxiety and generate self-confidence and emotion work in the situation to transform negative emotions as they arose when performing womanhood in public, and retrospective emotion work to reinterpret past public performances to neutralize negative and accentuate positive emotions.

Consistent with the ideas noted above that transgender and bisexual individuals experience similar intersectional identity issues, Cashore and Tuason (2009) conducted a qualitative study of nine individuals who self-identified as transgender, bisexual, or both and indeed found similarities across individuals in their discussions of the importance of identity formation relative to both the gender and sexual identity binaries. As has been found in previous qualitative research and reflecting ideas from trans-identity theory, Cashore and Tuason's participants typically somehow knew their true identities from an early age, but experienced their internal understanding of themselves clashing with the (presumably socially constructed) assumptions others made based on their outward appearances. Their

identity was perceived as being stigmatized, and despite their efforts, others continued to treat them as an identity that they were not. Such stigmatizing assumptions about bisexuality included beliefs that bisexual people would cheat on their partners, bisexual people just lived the way they did because it was trendy, and bisexual people were in denial of, or had not made up their minds about their true sexual orientation. Stigmatizing assumptions about transgenderism included such assumptions as that transgender people were deeply disordered or sexual offenders. Several strategies were presented by different individuals for dealing with both the gender and sexual identity binaries, including passing within those binaries, believing that gender and sexual identity were continuous, and seeing one's identity as being beyond those binaries. Issues of embodiment were reflected in some individual's describing how their physical characteristics helped in defining their identities.

What is particularly interesting about Cashore and Tuason's (2009) interview study for this section, however, were the manifestations of various forms of "agency" expressed by their transgender/bisexual individuals to oppose the oppressions resulting from the enforcement by others of the gender and sexual identity binaries. Such narratives of agency acted to affirm their identities. These narratives of agency included making public announcements of one's identity, reclaiming the identity that others denied them, educating and informing people about and asking them to address the individual as they would like to be addressed, researching their rights and acting as advocates for themselves and others, and acting as role models for others. Some of these narratives discussed the importance of encountering others whose identity resonated with them. Exposure to such alternative identities played a major role in participants' processes of coming to understand their own identities, as well as instilling participants with hope that achieving and expressing their true identities was possible.

Davidson's (2009) "girlyboys," discussed above, similarly presented narratives of overt resistance to the "gender leash," of affirming their gender and sexual identities outside the gender and sexual binaries, and of empowerment derived from intersectional identities. One participant noted how being bisexual gave him more tools of communication and lenses to understand people from a variety of positions, not just dominance or submission. As Davidson (2009) concludes:

> The participants rename their masculinity, grooming a world view that is grounded in relationships, rather than a "heritage of domination" (Abalos 2002), and which permeates both their cultures of colour and western societies at large. Their processes of transforming masculinities place them at odds with dominant norms, and therefore at odds with inherited male privilege. In that context, they choose to centre themselves in marginalized borderlands. It is in these borderlands that they cultivate their processes of emerging manhood (p. 629).

These narratives are consistent with Ekins and King's (2006) ideas about empowering "transcendent stories," where "self, body and gender redefining in the particular transcending story seeks to subvert and/or move beyond the binary divide" (p. 181). Rupp and Taylor's (2003) discussion of the public performances of drag queens, whether gay/lesbian, bisexual, or transgender/transsexual, also

capture the nature of when narratives of gender and sexual identity become oppositional or political and, hence, transcendant:

> First, and most important, is the degree to which a performance is demonstrably a site of *contestation* where symbols and identities are forged, negotiated, and debated by groups with different and competing interests. The second criterion is *intentionality*, or the deliberate, conscious, and strategic use of cultural entertainment as the medium of expression for political ideas. Third, we have argued that cultural repertoires of protest are distinguished from other nondeliberately political forms of cultural expression by the fact that the performance is staged by a set of actors for whom, in however transitory a manner, culture serves as an arena for the enactment, reinforcement, or renegotiation of *collective identity*. (p. 217)

Here again are the themes of this chapter of an integrating narrative of agency and the self-construction of identities in opposition to the oppression of socially constructed identities.

Participants' Transcendent Narratives

While our interview study of straight, gay/lesbian, and transgender individuals was not focused on such transcendent narratives of gender and sexual identity development and affirmation, such narratives often emerged, particularly for the transgender individuals, when addressing the following questions about the nature of gender identity in society: How important is gender identity for defining who you are? How does society view individuals who don't fit into the gender identity categories? At what age did your gender identity become salient and/or apparent? Describe the events that made you aware of your own gender identity?

With regard to the first two questions on the importance of gender identity and its relationship to social functioning, our straight participants all answered that gender identity was important, but did so without much elaboration and in terms of hypothetical persons, rather than from personal experience. Their answers with regard to when and how their own gender identity became salient were brief and often demonstrated little self-reflection. As one straight woman put it, "I just grew up, and felt comfortable with it. So, never became aware of it, just happened." While some of this lack of elaboration and narrative development on the part of our straight participants was undoubtedly due to their generally younger ages, relative to the gay/lesbian and transgender participants in our sample, the nature of their responses suggested little compelling need for these straight participants to question or self-construct their gender and sexual identities.

While, as was the case with our straight participants, all of our gay/lesbian participants noted the importance of gender for society, more personal connections emerged for some in this group. As one lesbian participant discussed: "It's important. I don't think that's how it should be, but I think, wherever someone is on the spectrum, and even how they project themselves, whether they are duplicating

gender components that match their physical body, or whether they're trying to reject some of that, you'll find that they are very aware, very analytical, and very conscious of those categories that they are trying to reject or fit into… When I was moving from my conservative environment, and trying to break free from some of that, I was very aware that, you know, how I dressed, or not wearing as much makeup, or not wearing dresses or whatever, was a rejection of a certain thing. I couldn't have articulated it like that at the time, but I was indeed very aware of the gendered components of society."

Far beyond what was the case for the straight participants, the question about when their gender identity became apparent elicited elaborated narratives in our gay/lesbian participants of having to deal with the expansive oppression of societal gender expectations. As one gay man discussed, "I think when I was a kid, I thought I knew. I think it's just being told by different individuals. I know I was a male. I started thinking that I had to be really masculine. And then, after awhile, I started thinking that I really had no future, and education was out, so if I was going to do anything, it was going to work. And then I quickly just picked up— I'm not sure from where—I wasn't going to be much, but I wanted attention, so the only way I figured I was going to get attention was acting out. And so people told me, like, 'You're going to be a troublemaker.'"

Another gay man's narrative elaborated several ways that male identity and masculinity were enforced, as he grew up: "My mother wasn't so much of a big deal with gender. It was my stepfather who was a kind of a gender freak. And I think, and my family they are very uncomfortable with anything that violates the norms because they are very religious. And, of course, religion tends to, unfortunately, often times equates with a certain orientation, towards gender. You know, so, I remember, let's see, it's funny because it's hard to remember because your feelings don't necessarily—you know, feelings come before memory a lot of the times I'm thinking… I remember incidents on the playground vaguely, where someone would say you're a sissy, are you a girl, you know, because I wasn't being aggressive or I wasn't displaying some kind of certain personality or a certain kind of behavioral characteristic that they wanted. I don't think of anything in particular except that my stepfather was very abusive to me, and so he was always saying that you need to be a man, which is to say that I was supposed to put myself, well, I don't even know how to say that, but he wanted me to be a man. It was being aggressive, it was doing things that were masculinity orientated, like chopping wood and stuff like that, which I did on my own. I just didn't want to do when he wanted me to do it. I was watching cartoons I wanted to be a kid. So, his notion of what a man was, was kind of like twofold, it was, being a man because I need you to do something and I'm going to gouge you into it any way I can, and also be a man by not crying, by not showing emotion, by being aggressive, you know, all those things, but I can't think of any specific incidents because there are a lot of times, and when you are a kid, it's kind of amorphous, you know you just, you know that it hurts your feelings first, and foremost you have the feeling of hurt and that reaction of the environment really is what guides you, even if you are not thinking about it."

As was found in Cashore and Tuason's (2009) interviews, one gay male participant discussed the importance of a positive role model for affirming his gender and sexual identity: "I think a lot of it had to do with having a boyfriend for a long time. He was comfortable with his sexuality. I mean he doesn't have an issue with it. His sexuality is what it is and there is nothing wrong with him and that doesn't make him any less of a man, and I think being around him was a very positive influence for me and also I just realized that, you know, I can still be a father. I can still have a long term relationship with someone. I can still take care of someone. I can still be a lawyer and make a lot of money, and I don't think the world is that money. I would much rather have children than make a lot of money, just me personally. But there is kind of just being around that as an influence and just seeing how my sexuality wasn't an issue and then being in san franciso for a month, where maybe a majority of the men are homosexual, like 40 %, like a very high percentage of the single men are homosexuals, and it is just not an issue there. I mean that is, so that is something that really helped me to come to grips with it being around so many people."

Consistent with the notion of transcendent stories, one lesbian participant discussed how her wrestling with societally imposed gender roles led her to a greater sense of personal identity and empowerment: "When I started going to college, when I started reading history and reading women's history, I started realizing a lot of stuff I was reading about—about the 19th-century—was what was trying to be imposed upon me, and I really started to understand better that, even though I'd been justifying it. Sort of that 'separate but equal' sort of thing. And again, I think so much of my understanding is my impression within that environment. It was very much about gender roles, and the limits, the pressure of those limits. Not believing them when they say they have reasons for them. This sort of devaluation of females, of girls. And so, therefore, my own gender and how I view the world, is also very much about those sort of gender icons that create those kind of problems and impressions, is exactly something that needs changing."

In addressing the question of the importance of gender for functioning in society, nearly all of our transgender participants asserted this importance in both abstract and personal terms. It is notable how one transgender participant noted the social importance of the performativity aspect of gender roles: "Because if you're trying to function in society as what you look like, and your gender identity does not match your sex, then you're constantly putting on an act, and you come off as fake. And people get that from you. Like, I sell jewelry for a living, and I talk fake to people like I'm a really greasy salesman. You know, and it's so much easier when you can just be honest with people, and if you're an honest person with yourself it comes through."

Building on this idea of gender performativity, another transgender participant presented a narrative of how the nature of this performativity changes as one conforms more to heteronormative social expectations: "Obviously we've got a society where we base a lot of assumptions on whether a person is male or female. I mean, the whole thing is kind of fabricated. So, a lot of times, having—or being perceived as one or the other—makes a huge difference in society. I don't think

that's a good thing about our society. I think that should be reduced, people should be treated equally. That makes a huge difference in society. So, before transition, I looked…I guess people perceived me all over the map. Sometimes people would perceive me as a boy, or a young man. Or, sometimes, people would perceive me as a lesbian. And, and I've found, and this is…I think, due to good luck, most of the time, even though my gender identity and my gender presentation has been a little out of the norm, it has rarely caused me huge social negative repercussions. I can do what I want to do. What's interesting now is that, as I get farther into the transition, I've got to get less gender deviant. And that'll be different for me because I've been gender deviant. As I woman, I've been gender deviant. As a man, I won't be so much. So that'll be interesting."

Another transgender participant discussed some of the political ramifications of gender in society: "I wish I could have children that I don't have to raise gendered, and they can just decide for themselves whatever it is that they want to do. But they need to know what bathroom to go into. And then I need to know what bathroom to go into to change their diapers. Society doesn't function genderless. I mean, it doesn't make any sense why it doesn't. And when we talk about transitioning names and stuff on college campus, when you're dealing with computer systems and bookkeepers, they're always going, 'Oh, no, no, no, we can't change the 'M' to the 'F' part because we have to keep that for—analysis.' And then I ask, 'Why is it relevant how many penises and vaginas are in Chem 101? And if it really is that relevant, do you go in and check and make sure? And if you do that, what rules make up the penis that's good enough to be in Chem 101 for it to count?' And if you're not willing to do that, take the fucking question off. It's not hard, you don't need to know it, because you don't actually look into it. You just take people's value, and you trust your own perception—how subjective is that?—to be able to know which box to check. Because Chem 101 will just die if you aren't able to say how many men and women took that class. If it really is that important, then start doing your homework. And, you know, have everyone lift their skirts or something."

Consistent with many previous interview studies of transgender individuals, all of our transgender participants recalled being aware of their non-heteronormative gender identity at an early age. What is compelling in these narratives are the various ways that these transgender participants developed a sense of their own gender and sexual identity separate from social expectations and then empowered themselves to assert this identity. This first transgender participant's narrative begins with the development of that awareness of a distinct identity and then moves on to asserting that identity in a public forum: "I think there's a point in everyone's life where you eventually grasp certain aspects of your self, where you're cognicent that there is something going on. And I think for me that was that point. I mean, I was very young, so it wasn't quite that eloquent and it wasn't quite that wordy, but I knew there was something there, I knew there was something going on right at that second. That's when I woke up. And I was like, 'Oh.' It's actually one of the first memories I have of being a person, of having my own mind. And that's when I first started developing my own sense…I mean, I already had my own sense of

who I was by that point, but this really kicked it into gear to where I solidified that feeling inside of myself… I cultivate being transgender. I'm in the mental health field, I'm a student. I make sure people are aware, my colleagues, my senior colleagues, my peers, are aware of my gender status. I start out the first semester of every year being particularly butch, and particularly masculine, and particularly deep-voiced. Or I walk into a lecture hall of four-hundred graduates in a women's studies program, dressed in very feminine attire, and I write my name across the board, and I turn around and say in my best James Earl Jones voice, 'The first thing about gender is that things aren't always what they seem.' I make a point, and some people get angry, because they say I'm confrontational, and it's, like, 'No, I'm not confrontational. I'm here in a university environment, and I think it's important that transgender people try to normalize the experience, the transgendered experience.' Too often times, what transsexuals are told during transition is that the entire point is so that you pass in public as if you were never anything else. Well, that requires making up a lifetime biography from 'When I was a little girl.' You know what, I never was a little girl. I was a little boy who thought—who knew—she was a little girl. But it had to be a little boy. So, being that I am in a profession, and going into the profession I'm going into, and being that transgendered people are not…. We're not rare."

The next three narratives from our transgender participants are not only compelling as examples of transcendent stories of the self-construction of identity in opposition to being forced to conform to socially constructed norms for gender and sexual identity, but the stories also reflect different ways that intersectional identities became sources of personal empowerment. In the first case, it was the intersectionality of transgender identity with being HIV positive: "If gender were the most difficult part of my life, then maybe I'd have second thoughts about being the way that I am. If the only thing I had to hide was being transgendered, and I could go out and pretend to be a woman, or having been born a woman, and go to a lesbian bar, and do that, meet a nice woman, and somehow get away with that, then okay. But I have AIDS. So if the worst conversation I have to have with a woman I hit on is, 'By the way, I have a penis,' well, then, maybe I'd try to slide. But, morally, how can you slide with the reality that you have HIV? It's like, 'Sweetheart, the worst thing about me is not that I have a dick. You know, I also have HIV.' Being HIV-positive in America's difficult. Being transgendered in America is difficult. Being a pre-operative lesbian feminist with a penis, HIV-positive, AIDS-symptomatic, individual in the United States…ain't so hard. Because anywhere from here is up. And there's a tremendous amount of freedom…in my life because of it. I lost everything. And everything from there is up."

For this second transgender participant, it was dealing with the intersectionality between queer/gay and transgender identity that was empowering: "Like when I was younger, I always had like this feeling that I was very masculine, I was a very masculine child, and I was like 'oh ok well that's why I kind of strutted around with my dad' when I was five years old in front of the girl next door, and like you know things that are just 'like wow this is really weird.' And like, I kind of put all the pieces of the puzzle together just this last year. Just this last year I was

like 'oh this is who I am. Because, I mean for people—for the queer community and for transgender community, which aren't always necessarily the same, if you identify yourself as queer first, you have to come out once, and then if you identify yourself as trans, you have to come out another time. Most of the time it's the second time that's more difficult. So, it took me longer, obviously to understand that. Because I came out to myself as an individual in the queer society when I was fifteen and then now I am nineteen, and I just realized this is who I am in the last year. So it's taken a while. But then I go back to my life and I see all the little pieces that make sense to me now, so all those weird dreams that I had, or all those times that I felt very masculine and I didn't know why and I thought maybe I was just a butch lesbian or a butch bi-sexual, or whatever you would like to call it. And, I just think that, I mean, so, I figured it out in the last year but I realized it was a little bit long way."

Finally, a third transgender participant similarly discussed how politically embracing a gay identity was a stepping stone to embracing a transgender identity: "As a child I recognized that I identified more with my nephew than with my female friends at school. I didn't know that was gender identity at the time. I was too young to understand that, and I didn't know that there was such as thing as a transsexual at that age. But I always felt kind of odd. I identified with my brother who was older than me, my nephew that was younger than me. Again I had to interpret that in some way, and for a while I thought that I just wasn't mature yet, I am just immature and I will get out of it or it will go away. But when I was a teenager I began to develop a certain pride in it, even though it was frustrating. I didn't see any way out of it. I discovered people like me in the world, not in my life, but for example, watching Lily on Masterpiece Theater in the 70′s, which was about Lily Langtry, and she was friends with Oscar Wilde, and so they had an actor named Peter Egan play Oscar Wilde on that series, and he just took my breath away. Oh! So I kind of internally developed this kind of gay pride that I could not talk about. And I got on the pride committee in my 20′s, and I didn't explain it, because I thought they would all think I was nuts. So apparently they thought of me as a straight woman who cared about the gay community, but I did work for them, and it was hard to get volunteers. I was treated just fine but I think that they all wondered why is she here? But I knew if I tried to explain, I identify with the gay men here, I would be crazy because that wasn't talked about yet. This was before the internet. There was Renee Richards and a few famous people, and that was it. So it really wasn't in the public consciousness or even the gay community."

In contrast to the previous chapter, where our comparative qualitative research revealed that gay/lesbian individuals particularly differed from transgender individuals in their beliefs about embodiment as a basis for gender and sexual identity, the above findings demonstrate many commonalities between gay/lesbian and transgender individuals with regard to their narratives of experiencing at an early age the oppression of being made to conform to heteronormative gender and sexual identity constructs. As Cashore and Tuason's (2009) interview study of transgender and/or bisexual individuals found, the narratives of our gay/lesbian and transgender participants expressed how early experiences of, in any way, not

conforming to these heteronormative social constructs made salient the need to self-construct relevant and possibly empowering gender and/or sexual identities. For some of these gay/lesbian and transgender individuals, such self-constructions of identity developed into conscious narratives of identity construction for personal fulfillment and in opposition to the oppression of heteronormative socially constructed gender and sexual identities.

Chapter 8
Practice and Personal Empowerment

The trans-identity theory (Nagoshi and Brzuzy 2010) we have presented in this book emphasizes an all-encompassing theory of transgender and other gender and sexual identities. Many scholars have addressed these theoretical constructs over the last several decades but, for me, in order to get to the point where personal empowerment has been possible, I needed more than any one particular framework offers. I believe the research we have done supports this position and can help professionals in mental health fields to advocate and empower individuals dealing with the challenges of negotiating a fluid gender identity in a non-fluid world.

This chapter considers the implications of our theoretical explorations and our quantitative and qualitative research findings for mental health practitioners working with non-heteronormative individuals, particularly transgender/transsexual individuals. In addition to a review of the relevant theoretical and quantitative/qualitative research literature, I present narratives from our interviews of our gay/lesbian and transgender participants and my own experiences of living through the dynamic interactions of socially constructed, self-constructed, and embodied aspects of gender and sexual identity. Consistent with our trans-identity theory, one of our prescriptions for practitioners is for a greater self-reflexivity and appreciation of the narratives of lived experiences of both the non-heteronormative client and the typically heteronormative practitioner in the therapeutic relationship.

Despite the gains we have made in the perceived fluidity of gender identity in the trans/queer communities, societal stereotypes and prejudices often make social functioning and adjustment difficult for gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (GLBT) youth. In 2009, the National School Climate Survey administered by the Gay, Lesbian, and Straight Education Network (GLSEN) to 7,261 middle and high school students across the United States found that approximately 9 out of 10 LGBT students reported experiencing harassment in school in the last 12 months. Almost 67 % reported feeling unsafe at school due to their sexual orientation. In looking at school climate over the last decade, the GLSEN survey found that rates of more severe forms of harassment and bullying have not decreased (GLSEN 2012).

Brown, Clarke, Gortmaker, and Robinson-Keilig (2004) note that "reviews of published campus climate studies for GLBT students universally indicate that these students experience discrimination, harassment, and fear and that the campus climate for them is chilly at best" (p. 9). Their survey of GLBT and non-GLBT college students on one campus found that GLBT students did perceive the campus climate more negatively and had more awareness of and participation in GLBT topics and activities. Brown et al. (2004) also found important differences between first/second year classman and upper classman in terms of the development of their ideas and feelings about GLBT issues.

Interestingly, Mustanski, Garofalo, and Emerson's (2010) study of representative samples of LGBT and non-LGBT youth found that, while LGBT youth had higher prevalences of mental disorders than a national sample of youth as a whole, prevalences of mental disorders of LGBT youth did not differ from prevalences for urban, racial/ethnic minority youth. In a later paper, Liu and Mustanski (2012) reported that self-harm in LGBT youth was correlated not only with personality risk factors, but also with prospective hopelessness and victimization associated with one's LGBT status. Taken together, these studies suggest the pervasive effects of marginalization and discrimination in increasing the risk for psychological maladjustment in any marginalized group, a theme that will continuously emerge throughout this chapter.

At the time of this authorship, transgender populations continue to exhibit some of the most significant social functioning disparities, when compared to any other demographic. A brief review of current statistics includes:

- 34 % of the MTF and 18 % of the FTM populations reported injection drug use (Simon et al. 2000).
- In a study based on large urban cities as much as 47 % of the MTF have been diagnosed with HIV (Xavier et al. 2005; Clements-Nolle et al. 2001; Simon et al. 2000; Nemoto et al. 2004).
- 80 % of MTF transgenders reported having performed sex work and 85 % had participated in unprotected anal sex (San Francisco Department of Public Health, 1999).
- According to a study by Kenegy (Xavier et al. 2005),
  - As much as 53.8 % of transgenders have been forced to have sex against their will.
  - 56.3 % of transgenders have experienced violence in their home.
  - 51.3 % have been physically abused.

- Murder rates against transgender individuals are as much as six times higher than the national average, which is more than three times higher than that of African American males, the next highest demographic (Kolakowski 1999).
- As much as 64 % of the transgender population has thought about attempting suicide and 32 % has attempted (Clements-Nolle et al. 2001).
- Even within the transgender populations, hate crimes and discrimination is further reinforced by race and ethnic intersections. According to the National Coalition for Anti-Violence Programs (2012):

- People who identified as both transgender and people of color were almost 2.5 times more likely to experience discrimination than non-transgender white individuals.
- Transgender people represented a higher proportion of hate violence survivors with injuries: transgender survivors experienced higher rates of serious injuries (11.8 %), as compared to non-transgender men (6.2 %) or non-transgender women (1.3 %).

For a fairly comprehensive overview of transgender disparities please review the Fenway Guide to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Health (Makadon et al. 2008).

Essentialist Versus Socially Constructed Gender Identity Disorder

The essentialist view of gender is that the relationships among gender, gender identity, gender roles, and sexuality, including the dominant status of men over women in societies, are natural and inevitable. To the contrary, several studies have found that only a small percentage of men and women fall exclusively in one gender role category, but rather manifest a combination of both masculinity and femininity (Devor 1989). While, as is discussed below, women working from a feminist theory perspective may challenge the gender role aspects of the essentialist view of gender, a more fundamental challenge comes from individuals who define themselves as being intersexed. Deviating from this natural gender identity classifies such individuals as being either a "joke" or as having a type of pathology (Garfinkel 1967).

Unfortunately, in order to "correct" for this "gender mishap," the individual will most likely be assigned a biological sex at birth based on their secondary sexual characteristics. This is done to help detour "pathological problems" supposedly caused by one's physical identity not matching their expected gender role. This "gender correction" was historically also the basis for once classifying homosexuality in the Diagnostic and Statistics Manual (DSM) of the American Psychiatric Association (APA) as a mental disorder, and one could argue is still the basis of the gender dysphoria diagnosis currently in the DSM (Ault and Brzuzy 2009).

Butler (1990) discusses the medical system that pathologizes transsexuality and points out the implications of such an ideology: "It assumes the language of correction, adaptation, and normalization and that something has gone awry and needs to be fixed" (p. 77). Providing a brief history of Gender Identity Dysphoria, Butler argues that GID perpetuates APA's homophobia, even though APA discarded the diagnosis of homosexuality as a disorder. Butler argues against the assumption of gender as a fixed permanent phenomenon, which is a requirement for sex reassignment surgery, and against the assumption of a dyadic structure of

gender because "the complementarity does not acknowledge the layers of gender identity and sexual orientation" (p. 78). This diagnosis not only stems from homophobia and transphobia (Nagoshi et al. 2008), but our society's overall fixation with living within the heteronormative ideal and categorization. I also think that the diagnosis is a way to take away the power of the transsexual individual by treating them as having a pathology and thus as not being functional, productive humans in our society.

Transsexualism was added as a disorder to the DSM in 1988 and was listed as Gender Dysphoria, characterized by a strong and persistent cross-gender identification, persistent discomfort with one's sex, and associated significant distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning (Hird 2002). In 1994, the American Psychiatric Association's DSM-IV changed the name Gender Dysphoria Disorder to Gender Identity Disorder. The criteria for Gender Identity Disorder include: (A) A strong and persistent cross-gender identification (not merely a desire for any perceived cultural advantages of being the other sex). (B) Persistent discomfort with his or her sex or sense of inappropriateness in the gender role of that sex. (C) The disturbance is not concurrent with physical intersex condition. (D) The disturbance causes clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning (American Psychiatric Association 1994).

As Hird (2002) asserts, more ironically, the same kinds of causal factors that used to be attributed to the "disorder of homosexuality," unconscious rearing of the child in the opposite sex, too much influence of the mother/too little of the father, parental deviations from accepted masculinity/femininity, birth order, divorce, temporal lobe disorder, introversion, depression, non-adjustment to work, early stages of transvestism, narcissism, profound dependency conflicts, immaturity, and other personality disorders, continue to be regarded as causal factors for the "disorder of transsexualism." And some researchers have suggested that homosexuality is also a causal factor for transsexualism (Hird 2002).

While it can be argued that few modern clinicians believe in these causal factors for transsexualism, nevertheless, as noted above, transsexualism and transgenderism are still regarded as disorders in the American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistics Manual DSM-IV (APA, 1994). Hird (2002) makes the case that, as with homosexuality, the distress, anger, and depression evidenced in transsexual individuals is the result of societal discrimination and not the transsexual condition itself, which appears to be an essential and unchangeable aspect of an individual's identity. The importance of not separating gender and sexual orientation in studies of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) individuals was also highlighted by Jagose and Kulick (2004).

Sex reassignment surgery (SRS) as a "cure" for Gender Identity disorder is controversial in raising broader issues about socially ascribed male and female gender identities and invoking strong reactions with regard to what is "best" for the person considering this type of surgery. While some transsexuals want to live as the "opposite gender," others care less about fitting into one of the two normative gender categories, "male" or "female." Some transsexuals may want to have

the surgery done, but cannot, due to costs, medical barriers, or religious reasons. Some people identify as transgender rather than as transsexual as a way to invoke a different gender identity altogether, one that does not fall into either male or female category. Many transgender individuals have little or no intention of having genital surgery (Bornstein 1994), although transgender views on SRS vary greatly depending upon personal self-definition and beliefs.

Though many may want access to the hormones and surgery, there are many obstacles to this process. There are very few surgeons willing to perform SRS. Certain steps must be followed before SRS is permitted (Harry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria Association, 2007). Most jurisdictions and medical boards require a minimum duration of psychological evaluation, hormone replacement therapy (HRT), and living full time as a member of the "target gender," i.e., the real life experience (RLE) or real life test (RLT).

Opponents of SRS argue that getting SRS and HRT is not in the best interest of the individual. These surgeries can cost tens of thousand of dollars, and insurance companies will usually not pay for these expenses. There are also many risks associated with the surgery. Though medicine has advanced, many people are left permanently scarred and/or without physical sensation, and there are people who still die due to complications (Stryker and Whittle 2006).

Many transgender and transsexual individuals are searching for a physical embodiment that conforms to their personal sense of self. Many transsexuals are not comfortable identifying as simply "male" or "female" before or after the surgery, and neither are they aspiring to meet the stereotypical ideals of being a male or female in their postoperative life. Yet having sex reassignment surgery helps facilitate being perceived by others as a man or woman, thereby allowing individuals to better fit into society (Green 2004). In general, society requires people to fit into the male or female gender box throughout one's daily functioning, including one's driver's license, work histories, birth certificates, school transcripts, parents' wills, and what public restroom to use (Green 2004). As was expressed by several of our transgender participants in Chaps. 6 and 7, the difficulty of needing to conform to society's binary gender arrangements often becomes a secondary motivation for transsexuals to have the surgery.

Scholars and activists debate what rights transsexuals and transgenders should have regarding SRS. Leslie Feinberg (1996) argues that it is the right of the individual to be able to modify one's body through surgery. Feinberg points out that women already get HRT for menopause and fertility assistance, and many have cosmetic surgery done, such as breast implants, breast reductions, face lifts, or belly tucks. In contrast to cosmetic surgery, SRS patients must be diagnosed as having Gender Identity Disorder and must undergo extensive evaluations. To get around these institutional barriers, some transsexuals buy hormones on the street, get prescriptions from underground doctors, or travel to other countries for the surgery, placing them at further health risks (Feinberg 1996).

Feminism, queer theory, essentialism, and social constructivism, viewed comprehensively, have a transformative power. Taken together, I can, for the better, describe and ultimately empower myself to embrace my lived experience and

self-construction of my identities—trans, queer, white, female bodied, middle class (to name a few). Psychological adjustment problems are not problems with my gender identity; rather, they are my problems with being pressured to conform to socially constructed aspects of gender and sexual identities (among others) that I do not fit into "properly." Tre Wentling, in "Am I Obsessed: Gender Identity Disorder, Stress and Obsession" (2009), provides an excellent examination of how the social construction of gender identity disorder creates pathology and causes real psychological and physical suffering in our community.

The psychopathologizing of non-normative gender identity is the problem and the real mental health issue that needs community attention. The social construction of gender non-conformity as pathology greatly impacts my ability to be a healthy citizen of the world. McPhail (2004) sees the field of social work (I am a social work academic, too) as being caught between the social constructivist impulses of theoretically oriented academic researchers, who may regard all identity categories as open to interpretation, and the essentialist impulses of practitioners and political activists/advocates, who regard fixed identity categories as sources of oppression and empowerment. Her suggested solution is for social workers to "compromise" (and I would add all mental health professionals) by recognizing the tension between the essentialist, binary, oppression model of identity, and the social constructivist queer theory models. Burdge (2007), in turn, argues that social workers, deriving their theoretical bases for working with transgender individuals from queer theory and social constructivism, should "challenge the rigid gender binary, either by eliminating it or expanding it to include more gender possibilities" (p. 247). However, Burdge does not acknowledge the problem of social constructivist approaches undermining the meaningfulness of identity.

There are key differences in applying transgender theory, as opposed to feminist and queer theories, to practice. The recognition of the importance of the physical-embodiment of intersecting identities, as well as the understanding of how the narratives of lived experiences integrate the socially constructed, embodied, and self-constructed aspects of identity, are essential. Transgender theory emphasizes the understanding of how "transgressing" narratives of lived experiences integrate and empower those with oppressed intersectional identities.

In conclusion, personal empowerment of the transgender community must include and be supported by considering embodied and self-constructed identities. In addition to sharing and cultivating transcendent stories, in which the narratives of our lived experiences become an assertion of personal responsibility and transformation, at the same time, we must continue our work to eradicate the diseasing of gender identity.

I have thought a lot about how to write this chapter, and I decided to use some of my lived experiences to illuminate my own journey toward health and personal empowerment as a self-defined queer/trannies. Along with my stories, I will use excerpts from the interviews with self-defined transgender individuals done for this research project (and discussed throughout the book) that most reflect the topics I am emphasizing. Throughout, I will address some of the literature and give

examples of how professionals in community mental health fields can support the gender variant community.

I hope to highlight the importance of personal empowerment in a gender discriminating world and the elements of trans-identity theory that make this discussion possible for me. I will begin with some of my musings from 2005/2006 that drove my interest in this project. Obviously, our ideas have evolved from when we first embarked on this research together but I documented my messy thought process and what I was pondering about the topics then. I believe it is worth beginning with this moment in time. As you will note, it is really a series of questions:

> **SB Journal Entry:** (Sometime in 2005/2006) Are we condemning people who are gay for their sexual identity or for their refusal to follow gender binary-categories? Is the linking of these two the issue? If so, why do folks who are gay and those who are trans have trouble talking to each other? Is it that gay people are defying specific roles that are most threatening to straight people? And, trans-people are defying specific roles that are most threatening to gay people? Does this hierarchy of oppression make sense, since each furthers the breaking apart of prescribed sexual and gender identities even further, and is that not the ultimate threat to the stability of gender as an oppressive system.? Is not true gender liberation a complete collapse of a gender system? Is not feminism asking for the same thing? Are the trans-movement and the feminist movement more alike than the trans-movement and the gay movement?

De-Gendering

Why do/did these questions matter? At the time, these questions were a part of my own journey to personal understanding and ultimately empowerment. I needed to know more to describe my reality. In 2005/2006, I was still struggling with understanding and integrating my trans-identity and developing my personal narrative of how I got here. These questions were important jumping off points.

I am reminded of Judith Lorber's (2009) essay "A World Without Gender: Making the Revolution." She discusses how feminism abandoned the project of creating a de-gendered world and asks the important question, what would a gender equal world look like? I was and am still acutely interested in de-gendering the world. Life with gendered differences in my mind is a "separate but equal" status of second-class citizenship. In today's gender struggles, why are we trying to obtain a separate but equal status? It does not work. The dominant groups win, and the non-dominant groups lose. We have enough public policy evidence to suggest this is a flawed strategy. It has not worked for past equal rights struggles, and it cannot work for gender equality struggles today. I often think this is why our rights movement has stalled over the last couple of decades.

Why the de-gender project is so important to my own individual empowerment process brings me to the work of Judith Butler (1990) and the pathologizing of gender identity. Butler discusses the medical system that pathologizes transsexuality and points out the implications of such a stance: "It assumes the language of correction, adaptation, and normalization and that something has gone

awry and needs to be fixed" (p. 77). Providing a brief history of Gender Identity Disorder and Dysphoria (GID), Butler argues that GID perpetuates the APA's homophobia, even though the APA discarded the diagnosis of homosexuality as a disorder in the early 1970s. The World Health Organization's International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems (2007) classifies gender identity variance in a similar fashion as the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM IV-TR, 2000), published by the American Psychiatric Association and currently under its first major revision since 1994. The revisions are critical for furthering our right to not be pathologized and because the revisions will impact the WHO definitions that have far-reaching global implications.

Some activists and scholars have called for the complete elimination of GID from the DSM (Ault and Brzuzy 2009; Burdge 2007) while others have called for modifications to the classification that puts more emphasis on the suffering individuals face from being gender non-conformists. GID assumes gender is a fixed and permanent phenomenon and thus a requirement for sex reassignment surgery, when bodies do not line up with gender identities. In this scenario, there is no way to see the fluidness of gender identity and/or sexual identity. The binary structure of gender must be maintained for the gendered system to continue uninterrupted. While activists continue to challenge the diseasing of gender identity, sex reassignment and hormone therapies will likely stay the purview of the health and mental health care systems for quite sometime. It is important for mental health professionals to know the impact of obtaining a mental health diagnosis for the purposes of body modification. The GID diagnosis takes power away from the trans community by pathologizing our lives as opposed to our being viewed as "normal"—functional and productive citizens of the world.

The depathologizing of gender variant identities, however, does not remove the problem of transgender individuals having to deal with the pervasive and pernicious transphobia that exists in society. Mental health professionals need to make clear to clients that their discomfort with their gender identity is not a pathology, but instead is an issue of having to conform to society's gender binary-norms. Mental health professionals should not recommend sex reassignment surgery just so clients can better cope with social pressures regarding gender, but instead should create a safe space for clients to create their own gender identity narratives, regardless of whether the client wants body modification procedures.

> **Transgender Interview:** It is a bit of a relief, in the sense that, there is a lot of less worry of being found out. I guess the hypothetical is that you are in a car accident and your clothes are torn, and the paramedics show up and they are like, "She's a girl. Wait, wait, what's this?" So that identity is better for everyone else on the outside. But myself? It really made no difference, whether I had surgery or not. The surgery completed me, a complete transformation, and since my personality type said, "Let's finish the job," that made the most sense. But part of the reason I had the surgery was not only for me, but was for society, just to make society feel more at ease. Which is about as fucked-up as it gets. But it is a truism, and there is not much you can do to work around that. Now, please do not misunderstand me, I had the surgery for me. But do not get me wrong by saying, there was also an ulterior motive by saying that because I had surgery, and because I now fit

into society's "norms" of gender, my life will be a little easier because of that, once I kind of get past the transition phase, and my male life is left in the past.

The categorization is not only limiting but silences the stories of the many lived experiences of individuals who cross-gender expectations. For example, in Taylor and Rupp's (2005) study, one individual describes herself as a "white gay man trapped in a black woman's body" and "omnisexual," since she is attracted to men and women of all sexual identities (p. 2118). She/he states "I am what I am." Taylor & Rupp argue that drag queens "play with and deconstruct gender and sexual categories in their performance and this makes gender and sexual fluidity and oppression visible." This "play" pushes up against the boundaries and acceptable norms of a gendered system. Ultimately, we are pressured to accept the unacceptable and any digression from normative gender expectations can create social, economic, and physical suffering.

> **Transgender Interview**: Again, I do not see gender, I see people. Just because some have genitalia that is penises, and some vaginas, it is irrelevant to me, they are people. They are spirits. As according to Kate [Bornstein], I would probably have to say "other," because I do not need to fall into either group, although I fall more visually into the female side, again I still have a lot of traits that some people would consider very masculine. I enjoy playing sports, and when I play sports, I play to win. There is no second-best, there is no best try, I play to win. And I am cutthroat. I will do anything that is required to ruin the rules of the game. So I would probably have to say "other." "Other," with an asterisk to say that I do consider myself feminine and female, but a very aggressive female. Someone who would normally be called "bitch," because they would not play by men's rules of what women should be.
>
> **Transgender Interview**: No, gender is very fluid. Two examples would be the absolute "bull-dyke" and the effeminate gay male. One is female acting with almost all traits that are male. The other is male acting with almost all traits that are female. So gender is not binary. Our society likes binaries, because it is easy and because it is quaint, and it only requires two checkboxes. However, reality and nature are no where near what society says it is, and society needs to understand that. Unfortunately, at this time in our evolutionary process that is not an issue, it is not on the board.
>
> **Transgender Interview:** On the body…matching: For me, I feel like it is important that I look at every step of how to become more comfortable with myself, whatever that might be. I am thinking about top surgery, but I have pretty much ruled out taking hormones. I think that a lot of people either feel like they have to fully transition, whatever that means for them. In the f-to-m community, that means at least taking hormones and top surgery, bottom surgery not as much. I think, for me, I do not really identify as male or female, though my body does for the most part match my gender identity, so I do not really have to do anything. But for people who are in that binary system and they identify as "male" or "female" or "on their way," then I feel yes, there is a strong need for those people. If that is kind of where their model is and where their feeling is of gender, then I think it is really important, because it is really distracting to think you are one way and be perceived as another.
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> **Transgender Interview**: I think it is probably, from my personal standpoint, it is better just to be read within the binary system. …So I frequently talk about the dichotomy between trans-men and trans women, and that it is very difficult for trans-women to pass, because of size and body hair and mannerisms. Undoing the masculine socialization is very difficult. And the testosterone is in your system for such a very long time that, typically, it is very difficult to pass as a woman. But a man can look like anything. So a trans-man can be anything. The down-side to that is that trans-women suffer a lot of violence

and hate crimes and things like that, because they are obviously, freakishly, not fitting into a category for a pretty extended period of time. Trans men suffer because they are completely invisible. And so, it is just…they are claiming masculine privileges that should have been there all along, and they blend in as men. By virtue of being invisible, there is not a lot of research, not a lot of studies, there is not a lot of voices, there is very little community development, things like that. It is very lonely, being a trans-man.

Part of my personal empowerment project is to continue to work for the de-gendering of society. It is a long and slow process but it should not be abandoned for smaller gains. I believe the trans community has an important role to play in the de-gendering project as our being men, women, both, and neither gives proof to the ability to live in an embodied, self-constructed, and self-defined identity.

Stories: A Path to Empowerment

Stories matter. Finding a way to convey our own personal narratives helps in the self-construction of lived experiences and ultimately reinforces health. Mental health professionals can prove a great resource in the process of assisting clients to find their own narratives. As discussed in the previous chapter, Ekins and King (2006) propose empowering "transcendent stories," where "self, body and gender redefining in the particular transcending story seeks to subvert and/or move beyond the binary divide" (p. 181). Selves, bodies, body parts, sexualities, and genders can take on new meanings within the redefined system of classification. Hird (2002), calls for "resisting constraining classifications, redefining classifications, and planning different strategies of resistance within different sites of power/knowledge" (Ekins and King 2006, p. 232). Burdge (2007), in fact, calls for social workers to empower transgender individuals to resist having to conform to the gender binary, but transgender theory, I think, provides a more comprehensive basis for this empowerment than queer theory.

Transgender theory suggests that the lived experiences of individuals, including their negotiations of multiple intersectional identities, may empower without confining us to any particular identity category. Transgender theory advocates for practitioners to look for sources of empowerment in the dynamic interactions among embodied and constructed aspects of identity. For example, Somerville (2000) discusses how intersectional identities can allow individuals to respond to the social forces that determine and objectify one's identities in multiple ways. In particular, she discusses Leslie Feinberg's (1993) semiautobiographical novel *Stone Butch Blues* about arriving at a "transgender" identity, voice, and subjectivity that transcends the socially defined gender category. It is the multiplicity of identities that allows Feinberg to achieve this, that "the emergence of this transgendered voice and subjectivity is mediated through racial discourses… through repeated invocations of Native American and African American culture and identity" (Somerville 2000, p. 171).

Lucal (1999) provides another example of a transcendent story based on embodiment. After discussing the various ways that her masculine physical appearance as an MTF caused those around her to have difficulty interacting with her, she nevertheless chose to "continue my nonparticipation in femininity" as "one of my contributions to the eventual dismantling of patriarchal gender constructs" (p. 793). Here the remnants of male embodiment were narrativized to not only be a source of personal meaning, but also as a basis for political activism. Mental health professionals can identify sources of empowerment in these intersectional identities of clients by encouraging clients to view a seemingly oppressed identity from the perspective of another identity. Eventually, this intersectional perspective may lead clients to understand their embodied ability to construct their own unique identity.

> **Transgender Interview:** As I transitioned to where I am now, I am much more understanding and caring than I used to be. I am not as aggressive, although I can be aggressive. You would not want to back me into a dark corner, because I would come out swinging, I would not give it a second thought, which is a much more male trait than it is female. But coming from that background, I also understand that sometimes you have to fight in life, and it may not be pretty, and it may not be the right thing to do, but sometimes it is the only thing you can do. So…I see myself at both ends of the scale, and a lot of points in between. I just see myself as a person, not as either male or female. Just as a person.

> **Transgender Interview:** I see myself as predominantly feminine, but with a healthy dose of social masculine. …I will never deny the fact that for thirty years I lived as a man. I think that makes me stronger as a woman. I'm proud of that, I have lived and actually survived. So I define myself as embodying both, but more woman than man although, it is been a long time coming. It is getting ingrained culturally in sort of–behavior patterns, and the natural response—the default response—for the longest time is to respond in the old way, just act natural. At first you have to actively say, "Okay, now how would a woman think?" if you can imagine. But eventually it becomes ingrained, it becomes second nature, you shake off the dominant narrative, and you begin to express your own self, a sense of spirituality and connectedness. So, I would describe myself as having reached a point where I am more feminine than masculine.

Validation: Its Importance to Empowerment

Our language choices often communicate gender identity oppression and prejudice as it typically reinforces the gender binary. Language can be very validating or quite hurtful. Either by direct insult or by creating invisibility of lived experiences and self constructions of identity. This often goes unnoticed in our everyday interactions with individuals. When working with transgender individuals, Lindsey (2005) asks service providers to consider, "How to describe, in accessible language, such complicated and personal issues as one's gender identity or the choice to medically transition or how a searing homophobic or transphobic remark can damage our psyches? How to define words like 'transgender' or 'transsexual' or 'queer'–loaded words that some of us claim, others of us do not, and some do not even recognize or understand" (p. 185). The idea that we are just men and

women, and the effortlessness of this binary view, can lead to a reification of a simplistic binary view of gender (Looy and Bouma 2005). Mental health professionals should challenge categorical ways of thinking by integrating a more fluid view of gender for themselves. One way to do this is by addressing individuals by the name they prefer (Burdge 2007), avoiding automatically using words like "sir" or "madam," or any other gendered pronouns. It is important to simply ask an individual their preferred personal pronouns and the name they wish to be called. While this seems obvious, it is often not considered in everyday interactions.

We must note the constraints of contemporary social theories that still describe gender and sexual orientation in a categorical context, with social meanings of who is "masculine" and who is "feminine" and what those gendered bodies do and/or feel about one another. According to Valentine (2004), the concern is that gender-related categories are used as if they were valid and complete descriptions of the experience of gender, when such categories are not using all of the means for understanding that experience. We can avoid making assumptions about the motivations, behaviors, and attitudes of individuals based on gender identity categories and should be more sensitive to the conditional nature of these categories (McPhail 2004). For example, words like "real" or "biological," when applied to gender, can evoke strong emotional reactions (Mallon 2009).

Additionally, Halberstam (1998) notes that "many subjects, not only transsexual subjects, do not feel at home in their bodies," and that "there are a variety of gender variant bodies under the sign of non-normative masculinities and femininities, and the task at hand is not to decide which represents the place of most resistance but to begin the work of documenting their distinctive features" (p. 148). Mental health professionals can document these distinctive features, for example, by creating spaces on standardized forms for capturing variations in gender and by recording and disseminating the narratives of transgender individuals. This would both validate and create new gender categories that could help destabilize the existing binary system (Hausman 2001).

> **SB Journal Entry:** (Sometime in 2010) In public, when I am alone, I am mostly referred to as sir, but when I am with other female bodied self-defined women, I am considered one of the girls…I find this strange and have contemplated why. I am guessing folks just cannot gender code me easily, so the default when I am alone is man, and when I am with others, woman. Still, people will often trip over their words with me. I get called sir until I start talking, and then it is quickly changed to ma'am since I do not have a very low voice. I do not care either way but the embarrassment folks demonstrate in the process often unnerves me and hurts me. I would like to say I do not care about not fitting in but it just is not always true. Sometimes, I just want to pass. I never pass. Bathrooms are a great example of my NOT passing. Bathrooms are always a challenge…women scream, run out of the bathroom, tell me I am in the wrong place and give me very dirty looks….it is tiring but what can I do? I cannot pass in a men's bathroom (too petite), and I am clearly not passing in the women's bathroom. I choose the women's since I feel there is less risk of violence for my transgression.
>
> **Transgender Interview:** [Gender Identity]…It totally dictates in society because again it is how people interact with you. Unless they never see you and are always on the phone with you, but even then they are going to want to know whether to call you he or she. And once they have a label, they are going to interact on the phone with you

differently. Probably the only time it does not matter is in that space of time before someone knows what you are, whether on the phone or writing to you. They cannot tell by your name, so they will indicate that in the letter and give it a neutral tone, kind of be really professional or whatever. But once they know, once they have a label, it totally dictates how they interact with you, even if they do not lay eyes on you.

The Power and Empowerment of Youth

With regard to the transgender community, there have been two assumptions made by most of society, and these are that gender identity and roles can be changed during early childhood and, secondly, that a person cannot be in psychological or psychosexual health unless their biological sex is unambiguous and/or "normal." Thus, one must need to have a harmony between their gender identity and their external body (Money 1986). These assumptions have been questioned but still continue to be held. Many who are currently diagnosed with gender identity disorder state that, from a very young age, they expressed a belief that they were of the other gender, and this is consistent with the experiences of our transgender participants quoted in the previous chapter. They reported that they played with members of the other gender and assumed the other gender role.

Morrow (2004) discusses social work practice with GLBT youth, identity development, family issues, and school issues. Morrow notes that, as adolescents transition through childhood toward adulthood, they experience a gender identity process where they no longer feel like they are children, but at the same time, they do not identify themselves as being adults yet. During this time, peer pressure is identified as being one of the primary stressors, especially for GLBT adolescents who are adjusting to socially unaccepted roles (Hetrick and Martin 1987). Many LGBT youth are verbally and physically harassed while on the school premises (Mufioz-Plaza, Quinn, and Rounds 2002). While the GLBT youth typically enter adolescence with little preparation for how to cope with their social identity, there are also few role models that they can look up to and depend on for guidance. These youth also find that it is difficult to talk with their families about their coming out process (Morrow 2004). Families and schools are often not prepared to have a GLB or a transgendered child, due to minimal accurate knowledge about their needs. Fearing that their families and peers will disapprove and reject them, many GLBT youth keep their sexual orientation or transgender identity to themselves creating further social and familiar isolation (Little 2001; Morrow 2004). Less so today but still prevalent, GLBT youths report the loss of friends following disclosures of their sexual/gender orientation (D'Augelli, Hershberger, and Pilkington 1998). The stresses of coping with their GLBT identity in a social environment that expects gender conformity put GLBT youth at higher risk for school problems and academic failure, family conflict, psychiatric disorders, including depression, substance abuse, and suicide (Hetrick and Martin 1987; Robinson 1994; Ramafedi 1987; Savin-Williams 1994). Mufioz-Plaza et al. (2002) found

that, compared to heterosexual youth, LGB youth were 2–6 times more likely to attempt suicide and made up more than 30 % of the total number of teen suicides. There is additional stress caused by youth not having control over medical decisions that affect their gender development, such as hormone therapies or gender reassignment surgery, while at the same time having to deal with the development of physical sex characteristics that they may be ashamed of (Burgess 1999). Quinn (2002) also reports on the high risk for alcohol and drug abuse, homelessness, prostitution, and suicide of GLBT teens, and that these teens often do not receive adequate services, due to the homophobic attitudes of child welfare department workers.

Quinn summarizes a survey conducted by Nocera (2000) of 254 state child welfare department workers on their beliefs, attitudes, and training needs with regard to the issue of sexual orientation and gender identity. The survey revealed that 33 % had beliefs that supported negative myths/stereotypes of GLBTQ people, while 41 % stated that they would not place a GLBTQ child in foster or adoptive care, based solely on the knowledge of whether or not the foster parents were also GLBTQ identified. Ironically, 83 % of the workers surveyed were aware of actually having GLBTQ clients within their caseload, 45 % also reported that they were not aware of available community resources for GLBTQ clients, or they left the question blank entirely (Nocera 2000). Nocera's study suggests that the homophobic attitudes and lack of information about GLBTQ resources of child welfare workers causes these workers to be lacking in their responsibilities to protect all children in state care. Such attitudes must be identified, challenged, and changed (Quinn 2002). As is apparent from the above studies cited, little research has focused specifically on transgender, as opposed to gay and lesbian youth. Raiz and Saltzburg (2007) and Saltzburg (2008) have proposed and implemented narrative techniques in the professional training of social work students to reduce negative attitudes and behaviors in working with gay and lesbian clients.

We have a great opportunity and obligation to assist our youth through the often difficult process of embracing their embodied self in order to create their own self construction of who they are and wish to become. Teaching them how to deal with the fluidness of identity in a non-fluid world is a great challenge. The power of youth is that their minds are often freer than ours to think bigger thoughts and break through bigger barriers on limiting social constructs that seem so intractable in adulthood. Their empowerment is our responsibility. We must nurture and protect our youth so they may find their own path to selfhood without the risk of harm. The rash of recent suicides and the spotlight on bullying of queer youth highlight the great need for our efforts.

SB Journal Entry: (March 2012) While doing some web research, I came across a Yahoo poll with the following question: Can Children be Raised in a Gender Free Environment? Now, I do not usually play these polls but every now and then I jump. I could not pass this up with 76,051 respondents to the question. I expected the answer to be lopsided, not in my favor, of course, but I figured a 60/40 split. The response was 14 % yes, 86 % no, which really gets to the issue of and need for more activism to create the cultural shift necessary for gender neutrality to be embraced. If we do not get cultural shift, we would not be able to sustain even the limited public policy gains we have made. We are still

losing on this front. There was nothing very scientific about this poll but I suspect it is closer to the reality on the ground than any of us care to admit.

SB Journal Entry: (May 2012) In a recent conversation with a friend, she told me of her child, who is under ten and gender non-conformist. This is fine with her but she and her young child must negotiate an ex-husband who believes in gender conformity, a school system with constraints on gender appropriate clothing, and her child's wishes to begin modifying the physical body to reflect preferences for a non-conformist gender presentation. The child is perfectly fine. Society is not. This child's liberation from normative gender conformity requires our support and admiration. We must provide the space to protect this child from the harmful consequences of normative gender constructs.

SB Journal Entry: (sometime in the spring of 2012) I have been deeply involved in the lives of my friends' children, and after years of participating in their development, the oldest son, now 18, has given me a new designation…the mom/dad. The middle son, now 14, was also a part of this distinction. The children have observed that, when Dad is solo parenting and I am present, I take on the Mom qualities…when Mom is solo parenting, and I am present, I take on the Dad qualities. This observation is an accurate analysis of my trans-identity. I am both and more. I am a man, woman, neither, both,…physically, emotionally and spiritually.

Transgender Interview: Just talking to my mom, it seemed it was about three or four when she noticed gender non-conforming behavior in dress. Then I remember, when I was in fourth grade, always wanting to wear dress pants and more masculine shirts, and I never wanted to wear jeans, and I wanted to look very, very good. Which I look at now, and, like, oh my God, I was such a gay guy. And I also really liked to wear ties, and my mom let me wear them to school. And I, it just felt normal to me to do that, but then I got teased for it, and I stopped doing it…..Basically, from growing up, I expected to be a certain way, being born female, being socialized as a girl, expected to wear dresses and to not get dirty and all that. I preferred to wear boys' clothes and hang out with the boys, and I still did not want to get dirty. There is that aspect growing up, and wanting to still not feel so different, so I really tried to fit in and I tried to dress and act in the ways that were expected of me.

SB Journal Entry: (March 2012) I spent some time with homeless youth recently. Most were queer (my definition) and being served by a queer organization, although their mission was universal service to homeless youth. To begin the meeting, the youth wished to go around the room, where we introduced ourselves and gave our preferred personal pronoun (PPP). I told the group I defined as queer, and they could call me by any pronoun they preferred. The youth clearly wanted more from me than queer…so I went on to tell them I identify as trans, and they could call me anything they wanted, as long as it was nice. This event reminded me of how labels and terms remain as fluid as identities and how important peer defined labels for our identities can create empowerment or disempowerment. I identify as queer. They needed to know I identify as trans. On a personal level, I consider my trans-identity a much more intimate identity that I share only when I want to, and my queer identity is for complete public consumption. For me, it is more personal because it is the essence of how I know myself. Every incident and event in my life is filtered through my queerness and felt through my transness.

Final Thoughts

The goal of this chapter was to present the application of trans-identity theory to practice with transgender individuals, with the ultimate hope of helping those who identify as trans to arrive at a place of empowerment and health. For me, personal empowerment evolves, is arrived at, achieved, lost and found again and again. It is

helpful for me to have a comprehensive theory of trans-identity that I can use as a lens to analyze myself. It helps me to consider and reconsider the fluidness of my gender identity and what that means to me. It seems I am always in flux, creating, and recreating myself over my lifetime. Today, I am in a particularly good place.

SB Journal Entry: (Saturday, June 2011) Chicago Dyke March, each year the dyke march committee picks a different location in the city to March for queer awareness… Pride weekend. At the end of the March, we all gathered in a park on the Southside of Chicago to eat, listen to speakers, hear music, and do some general people watching. Friends embraced, and the general sense of goodwill was palatable. Dykes, gay folks, couples, children, drag kings and queens, tattooed, pierced, leathered, cross dressers, queers, allies, trannies, and many more identities in the gender variant crowd getting along. I thought to myself, "how far have we come?" Susan Stryker (2008), in her transgender history book, speaks of the "difficult years," when the trans community was ostracized from the feminist/lesbian communities. The transphobia was deep and hurtful. Have we finally overcome it? A woman at one point sits with me on a blanket…a friend of some friends, a lovely, young spirited transsexual. Two allies joined us, what I would consider good feminist men and two of their friends. I was there with two dykes and, of course, one transgender me (who thinks of herself most often as him but forgets that people get confused and do not always see it that way). A speaker representing the dyke March committee got up to read a statement on behalf of the committee apologizing for a transphobic incident directed toward a transgender woman that occurred at the March a couple of years ago. Oh, yes, now we have arrived, affirmed with a public apology. It was a validating and deeply moving moment for me.

Chapter 9
Coalition Building with Intersectional Identities

By Robert Hess III

Introduction

As Nagoshi and Brzuzy (2010) note, "beyond empowerment, transgender theory provides an alternative to feminist and queer theories in addressing the thorny issue of coalition building for social activism in an intersectional world." Unpacking the theoretical implications, as well as complex intersectionalities, in the lived experiences of people of the trans experience across the continuum paints a complex relational matrix contributing to both the need for and potential demise of organizing efforts. These complexities, combined with the prejudice and trans-phobic discrimination of the feminist and queer movements, lesbian, gay, and bisexual communities, and mainstream society create a perfect storm for which true social change remains a great need with few evidence based models to guide practice. This chapter will examine the implications of feminist, queer, and transgender/trans-identity conceptualizations of the nature of identity as they relate to social activism to oppose oppression. We will start by providing an introduction to the work of activism, then unpack theoretical concepts of public versus private identities, discuss oppression as it relates to coalition building among trans individuals, implications of coalition building as it relates to the risk of loss of individual identity, as well as implications for the greater transgender populations as a whole community. Discussions will emphasize the intersectionalities identities of trans individuals, empowerment, as well as building coalitions based on socially constructed oppressed identities.

Coalitions and Social Activism

While many of us are familiar with the exemplary efforts of Martin Luther King Jr., Gandhi and such feminist leaders as Gertrude Stein, social change continues to evolve as our understanding of effective movement expands. Many moons from

the days of nailing the 95 theses to the doors of our oppressors, throwing tea into the Boston harbor, or refusing to give up a seat on the bus, the need for strategic social change is alive and well. Dissimilar than in centuries before, there exists a great body of literature on effective social activism, which can simply be defined as "engagement to bring about change." This change can be on the macro levels of public policy and government, mezzo levels of organizational policies, and procedures and/or the micro levels of individual interactions. A look into the literature of social movement theory unveils critical concepts to be analyzed and interpreted through the intersectionalities discussed in this text. The concepts of relative deprivation, rational choice and resource mobilization lay the foundation on which mobilization occurs.

Relative deprivation teaches that people participate in movements due to a sense of deprivation or inequality, particularly in relation to others or their expectations (Gurr 1970). A key component in this concept—that is not always present when working with oppressed people groups—is the sense of identity of the individual and their feeling of audacious entitlement to be treated fairly and have equality. The study of oppression supports that many oppressed people groups feel anchored to their oppressed identities.

What remains a great mystery and for which more research is needed is the decision-making process as it relates to rational choice. Rational choice states that individuals strategically and rationally evaluate their options and decide to engage and become active with matters in which they will have the most utility (Olsen 1965; Lichbach 1995; Chong 1991). While there is a body of literature to support this concept in mainstream activism, such as civil rights, women's rights, etc., there is little to no research that details rational choice as it relates to identity development.

Akin to rational choice is motivation. Individuals participate in activism for a variety of reasons that are not always readily obvious. In a queer grassroots organization that I have worked for several years there is an elderly man who volunteers every week at the LGBT youth center—often times as the youth's chef. After trying to identify common ground with him through numerous interactions, the program director was stumped. This man did not identify as gay or transgender, nor did he know anyone who was gay/transgender prior to getting involved, was Caucasian, wealthy and well educated. When finally asked, he said he volunteers not because he is gay or knows anyone who is gay but because he is a survivor of the Holocaust and believes no person should be persecuted against for any reason at any time.

This is a great example as to why unlocking individuals' experiences and compositions as human beings releases a great wealth of insight into the motivating forces behind their activities in activism. Unlocking individual's motivation becomes more important when working with volunteers. Without compensation, people will stay in a project for as long as they are gaining self-fulfillment for their participation, thus identifying what fulfills them individually is very helpful to keep volunteers engaged in the campaign.

The above anecdote also introduces the role of allies in the work of organizing, a monumental component to the successful execution of any activist movement

on behalf of a minority population. Arizona Congresswoman Kyrsten Sinema's book *Unite and Conquer* (2009) does an excellent job portraying the necessity to build alliances, create allies, and capitalize on the "swing vote." Simply put, it is a numbers game, where there are more of them than there are of us, and thus we need their help to create change. Sinema talks at length about how to avoid being the "bomb thrower" by attempting to undermine the adversary and instead how to strategically build alliances with others in order to make incremental change towards common goals. While it may turn the stomach to consider partnering with individuals and organizations from polar opposite sides of the field in terms of beliefs, approaches and at times ethical values, sometimes it is the only way to get the job done.

Leadership in Social Change

While advocacy defines the issue at hand, Kagen and Ciano (2010) state, "the leadership role takes over in creating a process and opportunity for everyone to learn about the new values, attitudes and behaviors and learn their way to new solutions" (p. 43). Especially in large grassroots campaigns, leadership should be both studied and applied to ensure efforts are capitalized on. In their book *The Leadership Equation* (2010), Gary Blau and Phyliss McGrab, define leadership as "$L = (V + B + A) X (CQI)^2$" or Leadership = (vision + beliefs + actions) X (continuous quality improvement) squared. They go on to state that individual vision is derived not only from ones experiences but all the intersections of values, beliefs, and culture. Vision and beliefs guide our actions, how we interact with others, deal with stress, conflict, and respond to oppression on all tiers of lived experiences. Yet, experiences and values are not the end of the leadership equation. Any leader can attest to the tumultuous and exhaustive process of continuous quality improvement. This continuous quality improvement process requires leaders to move beyond the experiences the daily management of our lives, find a place of reflection to process, analyze and then strategically inspire those around them from a place of healing, restoration, and commitment. In considering the dimensions of leadership presented in Tables 9.1 and 9.2 through the lens

Table 9.1 Leadership Styles (Kagen and Ciano 2010, pp. 43–50)

Directive style of leadership—characterized by the use of authority or command and control
1. Motivational style of leadership—characterized by the use of incentives or providing compelling reasons for action
2. Participatory style of leadership—characterized by inclusion, providing encouragement, sharing, partnership, and equality
3. Educational style of leadership—characterized by the capacity to provide and facilitate learning opportunities that enhance the knowledge base
4. Adaptive style of leadership—characterized by the ability to generate new ways of thinking a help teams discover and learn new solutions

Table 9.2 Seven views of leadership (Lee and King 2000)

• The Genetic View
– One some individuals were born with leadership talent
–There are naturals—with inborn talent to be effective leaders
• The Learned View
– Individuals can study leadership carefully and practice to be effective leaders
–This applies no matter who they are, no matter where they sit in the organization
• The Heroic View
–Good leaders are those who perform courageous, wise and benevolent feats that the rest of us cannot
– In this view, these leaders get the rest of us out of trouble
• The Top-Only View
– Leadership happens only at or close to the top of an organization
–Everyone else "just follows the orders" or "helps implement the rules"
• The Social Script View
–When it is your propose time to be a leader, you will be asked
–When asked, you should accept and be grateful. After all, not everyone is asked
–Social scripts also create expectations about who is likely to be asked
• The Position View
–If you are in the job and have the title, you are the leader
–If your title is phrased "director of" or "head of," then your leadership ability and virtues are assumed
• The Calling View
–Although not necessarily a religious experience, a "call" to lead can be quite compelling
–It involved a deeply felt sense of mission, of private purpose, of inevitability
–It must be so powerful that one has little sense of control. This calling is not especially rational, it is extremely personal

of trans-identity theory, it is interesting to see the socially constructed, embodied, self-constructed, and narrative aspects of leadership.

An important note: there is an old adage that "pride cometh before the fall" and truer words have never been said, especially in this work. Activism cannot be about the leader of the movement. While they may be a spokesperson, there is no room for individual ego/pride, only group consciousness of the "us" and the "we." Being the spokesperson or leader of a campaign is an incredible honor and charge to accept. Far from being the acceptance of a royal crown, it is more akin to signing up to be listed on the top of the FBI's most wanted list. Being the leader often makes you the target of the opposition's attacks, which are innate in activism. This is why leadership in activism requires internal fortitude and the ability to endure a great amount of criticism. Leaders are held responsible for failures and rarely get acknowledged for successes. While it is unfortunate, in high stakes environments leaders can expect sabotage and undermining, even from their greatest allies and partners in the work. For this reason, leaders must come into their role from a place of service and humility to the cause, expecting nothing in return for their service.

Public Versus Private Identities

Author's Note: I must preface this section by describing its intent, as we describe identity. As human beings age, our identities evolve. We let go of old identities and take on new identities in almost perfectly timed concert with each life cycle. As we review and present the identity development stages and their impact on activism, it is critical to recognize that "identity" is a snapshot in time. Where an individual is at today is not where they were a year ago, will be at tomorrow or in 5 years.

Queer theory argues against necessarily performing socially constructed identities and makes room for individuals to create and embody their self-constructed selves. While self-constructed identities are key for many trans individuals, an over emphasis on the self-constructed components of self versus the socially constructed components may limit the common ground on which partnerships and alliances may be established, thus thwarting the strength of the coalition. An emphasis on the differences of the group versus the commonalities can bring dissention and discord to the group's membership.

Conceptually ingrained in the concept of activism is "coming out" for or against a specific subject matter. Though our opinions are not always black and white, we are either pro-choice or pro-life, for capital punishment or against capital punishment, etc. This provides a unique challenge when applied to transgender organizing for two primary reasons: (1) If essentialism is correct, than transwomen are not "real" women, therefore, they have nothing in common and do not belong in women's coalitions. This terminates the ability for trans individuals to engage within the larger context of like-minded society and undermines the agenda for holistic gender equality. (2) Many trans individuals do not want to come out and live as social activists for the rest of their lives. The end goal for many transgender individuals is to embody their identity—per social constructs—and go "stealth." While some theorists interpret this goal as a betrayal of what is affectionately referred to as the gender-fuck rebellion, it remains the appropriate self-determined goal of many transgender individuals. Many trans individuals want to live "normal" everyday lives without regard for their history, transition process, and identity development. Often overlooked, when criticizing the self-determined lives of trans individuals, is in the desire to be read as male or female for safety reasons. This legitimate lived experience must be emphasized in the activist arena, as transgender individuals remain in the highest prevalence of hate-crimes and acts of violence that currently are at an all time high (NCAVP 2012). Further adding to the complexity is the stage of transgender identity development the individual(s) may be at throughout the lifetime of the organizing activities (Bilodeau and Renn 2005; Hird 2002).

In Cass's (1979) model of identity development, he identified six stages in the identity development process: (1) identity confusion, (2) identity comparison, (3) identity tolerance, (4) identity acceptance (5) identity pride, and (6) identity synthesis. The first three stages often take place in early childhood and adolescence, prior

to sharing one's transgender identity with others—although some individuals do not enter these stages until later in life. Stage (4) identity acceptance is most often the time when individuals will "come out" as transgender and some will then choose to live their lives as their authentic identity, which leads into the following stage of (5) identity pride. As individuals construct more and more of who they are, they are able to more expressedly live out their self-constructed identity—which queer theory articulates very well. This stage is primed for activism as there is much imbedded motivation to speak out about their lived experiences. However, identity pride is not the final stage of identity development, yet often time is referenced as being such. Identity synthesis is when individuals acknowledge the numerous traits that make up their relational intersectional identities—comprised of both socially constructed and self-constructed identities. In identity synthesis, individuals integrate the relational intersections of their identities into a composite self. This synthesized individual will continue to enter and exit stages of development throughout their life cycle, however, the lifecycle is no longer explicitly focused on one element of their construct.

Activism is rooted in one's private identity, knowing what you do and do not want and then strategically implementing strategies to accomplish those goals. The effective activist has audacious entitlement for the rights, privileges, and freedoms they are fighting for. That audacity requires knowing one's self, not as the final project but knowing where one is today, right now, in this moment and where one wants to be in the future. In acknowledgement of the fluid nature of identity, it is critical that organizers meet people where they are at, allow free self expression and be very mindful of how standard approaches and practices may negatively impact this expression of self. This includes considering how labeling, pathologizing, and even applying theoretical foundations to practice may potentially be found offensive and detour individuals from participating.

It is easy to see how that last statement may be perceived to undermine the purpose of this chapter—to apply theoretical frameworks to activism and organizing—however, it is not. Organizing is about empowering communities and individuals to have a voice and advocate on their own behalf. The difference is in who is guiding the ship, the theory versus the individual? From an empowerment approach, individuals are the experts of their own lives, needs, and destinies. In activism, theory does not drive practice, but rather group consciousness drives practice, and theory supports the strategies implemented to meet the desired outcomes.

How do these multiple and relationally intersected identities respond, when they all get in the room together? Working within multidisciplinary coalitions adds complexity, as coalitions are made of individuals, individuals who may or may not identify as transgender and who will bring their individual experiences, attitudes, beliefs, bias, theoretical orientations and agendas. Each of these contribute to or impair the coalition's impact on creating change. Nagoshi and Brzuzy (2010) detailed these complexities best:

> Feminist theory's premise is centered on the ongoing struggle for gender equality. Several authors (e.g., Bettcher 2010; Heyes 2003), however, have noted how many feminists have regarded trans individuals as either gender betrayers or pretenders, and Bettcher (2010) presents a history of the exclusion of trans individuals from women's consciousness

events. Transsexuals who choose to transition from one sex to another are seen as reiterating the sexist model by seeming to "effortlessly" move to the other box. In this, FTMs are considered traitors, due to their gaining of male power without earning it and turning their backs on women's oppression. MTFs are also traitors for trying to call themselves real women with embodied experiences, although they have not experienced oppression throughout their lives, as many women have. Such exclusions are problematic for both trans individuals and women working to challenge gender and other social identity oppressions. For trans individuals, such exclusion robs them of affiliations with non-trans-women, who would seem to be natural allies in opposing the sexism commonly experienced by both groups. For non-trans-women, trans individuals provide a unique perspective on the nature of gender oppression and how to resist it. By creating the obstacle that MTFs cannot be a part of women's coalitions, non-trans-woman are ultimately solidifying the gender binary -that oppresses women in the context of power differentials with men. In addressing these issues, the transgender theory approach to intersectional identities provides a general framework for coalition building across multiple oppressed social identities. Clearly, coalition building between trans individuals and non-trans feminist women should be seen as not only possible but highly desirable.

Shotwell and Sangrey's (2009) feminist relational model makes the point that any outside imposition of a social identity on an individual is a form of oppression, while the self-assertion of a social identity forces those outside that identity to consider what it means to have or not have that identity. Thus, feminist non-trans women's exclusion of MTFs as not being "real" women and their view of FTMs as "traitors" is a form of oppression, while the self-assertion of a transgender identity forces those who are not transgender to have to understand the nature of this identity. The implication of these ideas is that membership in coalitions for resisting oppression should be based upon the experience of oppression, i.e., how social forces coerce individuals into fitting into social identity boxes with prescribed expectations for social appearance and functioning, and not about the degree of self-identification that individual has with the oppressed group. Such an approach recognizes and draws strength from the commonalities of individuals with multiple, intersectional oppressed social identities. Interestingly, from the perspective of queer theory, Butler (2004) expresses similar ideas about consciousness raising and coalition building:

> If we might then return to the problem of grief, to the moments in which one undergoes something outside of one's control and finds that one is beside oneself, not at one with oneself, we can say grief contains within it the possibility of apprehending the fundamental sociality of embodied life, the ways in which we are from the start, and by virtue of being a bodily being, already given over, beyond ourselves, implicated in lives that are not our own. Can this situation, one that is so dramatic for sexual minorities, one that establishes a very specific political perspective for anyone who works in the field of sexual and gender politics, supply a perspective with which to apprehend the contemporary global situation? (p. 22).

Similar to feminist theory, queer theory established a collective identity but at the expense of an understanding of the individual lived experience (Sullivan 2003). Truly understanding and then utilizing the lived experiences and personal narratives of trans individuals in coalition building validates the individuals that make up the group. The potential obstacles lay in the group's ability to grow

from individualism into collective action and then into one group consciousness. Especially, in the beginning stages of coalition building, individuals' motivation and intent to engage in activist activities may be incredibly self-serving, egocentric, and even border clinical narcissism. However, through effective leadership and team building that focuses on shared experiences and developing common goals, individuals may move into a phase of collective action. In collective action, individuals agree to unite for a common, often times very specific goal. Collective action does not imply bonding or relationship building between the individuals involved, but simply a willingness to work together to accomplish a task. Eventually, as the team continues to engage in successful achievement of goals they begin to bond and work to develop a similar vision. This similar vision may be birthed out of much debate and contention, however, as individuals respectfully interact with one another, they learn of each other's experiences and needs and enter into a group consciousness in which they begin to intercede, or advocate, on each other's behalf. Group consciousness is truly the mark of a high performance team, where the mission is clear and spelled out, roles are well-defined and filled with capable individuals, and each member is working together in an organized fashion, accomplishing the joint goals and objectives of the group. For any business or project that involves multiple individuals, group consciousness is a highly desirable goal.

Models of Oppression

McPhail (2004) views social work, one of many disciplines academically and practically engaged in working with non-heteronormative populations, as being caught between the social constructivist impulses of theoretically oriented academic researchers, who may regard all identity categories as open to interpretation, and the essentialist impulses of practitioners and political activists/advocates, who regard fixed identity categories as sources of oppression and empowerment. Her suggested solution is for social workers to "compromise" by recognizing the tension between the essentialist, binary, oppression model of identity and the social constructivist queer theory models. Burdge (2007), in turn, argued that social workers, deriving their theoretical bases for working with transgender individuals from queer theory and social constructivism, should "challenge the rigid gender binary, either by eliminating it or expanding it to include more gender possibilities" (p. 247). However, she did not acknowledge the problem of social constructivist approaches undermining the meaningfulness of identity. Here again, the question is whether essentialist beliefs about social identities empower individuals by causing them to recognize their disempowered status as members of the group, the so-called "oppression model," versus that such essentialist beliefs reify the "natural" bases for a group being oppressed, but how can group consciousness emerge without such essentialism.

Oppression is socially constructed discrimination based on lived or perceived status. Oppression can be institutional (aka, formal oppression), such as policies

and laws or informal attitudinal bias. Oppression exists in many forms in western cultural, such as racism, classism, sexism, heterosexism, surgery/transition status, primary language, citizenship, HIV status, education level, gender performance, dis/ability, top/bottom, health care access, media, employment, and dozens, if not hundreds of other elements based on the geography and social climate of the environment in which we live and work. Unfortunately, oppression is not a "select one" but a "select all that apply" running list that constantly ebbs and flows due to numerous environmental, social, political, economic, and religious or cultural components. When multiple oppressing forces are working in conjunction with one another, they are known as double jeopardy, triple jeopardy, etc. So how do these multiple populations oppressed in specific areas, yet privileged in others, work together to create societal change? Interactional models provide a platform to celebrate multiple identities and permit the recognition that the transgender identity is a combination of numerous other identities (Josselson and Harway 2012, p. 119).

Various models of transgender oppression have been developed (Routledge 2007) which focus on different perspectives of the transgender experience. Feinberg proposes that trans individuals are oppressed due to the strict culture that is proposed in this point in time. Bornstein proposes that oppression is due to attempting to fit into the larger societal norms and trans individuals should just disregard this system. Stone proposes that trans individuals are oppressed and need to become activists to stand against their oppressors (Bettch). Stryker interjects that even among lesbian, gay, and bisexual rights movements the "T [is] reduced to merely another (easily detached) genre of sexual identity rather than perceived, like race or class, as something that cuts across existing sexualities" (Stryker 2006). Of course, we cannot disregard the impact of internalized oppression, in addition to these externally oppressive factors. Internalized oppression is the oppression that we put on ourselves due to social norms (Moore 2001). This internal oppression, also known as internalized trans-phobia, can be highly self-defeating and sabotaging, even among individuals that want to change their internal mindsets and create external societal change. Each of these models provides various perspectives from which organizers and activists can thoughtfully align their tactical strategies. However, they fail to apply into practice their perspective of how and why oppression exists to transform oppression into opportunity for change, a topic which will be addressed later in this chapter.

When building community among individuals of intersectional identities and expressions, Feinberg proposes that multiple minority groups unite on their minority-ness and work together to create political and economic justice (Stryker 2006). This is similar to the idea presented above about shared experiences of oppression. Uniting on minority status has been successful in numerous previous social movements, however, it is emphasis on the oppressed status of each group does not speak to empowerment and may also create the unique phenomenon of oppression comparison. In oppression comparison, individuals rank their oppression as worse than others in the group. For example, in Chaps. 3 and 4, there was a discussion of visible vs. concealable identities. A member of the lesbian, gay or bisexual community can effectively hide their sexual orientation, while an African American cannot hide

their blackness, therefore, to be black is to be more oppressed than to be gay. A cognizant emphasis on oppression as a strategy to bring people together further reinforces their oppressed status versus emphasizing what rights and privileges mean to the individuals/group, which reinforces the mission at hand and also allows individuals to apply their own personal narratives as to why they want that end goal for themselves, their families and/or loved ones, thus reinforcing intrinsic motivation.

According to Shields (2008), one's identity is not just about his or her own self-identification but is also about the intersecting larger social structures and the power differentials that are associated with belonging to a certain group or groups. Feminism challenged male social dominance that was based on the gender binary -by questioning the supposed "naturalness" of the subordination of women in social relationships because of the purported physical superiority of the male body over the female's supposedly more fragile and vulnerable body (Nagoshi and Bruzyzy 2010). This brings to light the difference between perceived versus actual oppression.

Among any oppressed group, such as trans individuals, it is automatically perceived or assumed that cis-genders will be oppressive based on the legitimate trans-phobic messages that are expressed in media, the acts of discrimination and hate in the lived experiences of almost every transgender individual and the institutional oppression that pervades society. It is this perceived or anticipated discrimination that causes our heartbeats to race, when walking through a parking garage alone late at night, or keeps us from approaching tall men with big muscles versus a smaller framed individual. Yet, as in every macro system, there exist individuals on both ends of the spectrum, and it is critically important that we acknowledge that, though some (maybe even a majority) of individuals' posses trans-phobic opinions, not all cis-genders do. And for many, their trans-phobia may not be active hatred or disdain but may be rooted in ignorance and/or lack of exposure to transgender individuals. Ensuring safety is and must be the first and foremost factor in any interaction, yet social isolationism based on fear of the unknown will only stunt the progress towards societal acceptance.

Narrative 9.1

Today I found myself in an interesting discussion with a close friend of mine, Caleb, who is a self identified heterosexual cis-gender male and is actively involved in non-denominational Christian ministry. Our conversation started by him asking me what I have been up to and I started explaining to him that I have been writing the chapter of this text. Now when I've discussed sex, sexuality and gender with an actively involved Christian I typically anticipate a degree of "defending" my "liberal, secularist gender fuck" mentality. However, this engagement was far different from what I would have anticipated. Caleb started by asking questions related to the difference of sex, gender, and sexual orientation; we discussed the historical pathologization of the transgender population (via gender identity disorder in the DSM) and discussed whether people are born transgender or chose it. Obviously there is a difference of

opinion between divine creationists—who believe God created them perfectly, in the right body, with the right skills, abilities, in the right country, to the right parents, etc. and secularists that may be more inclined to look to biology, social construction, psychological determinants, relational intersectionalities, positivism, trauma-informed care in addition to privilege and oppression to participate in the development of one's identity. We had a robust and healthy discussion of all these factors and agreed that our foundational approach (creationism vs. secularism) to these matters came from two very different mindsets. However, when I brought up the staggering statistics and disparities experienced by this population and was able to communicate that these behaviors were not tied to an internal conflict about one's transgender identity (based in conflict with the divine created identity) but rather were signs of coping with societal rejection, stigma, acts of discrimination etc., Caleb was moved with compassion. He began sharing where he felt individuals used their cis-gender privilege to oppress others and even how he felt organized religion may contribute to this oppression. We were not able to agree on transgender identity, yet, we were able to agree that human beings deserve to be treated as such and no one has the right to actively oppress or discriminate against anyone else, for any reason, under any circumstance. Though Caleb may not be a picketer at the next transgender rights rally, he now has a greater understanding of the lived experiences and narratives of transgender individuals (engagement) and has committed to defend those lives in discussions and debates within his own peer group (to bring about change).

What is critical to be mindful of when discussing oppression as a theoretical concept is that it has very tangible and often fatal outcomes. As the statistics presented in the previous chapter show, at the time of this authorship, transgender populations continue to exhibit some of the most significant disparities with regard to higher rates of substance use, risky sexual behaviors, experienced sexual violence, HIV infections, experienced violence in general, and experienced harassment and discrimination, when compared to any other demographic.

As a human being, these statistics are more than alarming; they reek of inhumane mistreatment, injustice beyond comprehension, societal negligence, and the gross penetration of hatred throughout our communities. Regardless of the theoretical, societal, political, or religious orientation one prescribes to, it is clear to see institutionalized socially induced genocide against these lives; our children, our parents, our siblings, our friends, our peers; us. Until we as human beings, as heterosexuals, cis-genders, gays, lesbians, and bi-sexual cease to dis-integrate trans individuals as a sub-heading in our pursuit of civil rights, this socially induced genocide will continue to rip from our society the lives of trans-individuals everywhere.

Queer Theory: Performativity and the Loss of Self

A concern in organizing, that is raised by queer theory is the need to perform within heteronormative gender roles in order to engage the heterosexual community. An obvious concern is that, members of non-heteronormative groups

"performing heteronormativity" will lose essential components of their identity. This leads us to the question of whether the social construction of a public identity is necessary for self. However, before performativity can be addressed, it is necessary to address the anti-heterosexual nature of this rhetoric.

If the goal of our efforts is a harmonious society in which all people are able to freely express themselves, regardless of any identity or status they live (i.e., race, sex, gender, class, orientation, religious affiliation, etc.), then there must be a paradigm shift away from the "us" versus "them" mentality that has separated the cisgender and transgender populations. This divisive mentality is what created the forms of oppression and discrimination we are now working to eliminate. Focusing on differences, oppression and blaming "them" will only reify the historically combative nature of this dialogue and will impede change, not facilitate it. In order to move past this division, we, as individuals and as a community, must "create a fearless moral inventory of those that have wronged us," and forgive the individuals and the institutions that have wronged us. Releasing the pain and trauma we have endured in order to find healing and restoration will greatly influence the effectiveness of the coalition. This process, especially for those of us that have endured significant and repetitive abuses can be a long and emotional journey. Many of us enter the social and behavioral science fields due to a personal journey through some of the matters we address in this field (trauma, abuse, social, and emotional pain or loss), and in this work it is imperative that we recognize that the pain that may have brought us into this field is not the place to lead from. Our pain was our process to get us here, but our *healing* is our opportunity to create change. The theme of forgiveness, grace, and "turning the other cheek" are found throughout the non-violent strategies used by Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr. and many of the other great activists throughout history and must be implemented by transgender activists.

When we approach creating change from this place of healthy unity with others we reduce the conflict between "our" identity and "their" expectations of our gender performance. There begins to arise an opportunity to simply live our self-determined, empowered lives. While much of society may not join us on this journey of accepting ourselves and others for who and what we are, we are no longer allowing their conflict with us cause us to have a conflict with them. Buddhism embodies much of this approach in the pursuit of nirvana in which there is freedom from suffering and ultimate enlightenment, similar to the tip of self-actualization in Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Maslow 1954). If we ourselves are not at that place, then it will become increasingly difficult to come alongside the oppressors of the world we live and take them by the hand to gently and compassionately steer them in a more tolerant and accepting direction.

It is understandable that this approach may seem too altruistic and detached from the lived everyday experiences of trans individuals, especially in highly intolerant communities and even more so when one considers the impact oppression continues to mark on the lives of trans individuals each and every day. Yet grounded in the discussion of essentialism and embodiment is the pursuit of being our true self-constructed selves, which some argue may be lost or forfeited when engaging those "other than ourselves." To which the error is not in the answer but

in the question. Identity cannot be grounded in physical manifestations, regardless of their conformativity to social constructs. True identity is within in the self-understanding of the narrative of one's existence. It is from that internal acknowledgement of identity that we as individuals interpret how it should be performed. Therefore, it is not possible for one's identity to be lost or forfeited, only the performance of that identity, which is, after all, only a performance.

While organizers may not be able to fully control the external environment, within the practice of organizing, strategies should be implemented to ensure that identity, nor its performance, are forcibly forfeited. Within the group of organizers and coalition members, agreements may include the respect for and allowance of free expression of self, in addition to a commitment to celebrate the diverse expression and performance of identity, regardless of theoretical orientation, gender expression, sexual orientation etc. This non-discrimination policy creates an insulated safe haven for participants to be their authentic self.

Due to pervasive social constructions, we cannot irresponsibly or arbitrarily engage in this activism. Strategy must be well thought out and flawlessly implemented. Building alliances is a delicate art form that will not happen successfully without some poise and the ability to smile, even when being spat on or slapped in the face—sometimes literally. It is important to gauge the audience, where they are at in their exposure to "gender outlaws" (Bornstein 1994, p. 72) and critically assess how much they can handle. While exposing breasts in the public as a political statement of femininity may get significant media attention, it may also offend and shut out more conservative yet vacillating gatekeepers who could move the agenda rapidly forward, if their endorsement were given. We must use to our advantage how bodies are used in social discourses (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, p. 851). Thus, in the transgender agenda, a consideration may not be to get the most gender-fuck, androgynous individual to be the spokesperson, but rather the individual that would be read as more conforming to the gender binary. Though this may appear contrary to the quintessence of the campaign, this perceived alignment with the mold may engage individuals that would never consider listening to the charge otherwise.

Again, the definition of activism is "engagement to bring about change." We cannot bring about change without first engaging our adversaries, which we will not be effective at by aggressively shoving our mantras down their throats. We need to massage their understanding of socially constructed reality with a little foreplay via conformity and seduce them into joining the campaign. Once they are able to see the similarities and likeness of who trans individuals are, then utilize the lived experiences and data that are available to further engage them into joining our efforts. A focus not on the biological or performative qualities of identity, but on the humanity in the lived experiences of trans individuals may prove to be effective in engaging "swing voters." Conversely, it is also important to weigh how a strategy like this may reinforce the socially constructed gender norms and impair progress towards the actual goal of eliminating these false conceptualizations. As Hausman (2001) argued, even queer theory as applied to transgender individuals may still promote gender-role stereotyping by seeming to accept gender categories, even as it attempts to queer (destabilize) them. In any strategy there is both

a positive and negative outcome. This is why these strategies must be identified by the coalition and carefully weighed out prior to being implemented. The intent behind this example, again, is to take a step back and strategically consider what may make the most significant incremental change to move things forward.

Is the Social Construction of a Public Identity Necessary for the Self?

Getting back to the question introduced at the beginning of this chapter: is the social construction of a public identity necessary of the self? This question presents numerous arguments charged by the polarized lived experience of suppressed self-constructed identities, compared to the lived experiences of individuals who embody socially constructed identities without conflict with those identities. We will use this question as a segue into the larger discussion of oppression and resilience to further detail the impact social construction versus self-construction has on the lives of trans individuals.

Social learning theory argues that gender identity and its roles are developed based on the social environment in which individuals grow up. This explains why in the United States of America socially constructed masculinity does not permit two apparent males to hold hands, yet in the Republic of India it is socially acceptable and common to see two heterosexually identified "masculine" males holding hands, without implications of a homosexual intent. In this, social learning theory in conjunction lays a foundation for the impact socially constructed identities have on the self-construction of identity development. Research supports the importance of building and strengthening positive relationships and structures in communities (McMilan and Chavis 1986; Newbrough 1995; Sarason 1974, 1993). Hence, the expressed desire for individuals to build interpersonal relationships with others and live in communion with one another. What is also widely expressed is that non-conforming to the socially constructed identities creates dissidence from the social norm, thus leading to separatist views of everything other than the norm. This separatist perspective leads to prejudice, differential treatment, active discrimination, and institutional oppression. So what impact does this separation from the 'norm' have on the self-construction of identity? This swimming up stream can have both positive and negative impacts on identity development. Going against the grain can build a tremendous amount of resilience and internal fortitude and it can also cause a tremendous amount of trauma and pain.

Narrative 9. 2

As I am sitting writing this chapter, I am at a coffee shop in a large open space with numerous couches and sitting areas. To my left is a group of four individuals of whom my assumption is they were all diagnosed female at birth and maintain

that identity throughout the span of their lives; they appear to be in the range of 35–60 years old. They have four children with them which are running about the coffee shop playing appropriately with one another and asking "mommy" for more juice, or if they can use the restroom. All four women appear to be Caucasian, one stated they are 6 weeks pregnant and the others mention they work in academia etc. Their clothes are free of stains/tears, and fit their body types well; all evidence of living in the middle class. The dynamic of this interaction is in direct alignment with the social constructivist model of how four middle class Caucasian "women" should be performing their public identities. If a trans woman were to enter to group, to what extent would she be accepted/included and how might she then be able to share experiences of being female since birth, childbearing, mothering etc? How might these female's interaction evolve/change; their vocabulary, body language, topics of conversation, etc. Each of these components are implicit of the public identities we perform as well as the privilege and power that come with those identities.

Oppression of Identity Exclusion Versus Intersectional Empowerment

As Shields (2008) notes, one's identity is not just about their own self-identification but is also about the intersecting larger social structures and the power differentials that are associated with belonging to a certain group or groups. As trauma-informed care (Vincent and Anda 2009) has taught us, the forced exclusion or oppression of one's self-constructed identity—the concept of minority stress as trauma (Meyer 2003; Hess III 2012)—can lead to significant negative psychological, social, emotional, and even physical-health outcomes. The obvious intent behind coalition building is to empower the intersections of identity, leveraging resilience as a guiding force in activism. It is only in a position of empowerment that effective change can take place.

We will discuss the relational intersectionalities of identity in the following section and have discussed the impacts of oppression already, so what role does resilience play in coalition building among trans individuals? Jackson and Gregory (2010) define resilience as "the process of self-righting or the capacity to withstand hardship, bounce back and move forward" they go on to express:

> Resilience entails more than merely surviving, getting through or escaping a harrowing ordeal (Walsh 1998). Survivors are not necessarily resilient; some become entrapped in a position as victims, nursing their wounds, and blocked from growth by answer and blame (Wolin and Wolin 1993). Resilient people learn from their experiences and heal from painful wounds. They take charge of their lives, living fully, and loving well. Resilient people build on their experience of adversity and become stronger, more effective people.

Transgender resilience—within the individual—is the ability to build a self-constructed identity, despite numerous forms of trans-phobic oppression, overcoming instances of trauma and abuse, while still holding "this; above all: to

thine own self be true" (Shakespeare 1623). This trueness to self is the compass to self-constructed on the waves of values, beliefs, and lived experiences. As discussed in previous chapters, one source of empowerment for non-heteronormative individuals is the intersectionalities of multiple oppressed identities, whether of gender, sexual orientation, race/ethnicity, etc., that provides an awareness of and perspective on the socially constructed aspects of all of these identities and the opportunities for self-constructive empowerment to be drawn from in each identity. Within the context of community resilience, Sonn and Fisher (2008) state that "a competent community is one that can develop effective ways of coping with the challenges of living" (p. 5), in essence, utilizing the lived experiences and personal narratives of the individuals to identify resiliency factors in order to apply them to the broader community context. One then moves beyond coping with existing oppression and working to eliminate the oppressive forces impacting the community.

Bishop and Syme (1996) referred to community resilience, when discussing communities that are able to tolerate internal conflict and maintain diversity. While participating in the coalition individual members may still be working through internalized trans-phobia. While not all trans individuals deal with internalized trans-phobia, some do, and the process of overcoming it may take time, requiring empathic compassion from other members of the coalition. While the coalition is not a clinical support group, as a public pro-transgender activist effort, it will attract many individuals still working through these internalized issues. This may be expressed by gender performance comparison, harsh criticism of other's stage of development and/or gender expression, negative self-talk, depression, etc. Sensitivity to where all coalition members may be at in their journey will help facilitate their process while also serving as a reminder to the coalition why this work is so important.

Making room for individual human development within the process of larger community development is a bi-product of the act of organizing and should be celebrated throughout the group's work. In many ways, this group support will not only strengthen the individual, building resilience to continue the work of activism, but can also help move the coalition into group consciousness and enhance team bonding.

Building Coalitions in an Intersectional World

The rich intersectionalities of individual's lives make working with people an experience like none other. Listening to individual's stories and hearing about their backgrounds, beliefs, families, etc., can be some of the most profound discussion possible. However, it is these same intersections that can create challenges or opportunities within coalition building (Zinn and Dill 1996). Thus, a thorough understanding of intersectionalities, how they interact and how to lead among them, will greatly help the movement progress.

In data management, relational databases are used to house large inter-related sets of information and are formatted in a way similar to a Rubik's cube. Each color represents a trait of our identities (e.g., red = sex at birth, green = education level, blue = religious affiliation, orange = gender identity). Each side of the mixed cube represents the composite synthesized identity represented through integrated yet mutually exclusive components of ourselves (similar to the identity as a "salad" vs a melting pot approach). While individuals may come together because they all have the same orange (gender identity) in their composition, they may not share any other colors or traits. Kind of like when you get one side of the Rubik's cube the same color but none of the other sides align. While that one color may be in common, it is the relationship of that individual to all the other colors in their identity that make them up, thus the approach must consider the "orange-ness" of the person but must also allow room for and embrace their redness, blue-ness, green-ness in addition to how they prioritize and perceive these various components of self.

An example of the richness of these intersecting identities is exemplified in the experiences of two-spirited individuals. In American Indian and Alaskan Native ("AI/AN") tradition, two-spirit refers to individuals who are "not male and not female" and those who "take on" the other gender (Anguksuar 1997). Jacobs et al. (1997) further defined the term to include "cross-dressers, transvestites, lesbian, gay, trans individuals, and [those] 'marked' as 'alternatively gendered' within tribes, bands, and nations where multiple gender concepts occur (p. 7). Bearse (2012) describes that two-spirit identity can be based in one's biological sex, gender identity, traditional role within their tribe/nation, partner choice, and acculturation. In many tribes/nations, two-spirit individuals have historically and continue to play special roles and face unique forms of oppression. Bearse details some of these oppressive and disparate factors to include: (a) access to culturally and linguistically competent care, (b) bias and lateral violence within native communities, (c) homelessness and child welfare involvement (d) drug and alcohol abuse, suicide, violence, and mental health challenges (e) historical trauma. This is just one example of how a specific intersection can significantly impact every other facet of the indvidual's make up.

In queer and transgender studies, some researchers (e.g., Gamson 1995; Sharma and Nath 2005) have noted that middle class Caucasian individuals may be more likely to perceive their sexual orientation and gender identity to be "the most pervasive of social inequalities" (Josselson and Harway 2012), while Cole (2009) contends that race may be a much more significant form of oppression for individuals who identify as both African American and queer. In the example of two-spirit individuals, the impact of historical trauma associated with being AI/AN may be more significant than that of their two-spirit identity. This prioritization is specific to the individual and their lived experience and provides interesting insight as to why some trans individuals, who may come to the table to discuss marriage equality, immigration issues, non-discrimination policies or better health care services access to transgender specific surgeries, etc., may be uninterested in everyone else's reason for being at the table. This brings us back to the concepts of relative

deprivation, rational choice, and motivation discussed in the beginning of this chapter. Given the individualism that is common at the onset of coalition projects, it is necessary to celebrate and allow individuals to come in just for their orangeness, then through the process of compassionate non-discriminatory engagement move all the members to group consciousness.

This reminds me of an experience I had with a coalition I was working with several years ago. We organized and quickly grew to the largest coalition of its kind in our state and were working on an alcohol abuse prevention project. After looking around the room, I noticed that half the people in the room had no interest in alcohol abuse or its prevention, which made me stop a meeting one day and ask: "why are you here? What are the topics and subject matters you hope(d) this coalition would address?" It somewhat surprised me, after compiling a long list ranging from health services, to training needs, to submitting policy to the legislature, etc., that the overwhelming response was that they were there to do something, anything at all to help the community because the needs are so great and it did not seem like anyone is doing anything about any of it.

Conclusion

As with any marginalized or oppressed population there remain significant barriers to overcome in order to bring about social change. We must move beyond the separatist mindsets that have contributed to our marginalization, and we must wholeheartedly forgive and find compassion for our oppressors, so that our efforts are not coming from a place of pain, but of healing and restoration. While the road ahead of us is long and trying, there is great hope in the examples of historically successful activism among the African American community, feminist communities and even the great strides that our lesbian, gay, and bi-sexual family members have made in most recent years. The transgender voice must continue to resound on the streets of our cities and echo throughout the great plains of this nation. Now is the time for us to come together in a united voice, as one people calling for injustice to be eradicated from our nation today, now, and forever.

Chapter 10
Coalition Building Based on Socially Constructed Oppressed Identities

By Robert Hess III

Introduction

Within feminist, queer, and transgender theory there has been much debate and contention regarding the formation of multidisciplinary coalitions. This debate is due, in part, to the attempt to braid theoretical models with practice. While there is great value in theoretical discourses, in practice, these exchanges can create discord, which is counter-productive to the work of coalition building. It is possible that such theoretical discourses may be disconnected from the consciousness of the day-to-day practical tasks of coalition building. As noted in Chap. 9, McPhail (2004) contrasts queer theory-oriented academic social workers with essentialist, oppression model-oriented activist social workers and tries to build a bridge, a "compromise" between them. Gannon and Davies (2007) similarly note the social activist roots of feminism and feminist theory and consider whether postmodern/poststructuralist approaches in feminist theory undermine the motivational and moral bases for social activism. Interestingly, Gannon and Davies' defense of postmodern feminist theory's relevance to social activism includes appeals to Braidotti's (1994, 2002) "feminist nomadic subjectivity that emphasizes 'flows of connection' and 'becomings' that rely on 'affinities and the capacity both to sustain and generate interconnectedness'" (Braidotti 2002, p. 8), as well as appeals to the importance of embodied experiences.

There are clearly narrative processes that occur with coalition building, as well as socially constructed and embodied experiences of coalition members that form the bases for the understandings of their activities in the coalition. As Gannon and Davies (2007) note, postmodernist/poststructuralist scholarship has spurred "thinking out of the box" that has inspired social movements to oppose oppression. That being said, the most salient ideas in my coalition building experiences were practical ones balancing idealism and people skills. Therefore, this section approaches coalition building less from a theoretical framework and more from a social justice and/or public health approach, where these arguments are less emphasized, and the focus is on outcomes and change.

This chapter is designed to be blatantly practical and almost a how-to guide for organizing that will weave in theoretical precepts, coalition frameworks, and a case study of the LGBT Consortium ("the Consortium") to equip the activist to do the work of coalition building. Self-evident is that the frameworks discussed are just a few ways to go about coalition building. Organizing a community is focused on the specific communities' who, what, where, when, why, and how to make change. No model or strategy is applicable across the board in every community in every situation, however, an understanding of various strategies may create a foundation to be built from and tailored to the activist's specific task at hand. Depending on the goal of the activism, implementing a combination of other models may be appropriate and impactful.

Strategic Prevention Framework

BOX 1: Strategic Prevention Framework (SAMHSA 2012)

The Strategic Prevention Framework (SPF) was designed as a public health model for states and tribes. Its core components provide a highly effective framework for coalition building and activism when adapted as an oppression prevention model. The Institutes of Medicine (IOM 2011) has identified that risk factors, such as harassment, victimization, violence, substance use, and homelessness, all benefit from a public health approach to create change. The federal Substance Abuse Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) has implemented the SPF model and describes it by stating (SAMHSA 2011):

> The SPF uses a five-step process known to promote youth development, reduce risk-taking behaviors, build assets and resilience, and prevent problem behaviors across the life span. The SPF is built on a community-based risk and protective factors approach to prevention and a series of guiding principles that can be utilized at the federal, State/tribal and community levels.

The SPF proposes a five-phase operation, including (1) assessment—often times in the form of a needs assessment, the assessment phase utilizes research to

identify the needs of the target population. (2) Capacity—utilizing the findings of the assessment, capacity involves identifying and obtaining the resources necessary to make change; this frequently includes an environmental scan to identify who is doing what already and what is then left to be done. (3) Planning—after careful review of the needs and scanning the environment to see what is already being done to address the needs, the coalition develops very targeted S.M.A.R.T. goals, strategies, and activities that address the identified needs.

BOX 2: Planning Definitions

- Goals—are directly aligned to the vision statement and communicates the end product
- S.M.A.R.T.—a type of goal writing often used in planning ensuring that the language of the written goals are "specific," "measurable," "attainable," "realistic," and "timed.", e.g., the coalition will obtain 100 signatures supporting transgender rights to be submitted to the governor's office by December 31, 2015.
- Strategies—are tactics used to support the goal, e.g., if the goal is to collect 100 signatures supporting transgender rights to submit to the governor's office by December 31, 2015, then the strategies could include (1) implement a marketing campaign to raise awareness about the civil rights violations faced by trans-individuals.
- Activities—the detailed tasks associated with executing the strategies, e.g., if the strategy is to implement a marketing campaign to raise awareness about the civil rights violations faced by trans-individuals, than activities may include (1) host a marketing meeting to discuss the content of the marketing campaign, (2) obtain financial quotes from graphic design artists, (3) print and distribute the ads. (4) Implementation—do everything on the plan to scale, within the timelines, and within budget. Having a certified or skilled project manager may help ensure the implementation phase goes smoothly. Of course there will be hiccups along the way, and the plan will need to be adjusted as the coalition moves through its strategies. (5) Evaluation—this component is woven into every part of the coalition to identify strengths and areas for improvement. Many coalitions undergo two types of evaluation during their activities and upon completion of their strategies (or annually for ongoing projects): (a) process evaluation—looks at the implementation of the proposed strategies. It answers: "did we do what we said we would do, in the time we said we would do it and with only the resources we said we would do it with?" (b) Outcomes evaluation—looks at the impact of the project. It answers "to what extent did we achieve our goals, why or why not?"

Central to the effective implementation of the SPF is sustainability, which looks at how resources will be gathered and sustained over time to ensure the full life cycle of the coalition is appropriately supported. The other central component of the SPF that makes it so effective is a strong emphasis on cultural competency. This emphasis allows for the model to adapt and change based on the population(s)

working it. Much of the theoretical discussions of feminism, queer, and transgender theory are discussion of the cultural competencies when working with these populations. Thus, applying the collective action and group consciousness of trans-individuals to this model provides a powerful tool for transgender coalitions.

Coalition Preparation

In practice, before activism can occur, much preparation should be done to ensure all the stakeholders are on the same page and are working toward the same goal. A highly internationally successful mentor of mine always says that "preparation time is never lost time" (Liardon R.), and if the group can afford preparation time, then wisdom says to utilize it constructively. Unfortunately, for many activist efforts, the bill is being drafted and submitted to the house of representatives/senate in 30 days and we need to MOVE and MOVE NOW! If that is the case, then jump on, start pedaling and "build the bike as we ride it" (Trush R).

While some coalitions or "task forces" are started within an organization or municipality, due to a recognized need or crisis, grassroots activism is fueled by passion and, as such, often starts by individuals' passion being ignited—previously supported by the review of rational choice, motivation, etc. Yet, one person does not make up a coalition, and rarely can a lone ranger take on the world alone for very long. Regardless of how the coalition is started, the first step after deciding to "do something" is to see who else is willing to jump on board. In the case of the Consortium, the child of a trans-woman had made their way up the professional ladder and was in a position to issue some funding for an LGBT specific project. When the announcement of funding was made, a town hall meeting was called to see who in the community would be interested in participating. If you do not already have a list serve of trans-positive organizations in your area, a national resource list has been included as Appendix C to this text to help connect people to existing resources around the United States of America.

In this preparation time, it is important to consider defining the target audience of the group. This target can be very specific—limited to trans-men, trans-women, trans-youth, trans-older adults, etc.—or very broad, such as the "greater lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and allied populations." This language allows for the inclusion of individuals from all points on the gender and sexuality spectrums while leaving room for heterosexual and cis-gender allies. While more specific populations may warrant targeted sub-committees, programs, or initiatives, having a more encompassing audience that transcends essentialist identities makes room for greater involvement and less self-exclusion of potential coalition members.

Beyond defining the target audience by demographic labels, the coalition may also center on issues, such as substance abuse, health care access, domestic violence, etc. In these groups, essentialist identities become even less of a focus, as these issues impact a large spectrum of individuals from an array of demographic populations. While this text focuses on trans-specific coalitions, it is important to

reinforce that trans-individuals have a place and should have a voice within coalitions across their communities, including government-run groups that may have never considered transgender populations' needs before.

Recruiting trans-individuals poses unique strengths and challenges, when compared to organizing groups rooted in essentialist identities. Since trans-individuals often times have deconstructed gender and sexuality and prescribe to a broad spectrum of non-cis-gender labels and identities, the target of the coalition may not self-identify within the defined audience of the group. In other words, a coalition geared toward recruiting transgender individuals should recognize that individuals that we may label and call transgender may not identify under that term and may then be less likely to engage with a "transgender" activity because they identify as "gender queer," "male," "female," "gender non-conforming," or a host of other terms. These broad identity categories are often utilized by individuals with strong reservations against binary gender models and being labeled "trans." Thus, it is advisable to avoid using specific terms and jargon in your group name, mission, and vision, so as to not exclude individuals who may not prescribe to a particular descriptor. In contrast, groups that capitalize on the breadth and spectrum that is gender and sexuality may find they attract a more representative sample of individuals that are interested in supporting diversity within their community.

Once you have a few extra bodies on board, the collective group must decide upon a goal, which typically is designed to address a need. If the coalition has more time, then often this is in the development of a vision statement, which defines how we see the world when our task is complete. This vision then guides all of the work that is performed by the coalition. Philosophically, before this vision statement is to be finalized, the group of stakeholders should have a lengthy and honest discussion about what this end goals looks like. If we look at trans-individuals as a distinctive population within society, then careful consideration is necessary as to what extent we want intercultural contact (see Table 10.1).

While the goal of some transgender individuals may be assimilation, assimilation can be interpreted as two things for trans-individuals: (1) remaining closeted regarding one's transgender identity, not transitioning and living as the sex assigned at birth or (2) to transition into the self-constructed identity and go stealth; in either model, the trans-individual is aligning with the dominant culture and binary gender norms. Some may argue that assimilation is surrender to essentialist beliefs about identity categories. Regardless of how individuals in the coalition perceive this goal, it is necessary for the coalition to accept assimilation, in any form, as an acceptable end and ensure these individuals are not stigmatized, demeaned, or harassed for their desire to assimilate. Stigmatizing individuals who chose to assimilate will only separate these individuals from the group and will not serve the coalition in creating bonds and attachments among its members.

While assimilation is a completely acceptable end for the individual, the coalition should consider the impact of an assimilation approach on behalf of the group. Assimilation as a coalition goal may have significant negative consequences for individuals who may not be as easily read as their desired identity or individuals for who reject all gender binaries in both identity and

Table 10.1 Models of response to intercultural contact*

Berry (1984)
• Assimilation—denounce or sheds their transgender identity to move into socially constructed binaries (dominant culture)
• Integration—maintains self-constructed transgender identity and participates in the dominant culture
• Separatism—maintains self-constructed transgender identity with minimal contact with dominant culture
• Marginalization—little interest in self-constructed identity or socially constructed identity (dominant culture)
Tajfel (1981)
• Assimilation—rejection of minority status
• Full—denounce self-constructed identity is accepted by socially constructed society
• Partial—negative connotations associated with being transgender maintained within society
• Passing—rejection of hiding of self-constructed transgender identity, accepted by socially constructed society
• Accommodation—retain self-constructed transgender identity and compete with the dominate socially constructed society
• Internalization—internalize inferiority based on self-constructed transgender identity (internalized transphobia)

ADAPTED to be specific to trans individuals

presentation—including hair, wardrobe, mannerisms, etc. It is critical that the coalition remain mindful of their role in advocacy and not be overzealous in taking a stance on how individuals should define their identities, present themselves, nor what their transition goals should be.

Nagoshi and Brzuzy (2010) point out how language is a subtle way in which the socially constructed aspects of gender identity can act as oppression, therefore, when developing a vision statement, the group should carefully consider their linguistics. This emphasis on language will flow throughout the process of organizing. It has been my experience that critically analyzing the linguistics ahead of time can save a lot of public humiliation in the long run. Vision statements can take 4–24 h of of sitting in the room with people trying to come to consensus and wordsmith it until it looks good on the website. Atypical to the development of most vision statements, the Consortium was able to collectively agree on a vision statement in the first meeting—among 20 + individuals representing multiple sectors of the community.

Once the group has developed a vision statement (the end goal), strategizing must begin. Strategy includes everything from specific tactics that will help accomplish the end goal to establishing an infrastructure (roles and responsibilities, systems for communication and information sharing, setting up a meeting schedule, etc.). There are numerous approaches that can be utilized in this stage and it is recommended the group take time to discuss their options. Some groups may be more trial and error, while others chose to follow formal project management processes. Depending on the vision of the project and the people on board, the group can decide to make this highly formal with elected and/

or appointed roles and responsibilities, or highly informal where people just write their name by the items on the to do list. The larger the project, the more structure may be needed to ensure things are moving appropriately toward the vision. The Consortium maintained a relatively informal structure for the first 2 years of its existence, until it grew to a place where more detailed structure was needed, not just for internal operations but also to help us better communicate to external partners the work that we did. It was very difficult for people to conceptualize our work, when we said "we just get together and strategize and then do stuff; look at all the cool stuff we have done!"

Assessment

Once some preliminary structure is in place, the group can start the assessment process to identify what the needs are. Often times, the group convenes because of a need, in which case the group may simply need to discuss and define the need into a clear and concise need statement that can be easily communicated to stakeholders. However, it definitely behooves the group to do some research and investigation as to whether what we perceive to be a "need" is also recognized as a need by the larger community. There are a million and one causes to support out there and identifying if the coalition will get buy-in from more people down the road will save lots of time, effort, and money in the long run.

In more formalized projects (that have time to invest), considering a full needs assessment may really provide some insight on what current issues are being faced by the population and also may help prioritize the work. The data collected in the assessment phase provide a research-based justification for the work. The output of this project may be a formal research study that can be published or a simply one-page position paper that gets submitted to political figure heads as to why the coalition is advocating for a certain policy. The Consortium allocated an entire year to conduct a needs assessment regarding substance abuse in the LGBT community. Since there was no LGBT specific information for our geographic area, this needs assessment report became the justification for our efforts as well as the compass to guide our work.

Capacity Building

Upon compilation of a needs statement, the coalition should turn its eyes to building capacity, which is the community's (1) readiness and (2) resources to address the defined need. Determining the community's readiness is absolutely crucial before the work can begin. Similar to the previous discussion of being strategic in approaches, the coalition must have some gauge as to how "queer" their larger community is and, thus, to what extent are they willing to jump on board with the gender-fuck rebellion?

In gauging community readiness, trans-coalitions should carefully consider the extent to which essentialist identities and gender norms may impact their communities' willingness to participate and embrace trans-identities. As previous chapters have discussed, some feminists argue that trans-individuals are gender betrayers and thus lack the essential components of maleness and/or femaleness. If this debased perspective has permeated the community in which the coalition is operating, the coalition will need to assess the extent to which these attitudes, norms, and beliefs exist via the community readiness assessment and target their initiatives to counter this opinion.

The National Institutes of Drug Abuse (1997) proposes the following stages to gauge community readiness (*adapted for easy application*):

Chart 1: Stages of Community Readiness DialChart

1. Community tolerance/no knowledge—community norms actively tolerate or encourage behaviors.
2. Denial—some recognition that the behavior can be a problem, but the community does not acknowledge it as their problem.
3. Vague awareness—a generalized understanding that the problem exists on a small level and that something should probably be done to address it.
4. Preplanning—there is clear recognition that there is a local problem and that something needs to be done to address it.
5. Preparation—there is active planning efforts going on to address the problem. There maybe some efforts underway but they have not been largely effective in creating change.
6. Initiation—sufficient data are available to justify action, actions get underway but success has not yet been achieved.
7. Institutionalization/stabilization—projects have been effective and the coalition's voice is accepted as a routine and valuable activity.

8. Confirmation/Expansion—the cause is viewed as valuable and authorities support expanding or improving the campaign.
9. Professionalization—detailed and sophisticated knowledge of prevalence of oppression exists, authorities are supportive, and community involvement is high. Effective evaluation is used to modify the campaign as needed.

In gauging readiness, the focus or audience is first the coalition members themselves. Considering the relational intersectionalities and disciplines individuals come from, with their own personal lived experiences—both positive and negative—there may be individuals in the group that are at different levels of understanding of the issues facing trans-individuals in their community. Further, a robust discussion on the coalition's approach, message, and culture will be highly fruitful. Defining the approach and culture for the group consciousness will help individuals either engage with the coalition or excuse themselves to other activities that better align with their value system. Second, readiness should be measured within the community to be served, as not every transgender-identified individual in town is going to be on the coalition (except maybe in some more rural areas with smaller populations). Yet, the coalition still wants to make sure that the message that is being sent about trans-individuals will have support from trans-individuals in the area. Third, readiness should be assessed among the general population. PLEASE NOTE: while three different groups are targeted, it is not necessary to do three different assessments; simply allow the first question on the assessment denote which of the three groups the surveyed belongs to. A sample readiness assessment (Ayre et al. 2002) has been included as APPENDIX A. In APPENDIX B, we have also included Goode & Fisher's (2012) Self-Assessment Checklist for Personnel Providing Services and Support to LGBTQ Youth and Their Families as a tool to help identify where individuals on the coalition may be in their own readiness to address these topics. It is remarkable what internal biases we personally carry based on our lived experiences.

Cocurrently, when identifying readiness, other members of the coalition should be considering the identified needs from the assessment and do an environmental scan of the community to identify any resources already in place to address the identified needs. A resource guide has been included as APPENDIX C to aid this process. Reaching out to national organizations may help identify the local efforts, or of course start with a Google™ search. If the community is anything like Phoenix, Arizona, there likely will not be very many at first. While there may be very few transgender specific resources, it is important to consider what resources are meeting the needs and may be willing to become more transgender friendly. The Consortium spent countless hours discussing the need for more LGBT resources and whether or not the group should start opening non-profit organizations to meet the need. However, it was our resolve that we did not want to further separate ourselves from broader society by making our own unique resources, but wanted to make existing resources more competent to meet the needs of the LGBT community. With this approach, the coalition started with roughly 10–15 people engaged in our cause and within 2 years grew to including over 85 organizations

and private providers engaged in our work and a listserv with well over several hundred! However, in our work—which included the lesbian, gay and bisexual populations—we recognized there are numerous areas in which providers needed additional training when working with transgender populations, not only in the clinical counseling arena, but also among medical professionals, case management, etc. Clearly cross-walking the needs to the existing resources will reveal the areas in which the coalition can address without duplicating existing resources. This activity also provides a list of organizations/individuals that may be interested in joining the coalition's efforts to bring about change, and trust me you are going to want as many people as possible to be on board.

Within the resource list included in this text are several resources that detail disparities and additional skills needed when working with trans-individuals. These skills center around increased knowledge of the trans-experience, debunking myths about gender and sexual identity, increasing knowledge of the transition process, so trans-individuals do not have to train their therapists and physicians, in addition to enhancing empathy and engagement with gender non-conforming clients. Several of the included studies and needs assessments delineate the exacerbated forms of oppression, violence, stigma, maladaptive coping, and psycho-social-spiritual stressors experienced by trans-individuals. Many of these stressors are tied in one way or another to the essentialist, performative, and embodiment-arguments so explicitly argued by feminist theorists.

Planning

With a well-defined vision statement, a needs assessment and understanding of the community's readiness and resources, it is time to brainstorm on goals for the group to pursue, often done in the process known as strategic planning. Strategic planning almost always takes several hours, if not days of concentrated time. It is very common for boards and large coalitions to go on retreats for 1 to 2 days up to a week to develop their annual strategic plan. A strategic plan is typically for 1 year (while groups may also great a 10-, 5-, or 3-year plan) it is imperative that the coalition consider what can realistically be done within a year and not overburden the team—most likely of volunteers—with 40 h of work each week. In any strategic plan, there should be an emphasis on developing S.M.A.R.T. goals. Obviously, in some cases, huge amounts of man hours are absolutely necessary, especially in political arenas where the strategic plan may be for 30 days to overturn proposed legislation—thus, working literally around the clock may be necessary; in these cases having a large volunteer base is advisable.

A unique strength of strategic planning with transindividuals is the deconstruction of social construction. When most coalitions come together to strategically plan, they do so within the constructs of the world around them and, thus, thinking outside the box can really just be thinking in the box from a different side of the box. Conversely,

many trans-individuals have already deconstructed these "realities," and many realize that there is no box to think outside of in the first place. This deconstruction enables trans-individuals to interpret the world around them not as normative performers of social constructs; therefore, they are able to unpack barriers and overcome obstacles more creatively than those who have not challenged the world around them. Creative strategy will make or break the coalition's efforts. Recognizing that the answer is "never no, but how" is critical to successful organizing.

Within the field of public, medical, and behavioral health, many suggested strategies, best practice guides, toolkits, etc. have been developed (see Tables 10.2–10.7). Using some of these tools as a starting point may help guide groups in developing strategies for their own communities. Again, depending on the focus of the coalition, these strategies may or may not apply.

Table 10.2 Standards of care (WPATH 2011)

Ensure trans-children and youth
1. Feel accepted and supported
2. Are heard, respected, and loved
3. Have professional supports
4. Are allowed to express their gender
5. Feel safe and protected
6. Are treated and live normally
7. Have peer contact
8. Have school support
9. Have access to puberty-delaying hormones

Table 10.3 Recommendations for families* (Lev and Alie 2012)

1. Seek support
2. Move to acceptance
3. Encourage gender exploration and expression
4. Advocate

* The coalition can play a role in developing these resources, or connecting individuals and families to these resources

Table 10.4 Recommendations for clinical professionals* (Lev and Alie 2012)

1. Provide gender-specific competent clinical care
2. Complete a comprehensive assessment of the child and family
3. Provide informed support, including (a) social transition (b) physical transition topics
4. Provide appropriate referrals, information, and resources
5. Advocate

* The coalition may work to develop some of these tools and/or connect individuals and families to these resources

Table 10.5 Recommendations for medical professionals* (Lev and Alie 2012)

1. Seek training and consultation
2. Obtain a comprehensive gender assessment for gender dysphoria
3. Provide medical information and referrals when appropriate.

* The coalition may participate in outreaching and educating medical professionals

Table 10.6 Recommendations for schools and residential facilities (Lev and Alie 2012)

1. Create an environment where gender exploration is normative and gender diversity is encouraged
2. Develop gender-affirming policies
3. Educate staff about gender identity
4. Use preferred names and pronouns
5. Provide information and resources
6. Avoid gender segregation
7. Consult with specialists

Table 10.7 Ten strategies for implementing standards of care (Helfgott and Gonsoulin 2012)

1. Conduct and agency self-assessment and ongoing continuous quality improvement efforts
2. Enforce non-discriminatory policies for serving [trans-individuals]
3. Promote staff knowledge and development about [trans-individuals] and their families
4. Incorporate culturally and linguistically appropriate intake processes, data collection, and information sharing
5. Promote safe, supportive, and culturally and linguistically competent environments
6. Implement practices that support preferences and affirm identity
7. Promote healthy and supportive peer connections
8. Strengthen family connections
9. Promote access to affirming services and supports
10. Facilitate community outreach and engagement

The Role of Allies

In Chap. 9 there were a few examples of allies in the work, first, the holocaust survivor who cooks food for the LGBT youth center and, second, the child of the trans-woman who allocated funding within their budget to trigger the start of the Consortium. Well beyond these two examples, I have had the honor of working across the United States of America and internationally doing training and providing technical assistance to transgender focused projects. In every presentation, I am able to quickly identify who is "family" in the room and frequently have lengthy discussions after session with these individuals about their experiences. Yet, what moves me to tears just about every time—I'm a sappy emotional kinda person—are the family members and loved ones that come to

me—often also in tears—with questions about their loved ones who are coming out as transgender, transitioning, etc. Their voices often tremble with pain and heartache that their loved ones have pushed them away because they don't/can't understand their experience. Similar to the story of the prodigal son, they may not have the experience of being transgender, yet that does not change the affection they have for their loved ones. The question that dozens if not hundreds of these family members have asked me is "what can I do to help them?" or "how can I get involved?"

This eagerness and passion to participate in change is both moving and implicit of untapped potential. By definition, allies are individuals who support the work, though they do not embody the work. They may never be able to sympathize what it is like to be transgender, but their passion in many cases far exceeds that of transgender individuals who may have become apathetic or complacent, accepting oppression as a way of life. As noted previously, Representative Kyrsten Sinema (2009) expresses that the need for allies is a pure numbers game; there are more of them than there are of us, and so we need our friends and family to get in the trenches with us and push the movement forward. Statistically speaking, only a tiny fraction of the general population identifies as transgender, but each transgender individual has at least two parents (biologically), very likely a sibling or two and some friends, co-workers, classmates, clients etc. with each additional ally that is brought on board the coalition is able to exponentially increase the resources, skills, and influence of the coalition. If the group is struggling to get going, take a look around and start dragging everyone you know to meetings. Cook them dinner, bake them cookies, laugh, have fun, and people will stick around just for the community and relationship building. Even if the leader of the coalition does not have the most dynamic personality in the world, identify individuals that do and give them roles that put them in contact with people frequently.

In recruiting allies, coalitions should capitalize on shared identity intersections to build common ground and increase the coalition's salience to allies. Shared experiences, such as city of origin, educational attainment, industry and trade skills, religious affiliation, family structures (children, marital status), cultural values/practices, and even less salient topics, such as hobbies, sources of entertainment, and other leisure activities, can be significant sources of engagement. Relating to allies' multiple and intersecting identities that are shared by trans-individuals will help increase bonding and attachment to the coalition and may help translate to active involvement in coalition activities.

Allies do not only represent manpower, but they can also be a strategic tool utilized to leverage things that we may not be able to obtain on our own. After all, oppression is alive and well in today's society. In some of my work, I have reached out to allies to help with certain projects specifically because of their allied status. In many interactions, I have utilized allies as covert operatives secretly placed in positions of power whom I only call upon in times of absolute crisis. Using allies strategically ensures they are around for the long haul.

Implementation

After the team has identified its strategies, it is time to set them in motion. Implementation is relatively self-explanatory, and if the coalition has had the privilege of lots of preparation time, then many of the potential hiccups should have already been planned for. Unfortunately, NOTHING goes perfectly according to plan, so the coalition should continue to discuss speed bumps and road blocks, as they come up, go back to their vision statement, their identified resources, readiness, and update the implementation as necessary. After a short while in implementation, the Consortium became a well-oiled machine of frequent communication, meetings, working the strategic plan, and revisiting/updating the strategic plan as needed. In their second year, the Consortium was moving at lightening speed with its objectives, and the strategic plan had to be updated almost every 3 months, as what we thought would take a year kept getting accomplished virtually overnight.

Evaluation

Throughout the course of the process, there are commonly two different types of ongoing evaluation. The first is process evaluation, which answers the questions "did we do what we said we would do, in the time we said we would do it and with only the resources we said we would do it with?" The control for the process evaluation is the strategic plan that was developed, coupled with the budget or resources inventory. There are numerous formal tools that can be developed to measure the coalition's communication, processes, administrative prowess, relationship building, and doing the task at hand. Magellan Health Services of Arizona (2012) has a great tool that may be adapted with their permission to meet your coalition's need. The second component of the evaluation is the outcomes evaluation, which is used to gauge the impact and effectiveness of the coalition. It answers "to what extent did we achieve our goals, why or why not?" The question is not just whether we implemented a marketing campaign, but did we reduced oppression on trans-individuals in our community. If the coalition is looking for a strong outcomes evaluation and has the resources to do so, it is advisable to hire a formal external evaluator to help identify measures and gauge impact. One piece of the outcomes evaluation may be to reassess the community's readiness to address the issues at hand, which will also help the coalition prepare for the following year's strategies.

The effective management of change, especially on large macro systems and in community context, requires large amounts of resources, often times hundreds of thousands—if not millions of dollars, man-hours, research, office space, vehicles, marketing supplies and well established systems/infrastructure for communication and message dissemination. Edwards (2004) emphasized the necessity for resource mobilization in social change projects by offering the following typology:

1. Material (money and physical capital);
2. Moral (solidarity, support for the movement's goals);
3. Social-Organizational (organizational strategies, social networks, bloc recruitment);
4. Human (volunteers, staff, leaders);
5. Cultural (prior activist experience, understanding of the issues, collective action know how)

While obtaining these resources in the beginning of a project may be somewhat easy to do, sustaining these resources for the long haul must be planned for and central to the discussions of the coalition in almost every context; hence, why the SPF includes sustainability in the center of the framework.

Cultural Competency

Cross (1995) defines cultural competency as "accepting and respecting diversity and difference in a continuous process of personal and organizational self assessment and reflection." Without the humble acknowledgement of and respect for the differences in theology, approach, identity, and status, the coalition will never succeed. The coalition must create a culture of open discussion regarding the relational intersectionalities that comprise the individuals sitting around the table, as well as of those not sitting around the table. Cultural competency is much broader yet much more detailed than an understanding or tolerance for other people's opinions. It is woven into practice, representation, advertising/marketing, survey's and questionnaires, leadership structures, policies, procedures, and especially in the language that we use in our meetings and throughout our interactions. Without this competency, the coalition will surely fail.

As is commonly echoed from bullhorns, there should be "nothing about us, without us." There is no such thing as effective advocacy without active engagement with and participation from the communities for which we advocate. Even in writing this text, it was imperative to the writers to have members of the transgender community participate and review the content prior to publishing, to whom we are eternally grateful. However, trans-individuals are not always banging down the door to jump into these types of activities—many reasons for which been discussed. While you may be a heterosexually identified cis-gender individual in a rural area, your voice on this topic still matters. If there are no transgender individuals ready to dive into this work, then jump right on in, anyway, and begin utilizing the components written in this text and the hundreds of other strategies, perspectives, and ideas that have not been included in this text.

The needs of trans-individuals continue to be vast and evolving. Not discussed yet is the role that pedagogy plays in the education and training of current and future transgender organizers. Trans-individuals must be equipped with knowledge, skills and mentorship on how to bring about effective change in their communities. Transgender movements must continue to be presented in our classrooms through

case studies and highlighted as one of the most actively oppressed people groups in today's western culture. Yet in this work, it is important that we are careful not to reify the essentialist messages that continue to empower and defeat us.

Coalition building is an exciting and rewarding experience for everyone involved in the work. It provides an opportunity for individuals to invest their hearts and souls with like-minded individuals to create significant change in topics areas that matter most to them. Ultimately, there is no one way to engage people or make societal change. There has been a great deal of research on some strategies that have worked in specific situations, yet none of them can be carbon copied into all projects. Effective coalitions grow out of the communities they are working to serve and build bridges to the communities around them. A few critical lessons learned from my experiences include:

1. Find the people that know the most about your target audience and get them on board. These gatekeepers can open up doors with a single phone call that you would otherwise be banging on and losing sleep over with no success.
2. Let the group determine how much decision making power they want. Coalitions are not the same as organizations with only executive management making decisions. Members should have access to all the information and be able to engage and participate as much or as little as they want.
3. Respect people's time!

    a. Do not over burden people with expectations, roles, and responsibilities. Even the most passionate of volunteers has a day job, a family, friends, and personal interests that they will also want to spend their time on. I (personally) would never ask volunteers of a long-term project to commit more than 2 h a week. This keeps them engaged but also let s them live their lives.
    b. Start meetings on time and end on time. Even if everyone is not there. It creates a culture of promptness. Always have an agenda and even include time limits for topics to ensure everything on the agenda gets covered in the allotted time.
    c. Schedule work groups for people to literally work at versus sending people with lots of follow-up work. People rarely get things done on time without a designated/allotted time to work in.

4. HAVE FUN!!!! If you are not having fun, then no one else is! Build relationships with the group via coffee/dinner dates and 1:1 conversations. Building a team takes a lot of time and requires personal investment in the person above and beyond the work environment. This will ensure people stick around for the long haul.
5. When adversity hits—and it will—lay the ego aside, and communicate, communicate, communicate. Everyone may not agree, but at least everyone will be on the same page.

Chapter 11
Conclusions

The overarching theme of this book is trans, to go beyond, and the purview of the book kept expanding as it was being written. The genesis of the book was an already ambitious project to apply feminist and queer theories from women and gender studies and scientific methodology from psychology to understand gender roles, gender identity, and sexual identity in transgender individuals. This project quickly expanded to also encompass gay/lesbian and straight individuals.

Two forces kept pushing the project to keep expanding, to challenge feminist and queer theories, to reconsider the roles and limitations of quantitative versus qualitative research methodology, to rework the understanding of social prejudices, to rework the understanding of intersectionality, essentialism, social construction, self-construction, and embodiment, to apply these ideas to other social identities, to reconsider the relationship between theory and practice with socially marginalized individuals, and, ultimately, to apply a different perspective on understanding human nature. The first driving force was and is the experiences of transgender individuals, whose untethering of their gender identity from the strict heteronormative social construction of gender challenges commonly accepted ideas about identity and how we study it in both women and gender studies and in psychology. The second driving force was and is the nascent transgender theory that compels us to accept and consider the implications of identity being fluid (Roen 2001) and being grounded in embodiment and narratives of lived experiences (Monro 2000).

The primary empirical substrate of the project was a unique qualitative study that not only sought to explicitly apply ideas from feminist, queer, and transgender theories in women and gender studies to the psychological understanding of gender roles, gender identity, and sexual orientation, but also explicitly compared these theories and their expression in individuals who self-identified as straight, gay/lesbian, or transgender. This qualitative research, in turn, spurred a series of quantitative psychological research projects on the nature of gender-based prejudice that were explicitly guided by particularly feminist theory perspectives on the social construction of gender.

Over the longer than we anticipated time course of the writing of this book, our ideas have developed and changed, as we presented our ideas and interacted with other scholars and lay people, read more relevant and tangential academic writings, dealt with our research findings and the vicissitudes of trying to get them published, and experienced big and little changes in our personal lives. To be glib about it, what has been presented in this book reflects the same processes of our trans-identity theory: social construction, embodiment, self-construction, and narratives of lived experiences. In this concluding chapter, we summarize what we think are the important themes that cut across all the preceding chapters, consider some broader implications of these themes for theory, research, and practice with gender and sexual identity, particularly with regard to the relationship between trans-identity theory and intersectionality, discuss some implication of these ideas for the understanding of human nature in general, and propose future directions, questions, and applications.

Gender and Sexual Trans-Identities

Our research enterprise presented in this book is unique in trying to conceptualize and understand individuals' perceptions of gender roles, gender identity, and sexual orientation/identity in terms of theoretical formulations derived from feminist, queer, and transgender/trans-identity theories. This latter trans-identity theoretical framework, in turn, explicitly considers the intersections of multiple oppressed social identities not only in terms of socially defined, enforced, and performed roles, but also in terms of intersections of embodied, self-constructed, and narrative aspects of identity (Nagoshi and Brzuzy 2010). This trans-identity theoretical framework explicitly calls for both quantitative and qualitative research designs to assess and validate the different bases of social identities. Our interview study, in fact, reflects an intersectionality of qualitative and quantitative approaches by collecting theoretically driven interview data from and comparing across individuals self-identifying as straight, gay/lesbian, or transgender.

What emerges from comparing the perceptions of the transgender respondents on gender roles, gender identity, and sexual orientation with the perceptions of the straight and gay/lesbian respondent on these same issues is, in fact, the tension between social constructivist ideas from feminist and queer theories versus a more dynamic approach to gender identity that transcends the essentialist ideas about gender identity that come from traditional heteronormative societal beliefs (Hird 2002; Tauschert 2002). The social construction of gender, measured in our positivistic/quantitative research, demonstrated its power and pervasiveness in our qualitative research, where all of our participants, straight, gay/lesbian, or transgender, were in agreement about what constituted masculine and feminine appearance, cognitions, emotions, and behaviors. Our interview study, however, yielded more nuanced understandings of the nature of these gender roles, understandings that became more nuanced as we moved from the straight to the gay/lesbian to

the transgender participants' interviews. We found that, while many straight and gays/lesbian participants confused gender roles with gender identity, they nearly all accepted that neither gender roles nor sexual orientation defined one's gender identity. These ideas are consistent with feminist and queer theories. It was also apparent from the interviews that this acceptance of the variability of gender roles and sexual orientation was due to our participants being regularly exposed to gay/lesbian and transgender individuals.

Though many gay/lesbian respondents viewed gender roles in a binary fashion of one either having masculine attributes or feminine attributes, about half of the lesbians were similar to the transgender participants in their responses in being able to see gender roles as being more fluid. These lesbians had more nuanced views of gender roles and were able to see the individual as having components of both gender roles. Though this was a clear distinction from the straight individuals, the lesbian participants in this study were still only able to identify gender roles in the context of the binary system.

Similar to the straight participants, the gays/lesbians in our interview study explicitly recognized the societal bases of defining gender. In contrast, beyond the social constructivist ideas of Butler (1990), transgender individuals interviewed expressed the tension and active negotiation engaged in between the socially constructed gender roles they are expected to manifest and the seemingly physically embodied bases of their gender identity.

It was interesting that all of the gay male respondents had social constructivist ideas about gender roles, gender identity, and sexual orientation, similar to the heterosexual group. Among the lesbians, however, a few questioned whether gender roles and sexual orientation did, in fact, arise from and affected an embodied gender identity, one perhaps different from what has been traditionally defined as female or male. These lesbians expressed ideas about defining a different gender identity that were consistent with the findings on butch lesbian identity found by Hiestand and Levitt (2005). It can be speculated that maleness still allows gay men to maintain their socially dominant status over women, obviating the need for questioning the nature of gender identity that would be experienced by lesbian women deviating from traditional gender roles and sexual orientation.

In the present study, all heterosexual respondents believed gender identity was a binary phenomenon, while transgender participants supported Bornstein's (1998) assertion that gender identity was both on a continuum and fluid/changeable. However, consistent with Roen's (2001) interview study, transgender participants in the present study noted the active negotiation the person engaged in between the "either/or" of traditional gender identity versus the "both/neither" position asserted by all of these transgender individuals and the difficulties of socially manifesting a gender identity of "both/neither." As was found in Rubin's (2003) and Dozier's (2005) studies, transgender participants in this study felt their gender identity was to some extent embodied in their physical being, with some participants believing in the necessity of a surgical transformation to make their body conform to their gender identity, whereas nearly all of the heterosexual and gay respondents had clearly not thought much about the issue. As noted above, a few

lesbians expressed ideas about the fluidity and embodied nature of gender identity that were remarkably similar to those ideas expressed by transgender individual, but for the most part, our gay/lesbian participants did not express embodiment as a basis for gender identity, in contrast to most of our transgender participants. Thus, an important theoretical finding only made possible by our comparative qualitative research design was that, with regard to the embodiment of gender identity, gay/lesbian participants' perceptions were in line with queer theory, while transgender participants' perceptions were more in line with transgender/trans-identity theory.

Results from the present study, as in recent research (Dozier 2005; Ruben 2003), found that sexual orientation had a complex and dynamic relationship with gender roles and gender identity for the transgender individuals interviewed. For many transgender participants, particular sexual attractions seemed to define aspects of the participants' gender role and gender identity at the time. Again, because of our comparative qualitative research design, in contrast to the findings for embodiment, most of our gay/lesbian participants were similar to our transgender participants in expressing how sexual orientation and sexual identity were intertwined and interacted with gender roles and gender identity. For our gay/lesbian and our transgender participants, this intertwining and interaction was perceived to be due to the intersectionality of gender and sexual identity in the context of experiences of oppression for manifesting non-heteronormative gender and/or sexual identities. In turn, these experiences of oppression for our gay/lesbian and particularly for our transgender participants often led to transcendent narratives of integrating their identities by opposing such oppression, sometimes through self-constructions of identity that played off of the intersectionality of gender and sexual identity. Such perceptions of the intersectionality of gender and sexual identities were not expressed by our straight participants.

While theorists, such as Bornstein (1998) and Hausman (2001), argue that transgender individuals function with a gender identity that is not based on the traditional male versus female gender categories, Hird (2002) and Munro (2000) argue that such individuals are, in fact, actively challenging traditional societal assumptions about gender roles, gender identity, and sexual orientation and their relationships, the seemingly essentialist and embodied ideas about gender identity expressed by transgender individuals are troubling, when contrasted with the ideas from feminist and queer theories that view gender roles, gender identities, and sexual orientations as purely social constructs that can presumably be freely chosen by individuals. Thus, Tauschert (2002) proposes her "fuzzy gender" approach that recognizes the essential continuity between the body and the mind, where everything consists of "shades of grey" in moving between more physical versus more mental aspects of gender. Such an approach still allows for recognizing the variations in gender identity and gender-related behaviors and sexuality, while also acknowledging the range of experiences, from physical or essentialist to wholly socially constructed, that are associated with gender.

There are several limitations of our interview study, the most obvious of which is the convenience sample used. Recruitment of participants through the ASU Ubiquity website resulted in most participants in the gay/lesbian and transgender

samples being in some way affiliated with the university, well-educated, college students or faculty/staff members, nearly all White, and spanning a wide age range. The straight sample in a lot of ways was not comparable to the gay/lesbian and transgender ones in consisting of only introductory psychology students with a narrow age range, although two of these students ended up in the gay/lesbian and transgender groups. The wide age range of the gay/lesbian and transgender samples is problematic in that some differences in responses between participants may have been due to maturation and historical cohort differences. Historical cohort effects may be particularly important, given society's rapidly changing views of and greater educational efforts about gay/lesbian and transgender individuals and their particular needs and issues. It should be noted, however, that samples of transgender individuals are difficult to recruit, given the small percentage of the population that is transgender, the discrimination and active harassment experienced by transgender individuals, and the desire by many such individuals not to have their "actual" gender identity revealed. From a positivistic epistemology, these sampling biases certainly limit the generalizability and replicability of the findings, and also raise questions about the internal validity of the comparisons across groups. For qualitative research, however, what constitutes internal and external validity is more subjective, given the nature of the "truths" revealed.

We argue above that a unique strength of the interview study was its design around explicit theoretical conceptualizations about gender, but this raises the issue of whether the present research was prioritizing theoretical distinctions in the design of the interview questions that were not necessarily upheld by the participants, for example, the distinction between gender roles and gender identity. Since participants were able to disagree with these concepts through a qualitative methodology, we have a better idea of their conceptualizations of gender, than if we would have constrained them to the theoretical distinctions made by the authors or made by the use of quantitative methods. One interpretation is that some of the participants in the present study were simply giving the societally correct definitions of gender roles and gender identity, even though the participants themselves did not believe these definitions. It would, in fact, have been desirable to have asked a follow-up question about whether participants agreed with their stated definitions of masculinity, femininity, maleness, and femaleness.

In future research, there is a need to recognize the difference between non-transsexual transgender individuals versus transsexuals. As Green (2004) noted, there is discrimination that exists between these two groups. The idea that transgender individuals do not feel the need to have the surgery makes many transsexuals feel that the former group is not making the full transition to the opposite gender, along with the full set of roles and responsibilities associated with that gender. On the other hand, some transgender individuals feel that the surgery is not necessary and that the fluidity of gender identity could be readily maintained if not for society's binary gender expectations. A question for further research would be whether the motivations for transsexuals to have the surgery is due to society's expectations versus their own internal needs to transition to the opposite biological sex. At the same time, the question of why transgender individuals do not feel

the need to have the surgery should be asked. A related issue is how motivations to transition are affected by the gain in societal power and privilege associated with the female-to-male transition, as opposed to the loss of power associated with the male-to-female transition, which was noted by some of the participants in the present study. It also should be noted that there are a larger percentage of male-to-female transsexuals then female-to-male transsexuals.

From the trans-identity theory that developed from our interview study further questions arise. Future research should address the question of how the social construction of gender and sexual identity, including the intersectional experience of multiple gender-based social oppressions, interacts with the need to reconcile embodied versus socially constructed aspects of gender-related identity. This is a question clearly worth exploring in gay/lesbian and transgender/transsexual individuals, and future research should also consider including bisexual individuals. Such a comparison across these different non-heteronormative groups would also get at issues of the formation of gender and sexual identities for visible versus concealable aspects of gendered appearances and behaviors. This consideration of strategies for managing visible and concealable identities in the face of experienced or observed discrimination would also inform quantitative research on the nature of gender-based prejudice.

New questions may further explore straight and non-heteronormative individuals' perceptions of the validity of society's definitions of gender role, gender identity, and sexual orientation. Questions about experiences of discrimination and harassment and how that affected individuals' gender identity and psychological adjustment would also be important to explore. There is clearly a need to develop the questions on the relationships between gender identity and sexual orientation to better explore the complex meanings that non-heteronormative individuals derive from their sexual orientation and their sexual identity. The management of concealable aspects of gender and sexual identity by non-heteronormative individuals to avoid discrimination versus signaling sexual attraction and group solidarity would be worth exploring. Here, attention could be paid to the emergence of transcendant stories of using the intersectionality of gender and sexual and other identities for identity integration and self-empowerment.

Intersectionality as a Theory and Method

Intersectionality is not merely an additive way of describing a population. If one chooses to do research on gender identity and sexual identity, one cannot simply add race or class into the equation of independent variables and then ensure that one has included intersectionality in one's research. This is the approach taken by many researchers using quantitative methodologies to conduct psychological research and, yet, this is the inevitable failure of purely positivistic research to comprehend intersectionality. As Shields (2008) notes, "Psychological scientists have typically responded to the question of intersectionality in one of three ways;

excluding the question; deferring the question, or limiting the question" (p. 311), and though we would like to qualify our qualitative research as being intersectional, we realize how in several ways we fell short in looking at intersectionality not only as an identity, but also as a method.

Researchers need to analyze what it means to think and do research on the basis of intersectional analysis. In order to shift this way of thinking, one must redefine and deconstruct what the term intersectionality truly means. Shields (2008) states, "intersectionality is the mutually constitutive relations among social identities"… Mutually constitutive is not additive in nature, but rather "one category that takes its meaning as a category in relation to another category" (pp. 301–302). Identity is not just about one's own self identification, but is also relative to the larger social structure and the power differentials associated with belonging to a certain group. These intersections generate both oppression and opportunity (Zinn and Dill 1996). As Risman (2004) notes, "one must always take into consideration multiple axes of oppression; to do otherwise presumes the whiteness of women, the maleness of people of color, and the heterosexuality of everyone" (p. 442), i.e., the world as being heteronormative.

We realize that we now need to better understand the complexity of the individual by incorporating other intersecting identities, such as race and class, into our research questions. In particular, we need to be concerned with how intersectionality can inform our theory and methods, since "the term 'intersectionality' refers to both a normative theoretical argument and an approach to conducting empirical research that emphasizes the interaction of categories of difference" (Hancock 2007, p. 63). Thus, the issue becomes how we framed the research question to begin with. As Shields (2008) argues, "Feminist scholarship should more explicitly acknowledge the ways in which social positions and group membership overlap and change the experience of social identity" (p. 311). Theory, thus should inform the idea of multiple experiences and multiple identities. Given the interdependence of the multiple categories that make up a person's identity, a theory of human nature that incorporates intersectionality must take a dynamic, systems-oriented approach, looking at process more than product.

So how do we implement this type of methodology? As Shields (2008) discusses, "conventional quantitative research designs and statistical analysis are constructed to test for differences between groups. It is neither an automatic nor an easy step to go from acknowledging linkages among social identities to explaining those linkages of the processes through which intersecting identities define and shape one another" (p. 304). In psychology, researchers emphasize similarities and differences between groups. The problem with this approach is that we essentialize and oversimplify the categories in order to make larger generalizations. Differences then become a central tenet for stereotyping and categorizing groups (Richards 2002). These differences are analyzed as independent factors that contribute to the statistical model. In order to look at multiple factors at the same time, interactions are looked at as simply multiplying each independent variable by another variable, where we "Multiply each of my parts together, one x one x one x one, and you have one indivisible being" (Wing 1990, p. 194). This simplistic way

of looking at the intersection of, for example, gender, gender identity, and sexual identity, creates an intersecting point of meaning, but lacks the ability to conceptualize the interdependence of the categories. For example, what does it mean to say that lower income males are more homophobic than females? The question then becomes why the specific relationship between class and gender is more prone to increase homophobia in this group, and how is one factor dependent on the other?

As McCall (2005) notes, there is a complexity that results from the subject of analysis expanding to include multiple measures of social life and analytic categories. Researchers, therefore, "favor methodologies that more naturally lend themselves to the study of complexity and reject methodologies that are considered too simplistic and reductionist" (p. 1772). Can a quantitative methodology ever be an effective way to incorporate the methods and theory behind intersectionality? There is strong evidence for using qualitative research as a way of exploring the layers of interconnecting identities for individuals. In a mixed methods approach, for example, a researcher can create hypotheses and quantitative cut-off points from the qualitative data and then test them in a quantitative fashion (Hancock 2007). Also, McCall (2005) develops an intercategorical approach that utilizes both a within- and between-groups design where, for example, wage inequality is assessed relative to the dimensions of gender, class, and race.

In general, in order to bring intersectionality to positivist research, there needs to be a larger paradigm shift (see also Bowleg 2008; Namaste 2009). Researchers need to view their subjects as multifaceted individuals with unique lived experiences that can inform our hypotheses. When creating categories, one must also think about who is missing and what dimensions are missing. We are not saying that all categories need to be deconstructed to the point that there are no similarities across groups, but at the same time one must realize that lived experiences need to be captured in a way that brings "truth" to the descriptions of the individual and where they are situated in the larger social and power dynamic.

So how does intersectionality inform our work on transgender theory? The term transgender was coined in the early 1990s and was an attempt to distinguish a subject position that was not dependent on fixed categories of sexual orientation or gender, such as male versus female and gay versus heterosexual (Somerville 2000). This transgender subjectivity (Stryker 1998) attempts to "forge a new model of gender identity, one that self-consciously defines itself in relation to (and sometimes against) a model of sexual orientation" (Somerville 2000, p. 170) and also a model of gender and gender roles. As discussed by Somerville (2000), "It is important to note that denaturalization of one category is often achieved through a renaturalization of another category. Current contestations over race, gender, and sexuality enact a productive search for new language and models of subjectivity" (p. 175).

For Alcoff (2006), the key to the objectification of identity is one's physical appearance, which automatically puts one in an identity category that the dominant culture can then define. "They (sex and race) are physical, marked on and through the body, lived as a material experience, visible as surface phenomena, and determinant of economic and political status. The social identities of race

and gender operate ineluctably through their bodily markers; they do not transcend their physical manifestations because they are their physical manifestation" (p. 102). It is thus the visibility of certain identity categories, such as race, that makes them particularly prone to politicization and to the enforcement of identity and behavior between and within groups. By rejecting the idea that gender, for example, is essentialist in nature, while at the same time asserting that even a fluid gender identity is both embodied and constructed, the lived experiences of many transgender individuals presents a dynamic manifestation of social identity that transcends both essentialism and social constructivism. As noted in several places in this book, McPhail (2004) suggests numerous implications to being caught between the social constructivist impulses of theoretically oriented academic researchers and the essentialist impulses of practitioners and political activists and advocates. For example, the need to diagnose transsexuals with a DSM diagnosis, in order for them to have sex reassignment surgery, portrays the individual as being essentially mentally disturbed (Ault and Brzuzy 2009). The current DSM-V (American Psychiatric Association 2013) has now replaced Gender Identity Dysphoria (GID) with Gender Dysphoria, yet a slew of problems still exist with this DSM diagnosis. While Gender Dysphoria is no longer listed as a Sexual Disorder, there are still concerns about the pathologizing of gender expression and identity outside of the gender binary. The criteria of a long-standing and strong identification with another gender, does not allow for the expression of both genders, and the transgression of both genders. There is also a concern of essentialist embodiment as the basis for the gender dysphoria diagnosis rather than recognizing the socially constructed bases of not only the causes of psychological disorders, but also how such disorders are defined (Szasz 1974). For example, the criteria for impairment in social functioning in the DSM does not recognize homophobic and transphobic prejudices that the individual may be experiencing and thus does not address the source of the distress as being externally caused by outside societal prejudices. In fact, the DSM-V already reflects a movement to essentialize mental illness through the greater use of scientific research findings and biological markers, a movement that some psychiatric researchers and clinicians wish had gone further (Park 2013).

Trans-Identity Theory as a Theory and Method

Trans-identity theory argues for a transcendent approach that would embrace and go beyond both imperatives of essentialism and social constructivism. The key to such a transcendent approach is the lived experiences that McPhail (2004) uses as part of her argument in support of queer theory's critique of essentialist conceptions of gender and gender identity. As we have suggested throughout the book, one's identity within a social categorization must be understood as a continually dynamic interaction between a social environment that can be understood positivistically in its efforts to essentialize social identity, a subjective consciousness that

must be understood phenomenologically in its efforts to construct aspects of self identity, and the lived experiences and actions of the person that embodies these interactions. This is consistent with Alcoff's (2006) idea that "a more plausible account of the self…would hold that neither public identity nor lived subjectivity are separable entities, fundamentally distinct, or entirely independent of the other" (p. 93).

Trans-identity theory is not only relevant to issues of transgender and transsexual individuals (Hill 2005). Bornstein's (1998) conceptualization of a broader definition of the term "transgender" can includes anyone who does not fit traditional definitions of masculinity and femininity denotes the relevance of transgender theory to the larger population and also to larger issues of gender relationships and other social identities. Alcoff (2006) characterizes this well when she states that "the problem with explaining the experience of a felt separation between how I am seen by others and how I see myself via a metaphysics of mind/body differentiation is that it allows one to say, 'I am not really my body,' as if one were actually housed elsewhere and only there as a tenant" (p. 93).

Alcoff (2006) discusses the idea of social identity categories as being essential, while also being in relation to others. She distinguishes between this interplay in her discussion of public identity versus lived subjectivity. Alcoff defines these terms as "public identity is our socially perceived self within the systems of perception and classification and the networks of community in which we live. But there is also a lived subjectivity that is not always perfectly mapped onto our socially perceived self, and that can be experienced and conceptualized differently" (pp. 92–93). This is similar to the ideas of embodiment and of lived experiences, which is consistent with transgender/trans-identity theory.

McPhail (2004) argues that both oppression theory, where the essentialized identity of the oppressed acts as a source of group cohesion and a spur for social action, and queer theory, where the conceptualization of the identity of the oppressed as a social construct acts as a basis for the critique of the social mechanisms that define the oppressed, are useful but contradictory bases for social work practice and advocacy. Trans-identity theory provides a way to reconcile this contradiction by recognizing the tension between self-experienced and societally defined identity embodiment and between self-determined and societally determined identity construction. Not only is this a possibly stronger theoretical and practical basis for social advocacy and action, this may be a more ecologically valid way of understanding individuals' lived experiences of their gender and other social identities.

In turn, trans-identity theory fits well with intersectionist ideas that one's identity within any identity category can only be understood within the context of other salient identity categories and that such an understanding must recognize the dynamic processes and tensions among the social forces and bodily experiences that essentialize each of these identities and the personally willed experiences that allow each of these identities to be self-created.

Trans-identity theory also has practical implications for not only research but also practice and policy. Researchers and practitioners need to be reminded of

how important narratives and lived experiences are, and we need to understand the importance of these lived experiences in the context of the individual's larger system. On the micro level, researchers and practitioners need to be held accountable in understanding the client as a whole person, including their narrative and identity that is both essential and socially constructed. At the same time, researchers and practitioners need to have humility, since no discipline can know everything about the individual. Human nature is complex and messy, and identity and lived experiences are also messy, but at the same time, this is why human nature is so exciting and multifaceted.

Taking cues from ecodevelopmental approaches (Bronfenbrenner 1979), we argue that, in this society, psychological research on understanding human nature and applications of this research to practice have heavily focused on microsystem influences on the individual, such as parents, peers, schools, neighborhoods, and workplaces. While some research and practice recognize larger societal/cultural macrosystem influences, such as prejudice or economic forces, these influences tend to get analyzed solely in terms of their impact on the individual, with little concern about the need to perhaps try to change the larger society. As we have noted, with regard to non-heteronormative individuals, practitioners and researchers need to not only understand the social construction of gender and the societal prejudices, such as homophobia and transphobia, that trickle down to affect the individual, but also understand that personal and group empowerment to resist oppression may also be therapeutic. What is particularly missing from our models of human nature, however, are the influences on the mesosystem level, where influences from different micro- and macrosystems combine and conflict in often interactive, nonlinear ways. We need to understand the lived experiences of the individual within these mesosystem influences. How does the individual navigate their identity within these other systems, and how does their identity remain salient or change?

Trans-Identity Theory and Human Nature

The writing of this book is being finalized in May 2013. The DSM-V (American Psychiatric Association 2013), which, as noted above, renames Gender Identity Dysphoria as Gender Dysphoria, but still retains the syndrome as a psychological disorder, was just released. The Supreme Court, which heard arguments earlier this year on the Federal Defense of Marriage Act, which defined marriage as being between a man and woman and thus undercut efforts to legalize gay marriage, is about to release its decision on the constitutionality of the Act. However, the court rules, as a prominent article in *Time* (von Drehle 2013) points out, gay/lesbian and transgender/transsexual characters are much more prominent in the media today, and the country as a whole is much more accepting than even 10 years ago of non-heteronormative gender and sexuality. Savin-Williams (2005) notes how the current generation of adolescents is much more accepting and tolerant of those who

deviate from heteronormativity than previous generations. In the world of LGBT issues, things are rapidly changing, and this book is of necessity and by design a narrative of a particular time and place. In this concluding section, we consider the relevance of our trans-identity theory to a larger, in terms of scope and timeframe, question about human nature, transhumanism.

Transhumanism is a social movement whose proponents argue for the use of emerging technologies to "enhance" humans (Savulescu and Bostrum 2009). Such proposed future enhancements of human beings include the use of trans-species and human genetic engineering, as well as new pharmaceuticals, to eliminate aging and increase memory, cognitive functioning, social bonding, and athletic ability, and the use of nanotechnology to reconstruct and enhance the parts and functions of the human body, for example, by creating artificial blood cells with greater life, durability, and oxygen carrying capacity. One of the most outlandish proposals famously associated with transhumanism, however, is the idea of uploading human minds into immortal artificially intelligent machines. However outlandish, these ideas are also increasingly gaining currency in our society (Grossman 2011).

For several years before and during the time this book was being written, Craig participated in a faculty discussion group convened by Dr. Hava Tirosh-Samuelson of the ASU Jewish Studies and History departments to consider the implications of the transhumanism movement. These discussions among a diverse group of ASU faculty and visiting scholars advanced the academic study of the transhumanism movement and resulted in an edited volume of essays (Tirosh-Samuelson and Mossman 2012). Craig's contribution to the volume (Nagoshi and Nagoshi 2012) criticized transhumanist ideas for basing their ideas on a very narrow and superficial meaning of "personhood," and this criticism was predicated on ideas from trans-identity theory that reflected the lived experiences of transgender individuals.

The upshot of the critique was that transhumanists seemingly assume a naïve materialism that takes for granted that all aspects of human nature, including personhood, consciousness, and free will, are based in the physical workings of the human body or they implicitly assume a Cartesian dualism, where their personhoods, their sense of self, exist in an immaculate mental reality separate from their bodies and can thus be readily uploaded to some immortal technology yet to be developed. Our explorations of gender and sexual identity contradicted both of these notions, as identity clearly had components that resulted from interactions between embodied and socially determined influences, but more importantly, the sense of self was held together by the narrative of lived experiences that integrated the deterministic influences and the self-constructions enabled by free will.

Our ideas about the fallacy of Cartesian dualism were already buttressed by feminist theorists, such as Tauschert (2002), but this assault on mind–body interactionist dualism comes from many quarters. From cognitive science, Chemero (2009) proposes that perception, action, and cognition can occur without mental representation, an approach he calls radical embodied cognitive science. Tafarodi (2008) theorizes about the psychology of personal identity in terms of the interpenetration of cultural contingencies in self-consciousness, with also a nod early

on to embodied experiences. Hoffman (2012), from a psychoneuroimmunological perspective, theorizes that the self, like the immune system, is defined by dynamic interactions with and interpenetrations of what constitutes the non-self.

A larger implication of our trans-identity theory is our proposal that how we know who we are, perhaps what makes us "human," is derived from the narrative of our lived experiences. Foerst (2004) observed the interactions of engineers designing, building, and working with robots and noted how the humans came to attribute human attributes approaching personhood to their machine creations. She notes the important distinction between two kinds of knowledge, *logos*, factual statements that are subject to justification, calculation, and reason, because such knowledge is about truths that exist independently of the knower, versus *mythos*, stories/narratives that are bound by the subjective realities of the knower/story-teller and the audience for the story. All the *ologies* in our society demonstrate the privileged place that *logos* holds as the basis for truth, while the low regard held for *mythos* is shown in the pejorative implications of some item of knowledge being a "myth." Trans-identity theory thus also becomes a plea for reasserting the value of narrative knowledge and the study of the humanities. An important part of the transdisciplinary approach that led to the knowledge presented in this book was the cross-fostering of ideas between a discipline associated with the humanities–women and gender studies–and disciplines associated with the social sciences–social work and psychology. As the humanities decline in U.S. universities (Clayton 2009), and the behavioral sciences become more enamored of seemingly objective biological approaches to understanding human nature, transgender individuals remind us of the dynamic complexity of what it truly means to be human.

Appendix A
Assessing Individual Readiness

Use this checklist to help you assess your own readiness for undertaking community collaboration.

☐ I understand and am willing to model the principles and values behind providing leadership for a community collaborative.

☐ I am open to learning new skills and behaviors, e.g., leadership, decision-making and group development skills.

☐ I listen well and have strong communication skills.

☐ I am willing to share my values and life experiences with colleagues and community members.

☐ I am willing to mentor and be mentored.

☐ I have a clear picture of the time it will take to support a change effort.

☐ My organization and family understand my commitment to this effort.

☐ I am open to people who don't look or act like me.

☐ I am willing to look beyond my own agendas to do what is best for my group and my community.

☐ I am willing to think and act proactively, not reactively.

☐ I understand the concept of sustainability and its implications for my choices.

_____ Total number of individual attributes checked

Assessing Group Readiness

Have everyone in your group complete this checklist, then compare answers.

☐ We are ready to identify common goals and objectives.

☐ We have a strong leadership core of people within our group who are ready to "go the distance."

☐ Our group understands the values and principles behind leading a community collaborative.

☐ We have members with group development skills, e.g., listening skills, facilitation, consensus-building and problem-solving skills.

☐ We have group members who understand the need for balancing process (the how) and product (the what).

☐ Our group members understand their roles clearly and know how they can contribute to group goals and objectives.

☐ Our group has clear working agreements (ways that help the group do its work effectively).

☐ Our group reflects the diversity of our community (e.g., ethnicity, race, gender, leadership style, and worldview).

☐ Our group members are networked to the community and understand its history, its politics, and its pathways.

☐ Our group members are willing to put community agendas before our own.

☐ Our group members "walk their talk."

☐ Our group members have a sense of humor.

_____ Total number of group attributes checked

Assessing Community Readiness

Use this checklist to help you assess the readiness of your community's organizations and institutions to participate in collaborative efforts.

☐ We have organizations or corporations that have a long history of active community involvement.

☐ Organizations that sponsor us have missions similar to our groups and have made community health improvement and quality of life a priority.

☐ There is a defined organizational structure that sponsors either have bought into or are willing to help create in order to support our community effort.

☐ Sponsoring organizations participate in collaborative planning and action and have employees involved in community work.

☐ Organizations and sponsors will benefit from attaching themselves to a community-wide event or series of events.

☐ Organizations and sponsors will provide the necessary financial or human resources, or will assist in recruitment of those resources.

☐ These organizations or sponsors are committed to continuous quality improvement and are committed for the long haul.

_____ Total number of organizational attributes checked

Assessing Community Readiness

Use this checklist to help you assess your community's capacity to act. Are citizens ready for change? Use this community readiness checklist to help you take your own pulse.

☐ We have enough acceptance from the larger community to move our effort ahead.

☐ Within our core group, we have the knowledge base, experience and talent to launch a broad-based community effort.

☐ There is a "buzz" going on about the need for new kinds of leadership and new approaches to getting things done.

☐ We have identified individuals and groups that may be threatened by our efforts and have relationships built with them or know people who do.

☐ We have people in our community who are strongly committed to the idea of bringing diverse voices together and have a strategy in place to ensure that all community voices are being engaged.

_____ Total number of community attributes checked
_____ Total number of *all* attributes checked out of *37* possible attributes.

Generally speaking, if you can check at least 50 percent of the questions on each of the four lists, there is a good chance you have the resources and attitudes necessary to move forward. Checking fewer than 50 percent of the items doesn't mean defeat! Choose one or two attributes on each list and concentrate on improving those situations to the point at which they become an accessible asset (or a check mark!). Remember: Positive change takes time!

Source
Ayre, D., Clough, G., & Norris, T. (2002). *Facilitating Community Change Handbook*, The Grove Consultants and International Community Initiatives, LLC 9–13.

Appendix B:
Cultural Competency Assessment

Excerpted from

Improving Emotional and Behavioral Outcomes for LGBT Youth: A Guide for Professionals
edited by Sylvia K. Fisher, Ph.D., Jeffrey M. Poirier, M.A., PMP, & Gary M. Blau, Ph.D.

PROMOTING CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC COMPETENCY

**Self-Assessment Checklist for Personnel Providing
Services and Supports to LGBTQ[1] Youth and Their Families**

RATING SCALE: Please select **A, B, or C** for each item listed below:

A = I do this *frequently*, or the statement applies to me to a *great degree*.
B = I do this *occasionally*, or statement applies to me to a *moderate degree*.
C = I do this *rarely* or *never*, or statement applies to me to a *minimal degree* or *not at all*.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT, MATERIALS, AND RESOURCES

1. I display pictures, posters and other materials that are inclusive of LGBTQ youth and their families served by my program/agency. ☐ A ☐ B ☐ C

2. I ensure that LGBTQ youth and families across diverse racial, ethnic, and cultural groups:
   - have access to magazines, brochures, and other printed materials that are of interest to them. ☐ A ☐ B ☐ C
   - are reflected in media resources (e.g., videos, films, CDs, DVDS, Websites) for health and behavioral health prevention, treatment, or other interventions. ☐ A ☐ B ☐ C

3. I ensure that printed/multimedia resources (e.g., photos, posters, magazines, brochures, videos, films, CDs, Websites) are free of biased and negative content, language, or images about people who are LGBTQ. ☐ A ☐ B ☐ C

4. I screen books, movies, and other media resources for negative stereotypes about LGBTQ persons before sharing them with youth and their parents/families served by my program/agency. ☐ A ☐ B ☐ C

COMMUNICATION PRACTICES

5. I attempt to learn and use key words and terms that reflect 'youth culture' or LGBTQ youth culture, so that I communicate more effectively with youth during assessment, treatment, or other interventions. ☐ A ☐ B ☐ C

6. I understand and respect that some youth may:
   - choose not to identify as LGBT or prefer to use other terms to identify themselves. ☐ A ☐ B ☐ C
   - abandon use of all terms associated with sexual orientation/gender identity or expression so as to remain "label-free." ☐ A ☐ B ☐ C

[1]L=Lesbian; G=Gay; B=Bisexual; T=Transgender; Q=Questioning
[2]Sexual orientation and gender identity or expression are not synonymous. As used in this checklist, "sexual orientation/gender identity or expression" means and/or.

PROMOTING CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC COMPETENCY
(continued)

Communication Practices   *(continued)*

7. I understand and apply the principles and practices of linguistic
    competence as they relate to LGBTQ populations within my
    program/agency, including the use of:
    *   preferred gender pronoun(s).   ☐A ☐B ☐C
    *   preferred proper names.   ☐A ☐B ☐C
    *   terms that reflect self-identity about sexual orientation/   ☐A ☐B ☐C
        gender identity.[2]

8. I advocate for the use of linguistically appropriate terminology
    for LGBTQ populations within:
    *   my program/agency.   ☐A ☐B ☐C
    *   systems that serve children, youth, and their families.   ☐A ☐B ☐C
    *   professional and community organizations with which I   ☐A ☐B ☐C
        am associated.

VALUES AND ATTITUDES

9. I avoid imposing values that may conflict or be inconsistent   ☐A ☐B ☐C
    with those of LGBTQ youth cultures or groups.

10. In group therapy or treatment situations, I discourage the use   ☐A ☐B ☐C
    of "hate speech" or slurs about sexual orientation/gender
    identity or expression by helping youth to understand that
    certain words can hurt others.

11. I intervene appropriately when I observe others (i.e., staff,   ☐A ☐B ☐C
    parents, family members, children, and youth) within my
    program/agency behave or speak about sexual orientation/
    gender identity or expression in ways that are insensitive,
    biased, or prejudiced.

12. I understand and accept that family may be defined differently   ☐A ☐B ☐C
    by LGBTQ youth (e.g., extended family members, families of
    choice, friends, partners, fictive kin, godparents).

13. I accept that LGBTQ youth, parents/family members may not   ☐A ☐B ☐C
    always agree about who will make decisions about services
    and supports for the youth.

14. I recognize that LGBT identity has different connotations   ☐A ☐B ☐C
    (negative, neutral, positive) within different racial, ethnic, and
    cultural groups.

15. I accept that culture heavily influences responses by family   ☐A ☐B ☐C
    members and others to youth who are LGBTQ, and to the
    provision of their care, treatment, services, and supports.

(continued)

PROMOTING CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC COMPETENCY
(continued)

Values and Attitudes *(continued)*

16. I understand and respect that LBGTQ youth may conceal their sexual orientation/gender identity or expression within their own racial, ethnic, or cultural group. □A □B □C

17. I accept and respect that LGBTQ youth may not express their gender according to culturally-defined societal expectations. □A □B □C

18. I understand that age and life cycle factors, including identity development, must be considered when interacting with LGBTQ youth and their families. □A □B □C

19. I recognize that the meaning or value of health and behavioral health prevention, intervention, and treatment may vary greatly among LGBTQ youth and their families. □A □B □C

20. I understand that family members and others may believe that LGBT identity among youth is a mental illness, emotional disturbance/disability, or moral/character flaw. □A □B □C

21. I understand the impact of stigma associated with mental illness, behavioral health services, and help-seeking behavior among LGBTQ youth and their families within cultural communities (e.g., communities defined by race or ethnicity, religiosity or spirituality, tribal affiliation, and/or geographic locale). □A □B □C

22. I accept that religion, spirituality, and other beliefs may influence how families:
    - respond to a child or youth who identifies as LGBTQ. □A □B □C
    - view LGBTQ youth culture. □A □B □C
    - approach a child or youth who is LGBTQ. □A □B □C

23. I ensure that LGBTQ youth:
    - have appropriate access to events and activities conducted by my program/agency. □A □B □C
    - participate in training (i.e., panel presentations, workshops, seminars, and other forums). □A □B □C
    - participate on advisory boards, committees and task forces. □A □B □C

24. I ensure that members of "families of choice" identified by LGBTQ youth:
    - have appropriate access to events and activities conducted by my program/agency. □A □B □C
    - participate in training (i.e., panel presentations, workshops, seminars, and other forums). □A □B □C
    - participate on advisory boards, committees and task forces. □A □B □C

(continued)

PROMOTING CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC COMPETENCY
(continued)

Values and Attitudes (continued)

25. Before visiting or providing services and supports in the home setting, I seek information on acceptable behaviors, courtesies, customs, and expectations that are unique to:
  - LGBTQ youth and their families.   ☐A ☐B ☐C
  - LGBT headed families.   ☐A ☐B ☐C

26. I confer with LGBTQ youth, family members, key community informants, cultural brokers, and those who are knowledgeable about LGBTQ youth experience to:
  - create or adapt service delivery models.   ☐A ☐B ☐C
  - implement services and supports.   ☐A ☐B ☐C
  - evaluate services and supports.   ☐A ☐B ☐C
  - plan community awareness, acceptance, and engagement initiatives.   ☐A ☐B ☐C

27. I advocate for the periodic review of the mission, policies, and procedures of my program/agency to ensure the full inclusion of all individuals regardless of their sexual orientation/gender identity or expression.   ☐A ☐B ☐C

28. I keep abreast of new developments in the research and practice literatures about appropriate interventions and approaches for working with LGBTQ youth and their families.   ☐A ☐B ☐C

29. I accept that many evidence-based prevention and intervention approaches will require adaptation to be effective with LGBTQ youth and their families.   ☐A ☐B ☐C

HOW TO USE THIS CHECKLIST

This checklist is intended to heighten the awareness and sensitivity of personnel to the importance of cultural diversity and cultural competence in human service settings. It provides concrete examples of the kinds of values and practices that foster such an environment. There is no answer key with correct responses. If, however, you frequently responded "C", you may consider advocating for values-based policies, and implementing practices that promote a diverse and culturally and linguistically competent service delivery system for LGBTQ children/youth and their families who require health, behavioral health, or other services and supports.

Appendix C
Resource Guide

Best Practices for Asking Questions About Sexual Orientation on Surveys

A November 2009 report with recommendations of the Sexual Minority Assessment Research Team (SMART), a multidisciplinary and multi-institutional collaboration published by The Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law.

http://www.law.ucla.edu/williamsinstitute/pdf/SMART_FINAL_Nov09.pdf

Ethical Funding: The Ethics of Tobacco, Alcohol, and Pharmaceutical Funding: A Practical Guide for LGBT Organizations

© 1999 Coalition of Lavender Americans on Smoking and Health and Progressive Research and Training for Action Revised 2001

"LGBT and HIV/AIDS organizations are struggling with the dilemma of developing funding policies that are congruent with their missions; particularly in relation to corporate donations from industries whose products impact individual and community health."

http://www.gaysmokeout.net/docs/EthicalFundingForLGBTOrganizations.pdf

GayData.org

Web-based GayData.org is maintained by the Program for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Health at Drexel University, School of Public Health and serves as a no-cost, open-access clearinghouse for the collection of sexual orientation and gender identity data and measures. Provides links to key LGBT-related data

sources, abstracts of significant journal articles reporting data analysis results for LGBT mental health and substance abuse, and has guidelines for incorporating LGBT questions into data instruments.

http://www.gaydata.org

GLBT National Help Center

A robust Web portal with links to hundreds of LGBT-related public and private resources and enterprises, with an online locator to produce by-topic lists by ZIP code from a 15,000 item database. A nonprofit, tax-exempt organization, the Center has toll-free telephone services, online peer-support chat utilities. Alcohol, tobacco, drugs, substance abuse are not topic headings in resources the Center database produces, but its Health category is likely to include professionals and programs in a given area who provide substance abuse-related services.

http://www.glnh.org/

Wikipedia.org "LGBT Community Centers"

List of LGBT Community Centers around the world with links to their websites.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_LGBT_community_centres#United_States

National Association of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Community Centers

A membership organization that provides local level support, activities, and meeting space for the LGBT community. Many centers offer programs specifically designed for LGBT youth and some offer substance abuse prevention and/or treatment.

http://www.lgbtcenters.org

César E. Chávez Institute

The César E. Chávez Institute is a research and training institute affiliated with the College of Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State University (SFSU). The CCI studies the impact of social oppression on the health, education, and well being of disenfranchised communities in the U.S. San Francisco State University 3004–16th St. #301 San Francisco, CA 94103 415-522-5879 cci@sfsu.edu cci.sfsu.edu

National Sexuality Resource Center

The National Sexuality Resource Center is a sexuality information center affiliated with the Human Sexuality Studies Program at San Francisco State University (SFSU). The Center collects and disseminates the latest information and research on sexual health, education, and rights to advocates, academics, researchers, policy makers, and diverse communities throughout the U.S. 2017 Mission Street, Suite 300 San Francisco, CA 94110 415-437-5121 nsrcinfo@sfsu.edu nsrc.sfsu.edu

Advocacy and Legal Support

Center for American Progress

In the Media and Progressive Issues section of this nonprofit's Web site, a number of documents relating to LGBT social justice topics are archived under the heading, Gay and Transgender Issues.

   http://www.americanprogress.org/

Human Rights Campaign

National advocacy organization for LGBT civil rights. Advocacy, public awareness, and political action.

   1640 Rhode Island Ave., N.W.Washington, D.C. 20036-3278 202-628-4160 www.hrc.org

NGLTF—National Gay and Lesbian Task Force

National organization to promote LGBT civil rights. National conference, political action, local and state advocacy, policy and publications.

   1325 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Suite 600 Washington, DC 20005 202-393-5177 www.ngltf.org

Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund

Lambda Legal is a national organization committed to achieving full recognition of the civil rights of lesbians, gay men, bisexuals, the transgendered, and people

with HIV or AIDS through impact litigation, education, and public policy work. www.lambdalegal.org

National Center for Lesbian Rights

NCLR is a national legal resource center with a primary commitment to advancing the rights of lesbians and their families. The NCLR youth project (http://nclrights.org/projects/youthproject.htm) provides direct, free legal information to youth and their legal advocates; directly litigates cases for youth in schools and other settings; and advocates for school and mental health policies for LGBT youth of all gender identities. Site includes safe school guidelines and sample policies. www.nclrights.org

Gay and Lesbian Advocates and Defenders

Gay and Lesbian Advocates and Defenders (GLAD) is New England's leading legal rights organization dedicated to ending discrimination based on sexual orientation, HIV status and gender identity and expression. Resources are primarily for New England states. www.glad.org

American Civil Liberties Union Lesbian and Gay Rights Project

The Lesbian and Gay Rights Project is a special division of the national ACLU. It is staffed by experts in constitutional law and civil rights who have years of experience handling cases involving lesbians and gay men, writing lesbian/gay civil rights laws, and making the case for fair and equal treatment regardless of sexual orientation. Check out the special feature on making schools safe for LGBT youth (http://www.aclu.org/issues/gay/safe_schools.html) www.aclu.org/issues/gay/hmgl.html

Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund

National organization that focuses on civil rights for LGBT persons and people with HIV/AIDS, including school-based victimization of LGBT youth, through impact litigation, education, and public policy work.

   120 Wall Street, Suite 1500 New York, NY 10005-3904 212-809-8585 www.lambdalegal.org

Lesbian and Gay Rights Project

National organization to protect individual rights and liberties, including legal advocacy for the civil rights of LGBT persons and people with HIV/AIDS.

AIDS/HIV Project American Civil Liberties Union 125 Broad Street, 18th Floor New York, NY 10004 212-549-2623 www.aclu.org

National Center for Lesbian Rights

National non-profit law firm focusing on lesbian civil rights and legal rights for LGBT persons, including school-based victimization of LGBT youth, through impact litigation, public policy advocacy, public education, and direct legal services.

870 Market Street, Suite 570 San Francisco, CA 94102 415-392-6257 www.nclrights.org

Health-Related Organizations

American Legacy Foundation: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Communities and Smoking Fact Sheet

A March 2009 two-page summary of key facts from published sources about LGBT tobacco use, with footnoted reference citations.

http://www.legacyforhealth.org/PDFPublications/Lesbian_Gay_Bisexual_and_ Transgender___Communities_and_Smoking__Fact_Sheet.pdf

Association of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Addiction Professionals and Their Allies (NALGAP)

A membership organization founded in 1979 and dedicated to the prevention and treatment of alcoholism, substance abuse, and other addictions in lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender communities. In 1994, the group issued a 3-page Prevention Policy Statement & Guidelines accessible in PDF format the LGBT Resources section of its site.

http://www.nalgap.org

CDC Compendium of HIV Prevention Interventions with Evidence of Effectiveness

"The interventions in the Compendium have been identified by CDC's HIV/AIDS Prevention Research Synthesis Project (PRS) as having rigorous study methods and demonstrated evidence of effectiveness in reducing sex- and drug-related risk behaviors or improving health outcomes." Several target gay/bisexual individuals; others target groups likely to include LGBTs.

http://www.cdc.gov/hiv/resources/reports/hiv_compendium/

CDC Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Health

"These pages provide information and resources on some of the health issues and inequities affecting LGBT communities. Links to other information sources and resources are also provided. Some of this information is designed for members of the general public. Other information has been developed for health care providers, public health professionals, and public health students."

http://www.cdc.gov/lgbthealth/

Fenway Health

Offers comprehensive LGBT health care seeks to improve the overall health of the larger community, locally and nationally, through education and training, policy and advocacy, and research and evaluation. Includes the HIV/AIDS-focused Fenway Institute. The Fenway Institute also hosts the National LGBT Tobacco Coalition (see separate listing) and the Center for Population Research in LGBT Health.

http://www.fenwayhealth.org/

Fenway Crystal: It's Dangerous. Know the Risks

A Web-based methamphetamine prevention resource targeting gay/bisexual men in Massachusetts (one of several such resources offered in some communities).

http://www.fenwayhealth.org/site/PageServer?pagename=CM_home

Healthy People 2010: Companion Document for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Health

Developed under GLMA's leadership in 2001, The Healthy People 2010 Companion Document for LGBT Health provides a context for educating readers about LGBT health disparities and for addressing systemic challenges to

overcome them. Separate chapters discuss HIV/AIDS, mental health, STDs, substance abuse, tobacco use, and violence prevention. Available in PDF format only.

http://glma.org/_data/n_0001/resources/live/HealthyCompanionDoc3.pdf

(HHS) Healthy People 2020

The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services' Healthy People 2020 provides science-based, 10-year national objectives for improving the health of all Americans. The document integrates input from public health and prevention experts, a wide range of federal, state, and local government officials, a consortium of more than 2,000 organizations, and the public. More than 8,000 comments were considered in drafting a comprehensive set of Healthy People 2020 objectives. Based on this input, a number of new topic areas are included in the new initiative, including: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Health (note: as of December 2010, specific objectives for LGBT Health were in development).

http://www.healthypeople.gov/2020/default.aspx

Institute of Medicine/National Academies of Science

With support from the National Institutes of Health, the IOM convened a committee of experts on LGBT health for four 2-day meetings during 2010. Other experts presented documents and gave reports to help the committee prepare a consensus study report on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Health Issues and Research Gaps and Opportunities scheduled for Spring 2011 publication. Many of these documents and presentations are archived on the IOM's Web page for the project:

http://www.iom.edu/Activities/SelectPops/LGBTHealthIssues.aspx

GLMA—Gay and Lesbian Medical Association

National organization for LGBT physicians. Annual conferences, advocacy, training, and referrals to sensitive medical practitioners.

459 Fulton Street, Suite 107 San Francisco, California 94102 415-255-4547
www.glma.org

Lesbian Health and Research Center

Center to promote lesbian health research, education, training, and policy. Sponsors conferences, and networking to focus community development and

advocacy to inform clinical practice and to improve health services for lesbians, bisexual women, and transgender individuals.

University of California, San Francisco Laurel Heights Campus 3333 California Street, Suite 340 San Francisco, CA 94118 415-502-5209 www.lesbianhealthinfo.org

Mautner Project for Lesbians with Cancer

National lesbian health organization. Provides training on lesbian health care delivery, smoking cessation programs. Addresses general health concerns and the needs of lesbians with cancer, their partners and caregivers. Annual conferences, research, education, and training.

1707 L Street NW, Suite 230 Washington, DC 20036 202-332-5536 www.mautnerproject.org

GLMA—Gay and Lesbian Medical Association

National organization for LGBT physicians. Annual conferences, advocacy, training, referrals to sensitive medical practitioners.

459 Fulton Street, Suite 107 San Francisco, California 94102 415-255-4547 www.glma.org

AIDS Project Los Angeles

Community AIDS service organization that provides a range of services for people at risk for and living with HIV. Bilingual HIV treatment information, in print and online.

611 S. Kingsley Drive Los Angeles, CA 90005 213-201-1600 www.apla.org

Proyecto Contra SIDA Por Vida

Community HIV service organization for men who have sex with men and LGBT, queer and questioning Latinas/os. Peer-led social and support services, counseling. Focus on health, community, and creativity.

2973 16th Street San Francisco, California 94103 415-864-7278 www.pcpv.org

San Francisco AIDS Foundation

Community AIDS service organization that provides a range of services for people at risk for and living with HIV. Publications and online resources.
   995 Market St #200 San Francisco CA 94103 415-487-3061 www.sfaf.org

LGBT Tri-Star

A San Francisco-based technical assistance contractor funded by the CA Department of Alcohol and Drug Programs to improve access to appropriate substance abuse prevention, treatment and recovery services for California's Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender population. Tri-Star has issued a series of "Best Practices" papers, archived on its site, that include information likely to help in designing effective prevention for this population. (As the contract neared its end in the summer of 2010, the contractor archived some final documents separately at http://gilgerald.com, the firm's corporate Web site.)
   http://www.lgbt-tristar.com/

Los Angeles Gay and Lesbian Center: Alcohol, Tobacco, and Other Drug Prevention

A calendar of substance-free events offered through the Center's Alcohol, Tobacco, and Other Drug Prevention program. Some, such as Oasis of Pride events held in conjunction with the city's annual gay pride celebrations, were developed as environmental prevention strategies to counter alcohol and tobacco promotions at such popular traditional LGBT festivities.
   http://laglc.convio.net/site/PageServer?pagename=YH_PH_Alcohol_Tobacco_Other_Drug_Prevention

L.A. Gay and Lesbian Center: Model Program for LGBT Youth in Foster Care

On October 1, 2010 it was announced that the L.A. Gay and Lesbian Center was awarded a $13.3 million, 5-year grant from the HHS Administration on Children, Youth, and Families to create a model program for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and questioning (LGBTQ) youth in the foster care system. Visit the Center's Web site for information about the project.
   http://www.lagaycenter.org/

Methamphetamine Use Among Gay, Bisexual Men, and Other Men-who-have-Sex-with-Men Addressing the Continuum of Care: Prevention, Treatment, and Research (Sept 2007)

An archived two-part audio-visual training presentation hosted by the Los Angeles County Department of Public Health Substance Abuse Prevention and Control and the (SAMHSA/CSAT) Pacific Southwest Addiction Technology Transfer Center with researchers Cathy J. Reback, Ph.D. and Steve Shoptaw, Ph.D., nationally-recognized experts on methamphetamine use among LGBTs. To access these files, scroll down the list at this link.

   http://publichealth.lacounty.gov/sapc/media/LectureSeries.htm

The National Coalition for LGBT Health

The coalition evolved during the writing of the Healthy People 2010 companion document for LGBT health. Potential local or State partners in LGBT prevention might be identified through the Coalitions list of member organizations links in its About Us Web area, and categorical lists of links in its Resources & Research area.

   http://www.lgbthealth.net/

National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA): Social Work Curriculum on Alcohol Use Disorders: Module 10G: Sexual Orientation and Alcohol Disorders

"The goal of this module is to increase social workers' understanding of, and responsiveness to, the unique characteristics and concerns of LGBT individuals in relation to alcohol use, prevention, and treatment." Some of the contents of this module have been adapted for this article.

   http://pubs.niaaa.nih.gov/publications/social/Module10GSexualOrientation/Module10G.html

National LGBT Tobacco Coalition

Housed at the Fenway Institute (see separate listing), the coalition works to support the many local tobacco control advocates in helping to eliminate tobacco health disparities for all LGBTs. Within the Guidelines and Best Practice area of

its Resources pages are several community assessments and other documents with potential value in developing substance abuse prevention for LGBTs.

http://www.lgbttobacco.org/

National Network to Eliminate Disparities in Behavioral Health

The NNED is supported by the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, National Institutes of Health/National Center on Minority Health and Health Disparities, and the Annie E. Casey Foundation. The NNED Web site archives files of documents and presentations relating to events and news about health disparities. For example, presentations for the June 2010 SAMHSA LGBT Pride Month program are at: http://nned.net/index-nned.php/news_announcement/ P30/. However, the site does not have a search feature at this time, making it necessary to scroll through chronological postings of past News to locate items of interest.

http://nned.net/

SAMHSA/CSAT A Provider's Introduction to Substance Abuse Treatment for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Individuals. (2001)

"This document seeks to inform administrators and clinicians about appropriate diagnosis and treatment approaches that will help ensure the development or enhancement of effective lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT)-sensitive programs." Some of the content is applicable to prevention programming as well.

http://download.ncadi.samhsa.gov/prevline/pdfs/BKD392/index.pdf

SAMHSA/CSAT A Provider's Introduction to Substance Abuse Treatment for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Individuals Training Curriculum, First Edition

Based on the 2001 SAMHSA/CSAT publication, the curriculum was released in 2007 and offers skill-building knowledge to enhance sensitive, affirmative, culturally relevant, and effective treatment to LGBT individuals in substance use disorders treatment. Absent comparable SAMHSA-based LGBT substance abuse prevention training, some preventionists have benefitted by attending ATTC training-of-trainers for the curriculum and from online access to the complete curriculum.

http://www.attcnetwork.org/regcenters/generalContent.asp?rcid=12&content= STCUSTOM3

Una Introducción para el Proveedor de Tratamiento de Abuso de Sustancias para Lesbianas, Gays, Bisexuales e Individuos Transgénero

In March 2010, the CSAT-supported Caribbean Basin and Hispanic Addiction Technologies Transfer Center released its Spanish-language curriculum based on the 2001 CSAT "A Provider's Introduction…"

http://www.attcnetwork.org/regcenters/productdetails.asp?prodID=553&rcID=1

University of San Francisco Center for AIDS Prevention Studies

Since 1995, the Center has been publishing fact sheets on AIDS-related topics, many of them in both English and in Spanish-language editions. As of March 2010, more than 60 of these fact sheets were available from the CAPS Web site. Several present recent data about segments of the LGBT population as that data relates to HIV/AIDS; "Drug use" is a topic of several of CAPS fact sheets with information about the association of substance abuse and HIV/AIDS in this population.

http://www.caps.ucsf.edu/pubs/FS/

Advocates for Youth

Dedicated to creating programs and policies which help young people make informed and responsible decisions about their sexual and reproductive health.

www.advocatesforyouth.org

Casey Family Programs—Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transsexual, and Questioning Guidebook Learning Plan

Developed to meet the needs for specific life skills related to GLBTQ issues among social workers, teachers, youth, and parents, the Plan designed to help develop life skills teaching curriculum and individual learning plans. It is based on and companion to the Casey Life Skills GLBTQ Assessment Supplement.

http://www.caseylifeskills.org/pages/lp/GLBTQ%20Guidebook%206%20 28%2007.pdf

On the Streets: The Federal Response to Gay and Transgender Homeless Youth (June 2010)

Based on available data sources, the report offers a blueprint for considering and addressing this problem.

http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2010/06/pdf/lgbtyouthhomelessness.pdf

Consortium of Higher Education LGBT Resource Professionals: Directory

Full contact information for almost 200 higher education institution LGBT studies programs. A criterion for inclusion is that listings must be for programs with at least one paid staff person. Some of these gay studies centers may have information and expertise relating to substance abuse and may be valuable partners in prevention activities. (See also: University LGBT/Queer Programs)

http://www.lgbtcampus.org/directory/index.php?pageno=2

The Family Acceptance Project

The Family Acceptance Project™ is a community research, intervention and education initiative studying the effects of family acceptance and rejection on the health and well-being of lesbian, gay, and bisexual and transgender (LGBT) youth. Results will be used to help families provide support for LGBT youth, to develop appropriate interventions, programs and policies, and to train for training.

http://familyproject.sfsu.edu/

Gay, Lesbian, and Straight Education Network (GLSEN)

In 2008, GLSEN became a client of the Ad Council as sponsor Think Before You Speak, the "first national multimedia public service advertising (PSA) campaign designed to address the use of anti-gay language among teens." GLSEN seeks to develop school climates where difference is valued for the positive contribution it makes to creating a more vibrant and diverse community." GLSEN supports community-based chapters and Gay-Straight Alliances in many schools. The group sponsors the biennial National School Climate Survey.

http://www.glsen.org/

GLBT National Help Center

A robust Web portal with links to hundreds of LGBT-related public and private resources and enterprises, with an online locator to produce by-topic lists by ZIP code from a 15,000 item database. A nonprofit, tax-exempt organization, the Center has toll-free telephone services, online peer-support chat utilities. Alcohol, tobacco, drugs, substance abuse are not topic headings in resources the Center database produces, but its Health category is likely to include professionals and programs in a given area who provide substance abuse-related services.

http://www.glnh.org/

Hettrick-Martin Institute/Harvey Milk High School

The New York City nonprofit organization provides supportive services for LGBT youth including after-school programs in arts and culture, health and wellness, job readiness/career exploration, and academic enrichment. It also offers paid internships to program graduates and hosts the Harvey Milk High School operated by the New York City Department of Education. There is no mention of alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs on its Web site, although it offers a snapshot into an array of programs, services, and activities tailored to the cultural needs of at-risk LGBT youth many prevention advocates believe prevent and reduce substance abuse.

http://www.hmi.org/

National Youth Advocacy Coalition

The mission of National Youth Advocacy Coalition is to advocate for and with young people who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender in an effort to end discrimination against these youth and to ensure their physical and emotional well-being.

http://www.nyacyouth.org

Parents, Families, and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG)

PFLAG is devoted to promoting the health and well-being of gay, lesbian, and bisexual persons and their families and friends through support, education, and advocacy.

http://www.pflag.org

Services and Advocacy for Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Elders (SAGE)

"SAGE is the world's oldest and largest nonprofit agency dedicated to serving and advocating for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender seniors. Since its inception, SAGE has pioneered programs and services for seniors in the LGBT community, provided technical assistance and training to expand opportunities for LGBT older people across the country, and provided a national voice on LGBT aging issues."

http://www.sageusa.org/

SAGE National Resource Center on LGBT Aging

Established in 2010 through a federal grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, the National Resource Center on LGBT Aging provides training, technical assistance, and educational resources to aging providers, LGBT organizations, and LGBT older adults.

http://www.lgbtagingcenter.org/

The Trevor Project

"Established in 1998 to coincide with the HBO airing of the award winning short film, Trevor, hosted by Ellen DeGeneres, The Trevor Helpline is the only nation-wide, around-the-clock crisis and suicide prevention helpline for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and questioning youth."

http://www.thetrevorproject.org/

University LGBT/Queer Programs

A personally operated Web directory to LGBT study programs, student groups, and the like at numerous colleges and universities, with some information for those interested in obtaining degrees in related subjects. Updated in March 2010, the site may be helpful in locating academic resources and partnerships for pre-vention. (see also: Consortium of Higher Education LGBT Resource Professionals Directory)

http://www.people.ku.edu/~jyounger/lgbtqprogs.html#res

Youth Enrichment Services (Y.E.S.) at the [NYC] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center

Open to LGBT and questioning youth ages 13 to 21, the YES program began in 1989 and provides LGBT young people with community support to foster healthy development, in a safe, affirming, alcohol- and drug-free environment.
http://www.gaycenter.org/youth/about

Children of Lesbians and Gays Everywhere

Children of Lesbians and Gays Everywhere, the only national and international organization supporting young people with lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender parents. Lots of resources for kids and youth. www.colage.org

GenderPAC Youth

The Gender Public Advocacy Coalition (GenderPAC) works to end discrimination and violence caused by gender stereotypes by changing public attitudes, educating elected officials, and expanding legal rights. There is a new wave of grassroots activism coming… Gender YOUTH. This is your chance to get involved in the new gender rights movement sweeping college campuses around the country. www.gpac.org/youth/

Legal Information

Youth at Risk Project

ACLU OF ILLINOIS 180 N. Michigan, Ste. 2300 Chicago, IL. 60601 (312) 201-9740 (http://www.aclu-il.org/getequal/youth)

Children of Lesbian and Gays Everywhere (COLAGE)

2300 Market Street, Box 165 San Francisco, CA 94114 415-861-5437 www.colage.org
National organization for children of LGBT parents.

Family Pride Coalition

PO Box 65327 Washington, DC 20035-5327 202-331-5015 www.familypride.org
   National organization to provide advocacy and support for LGBT parents and their families.
   Youth Organizations and Resources

National Youth Advocacy Coalition

1638 R Street NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20009 202.319.7596 Toll-free: 800-541-6922 www.nyacyouth.org
   National advocacy organization for LGBT youth. Youth conferences and education.

LYRIC

127 Collingwood San Francisco, CA 94114 415-703-6150 www.lyric.org
   Services for LGBT and questioning youth, hotline, recreation program, and activities.

Deaf Queer Youth

There are millions of deaf or hard of hearing lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people. Look within these pages for resources, stories, and information by and about the deaf GLBTQ community. http://www.youthresource.com/community/deaf/

Pacific Center for Human Growth

2712 Telegraph Ave. Berkeley, CA 94705 510-548-8283 www.pacificcenter.org
   Support and recreation services for LGBT youth, after school and summer drop-in program.

Rainbow's End—Spectrum

1000 Sir Francis Drake Blvd. #10 San Anselmo, CA 94960 415-457-1115 www.spectrummarin.org
   Social and support group for LGBTQ youth, classroom and community education.

SMAAC

1738 Telegraph Avenue Oakland, CA 94612 510-834-9578 members.aol.com/sma acyouth/

   Support and recreation services for LGBT youth, health education and counseling.

Youth Resource

Advocates for Youth www.youthresource.com www.ambientejoven.org en Español

   Online peer-based sexual health education by and for LGBTQ youth ages 13–24. Includes peer health educators, info for LGBT youth of color, young women, deaf, and rural youth. Information on HIV and sexually transmitted infections, substance use, self-injury, body image, depression, coming out, pride and coalition building, school issues, and healthy relationships.

Youth Guardian Services

www.youth-guard.org/youth/

   On-line peer-supervised support groups for LGBT youth (ages 13–17, 17–21, and 21–25), and youth with an LGBT family member.

California Youth Crisis Line

24 hours a day, 7 days a week, 800-843-5200.

Advocates for Youth

National organization that provides education, information, and advocacy to help young people make informed and responsible decisions about their reproductive and sexual health. Child–parent communication initiative to help parents communicate effectively with children and teens about sexual health. Training and workshops, publications, and online resources. Materials for LGBT youth.

   2000 M Street NW, Suite 750 Washington, DC 20036 202-419-3420 www.advo catesforyouth.org

Health Initiatives for Youth (HIFY)

Training and technical assistance on adolescent health concerns from a youth-centered perspective. HIFY works with youth, providers, teachers and parents, and government agencies. Range of health publications, including materials written and developed by youth.

235 Montgomery Street, Suite 430 San Francisco, CA 94104 415-274-1970
www.hify.org

School-Related Resources

Safe School Coalition

A public–private partnership in support of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender youth. The Safe Schools Coalition offers resources as a starting point for educators, parents/guardians, and youth. The mission of the Coalition is to help schools become safe places where every family can belong, where every educator can teach, and where every child can learn, regardless of gender identity or sexual orientation.

2124 Fourth Ave.Seattle, WA 98121 (206) 632-0662 x49
www.safeschoolscoalition.org

SIGNS School Survival Guide

SIGNS is a project of the Youth Enrichment Services Program of the Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center. They are a group of student leaders working to end hate and homophobia in schools by starting Gay Straight Alliances and other student groups. Resources for students and teachers. http://www.centeryes.org/SIGNS/

Human Rights Watch, Hatred in the Hallways

Based on in-depth interviews with 140 youth and 130 teachers, administrators, counselors, parents, and youth service providers in seven states, this report offers the first comprehensive look at the human rights abuses suffered by lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender students. Order the report or read it online. http://www.hrw.org/reports/2001/uslgbt/

GLSEN—Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network

121 West 27th Street, Suite 804 New York, NY 10001 212-727-0135 www.glsen.org
    National organization for advocacy and information to promote safer schools.
National conference, online resources and bookstore.

GSA Network—Gay, Straight Alliance (GSA) Network

1550 Bryant Street, Suite 800 San Francisco, CA 94103 415-552-4229
www.gsanetwork.org
    Youth-led organization to provide networking and support for GSAs. Youth
conferences, advocacy and training.

California Safe Schools Coalition

160—14th Street San Francisco, CA 94103 415-626-1680 www.casafeschools.org
    Statewide coalition to promote safer schools and to implement the California
Student Safety and Violence Prevention Act. Provides advocacy, training, and
research

Gender Spectrum Education and Training

Provides comprehensive training for schools and organizations working with chil-
dren and teens. Training includes complete education on gender identity and gen-
der expression for teachers, administrators, parents, and students. Guidance to help
organizations develop inclusive policy.
    www.genderspectrum.org

Gender-Related Resources

Parent Group for Gender Variant and Transgender Children,
Children's Hospital, Oakland, CA

Stephanie Brill, facilitator family@genderodyssey.com

National Conference for Families with Gender Variant and Transgender Children and Teens

www.genderodysseyfamily.com

Dimensions Clinic, San Francisco, CA

Drop-in groups, mental health, medical care, and hormonal treatment for transgender youth. www.dimensionsclinic.org

TransFamily

TransFamily is a support group for transgender and transsexual people, their parents, partners, children, other family members, friends, and supportive others. We provide referrals, literature, and over-the-phone information on all transgender issues. Although our meetings are held in Cleveland, Ohio, the Internet has enabled us to extend helping hands to transgender individuals and their families across the globe. http://www.transfamily.org

Our Trans Children

A Publication of the Transgender Network of Parents, Families, and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG). Third Edition, 2001. Available online at: http://www.transproud.com/pdf/transkids.pdf

Why Don't You Tell Them I'm a Boy? Raising a Gender-Nonconforming Child

By Florence Dillon. A mother's experience with raising a transgender (FtM) son. Available online at: http://www.safeschoolscoalition.org/whydontyoutellthem.pdf

Mom I Need To Be a Girl

By Just Evelyn. Copyright 1998 Walter Trook Publishing, 276 Date St., Imperial Beach, CA 91932. Out of print but available online at: http://ai.eecs.umich.edu/people/conway/TS/Evelyn/Evelyn.html

Social Services with Transgender Youth

Gerald P. Mallon, DSW, Editor, Harrington Park Press, 1999 (Haworth Press, Inc.). Through personal narratives and case studies, Social Services with Transgender Youth explores the childhood and adolescent experiences of transgender persons. Addressing the differences between male-to-female (MTF) and female-to-male (FTM) individuals and identifying the specific challenges of transgender persons from diverse races, cultures, and religious backgrounds, this compelling book offers suggestions that will help social workers and the youths' families learn more about the reality of transgender persons' lives. http://www.haworthpressinc.com

*Trans*topia*

A section of Youth Resource (a project of Advocates for Youth) designed for the needs of trans youth. Includes great articles about being transgender and young… both personal accounts and in depth articles.
   http://youthresource.com/living/trans.htm

Trans Proud

OutProud's website for transgender youth. Headline news, links to other transgender sites for trans youth, loads of resources and information, stories of other transgender teens, message boards, as well as resources for parents of transgender children.
   http://www.transproud.com/

Resources for Young Transsexuals

A section of Dr. Anne Lawrence's Transsexual Women's Resource website, designed to empower transsexual women by providing factual information, informed opinion, and personal narrative. Links to many great websites about and for trans youth.
   http://www.annelawrence.com/youngindex.html

Mermaids

A family support group for children and teenagers with gender identity issues. The organization is located in the UK, but the website has many useful resources for transgender youth.
   http://www.mermaids.freeuk.com/

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Index