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The Many-Voiced Monster: Collective determination and the emergence of trans

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> "What I say may be in a language incomprehensible, but there is a time for that, and it is right now, because this is a monster's creed."
>
> - Elena Rose

This book is intended as a statement of hope, and of possibility. It is about the context and consequences of trans emergence. It is about how "trans" becomes, and how we "become" trans. It is about how trans people are changed by the experience of emergence, and how trans emergence might change our worlds.

The authors who have contributed to this book explore notions of trans emergence from many different angles, encompassing medical discourse and practice, art and music, popular media, research praxis, interpersonal relationships, and nonnormative ethics. These are all stories about how trans becomes *possible*, and how, to echo Laverne Cox (2017), we might create trans *possibility models*: examples of liveable trans lives in all their complexity and myriad forms. As editors, we are particularly interested in the consequences of 'transgender' and latterly, the stand-alone 'trans': concepts which cannot easily be conceptualised, categories that defy the categorical.

Sex and gender diversity exists and has always existed across human societies (Feinberg, 1997; Snorton, 2017; Chiang, Henry and Leung, 2018). However, over the last three centuries the 'great' white men of Western medicine have engaged in two interrelated tasks: to clearly define sex (and latterly, gender) along binary lines, and to account for humanity's failure to conform to these categories by pathologising deviation as disorder, through processes of differential categorisation and diagnosis (Styker, 2008; Tosh, 2016). None of the resulting sexological and psychiatric models for gender difference have truly passed the test of time, for the languages of androgyny, gynandry, defemination, uranismus, inversion, transvestism, transsexualism, gender identity disorder, gender dysphoria and gender incongruence (to name but a few) all fail to capture the complications, the fuzzy boundaries and open borders of gendered experience and socio-political affiliation.[1]

'Trans', like 'queer', embraces this incomprehensibility, reconfiguring notions of community, body, origin, outcome. It is a difficult concept, and activists, support groups, and service providers all continue to grapple with the practical consequences and radical productive potential of this difficulty. What 'trans' offers is an overarching but open-ended means to describe bodies, identities and experiences that defy normative notions of sexual possibility, encompassing (potentially) all individuals whose gender identity and/or physical body differs in any way from that they were assigned at birth.

Visibility and vulnerability

Normative discourses of gender in many societies hold that there are two and only two sexes, that these two sexes exist in binary opposition, that certain ('gendered') expectations relating to dress, behaviour and social role align with these sexes, and that there is no room for movement within or between sexes or gendered expectations. Notions of trans or transgender possibility stand in opposition to these discourses. Therefore, while being or becoming trans is a matter of self-emergence or self-creation in a repudiation of social norms, there is also something very important that is shared between people. While trans bodies, identities and experiences vary enormously, the very existence of trans discourses, stories of *possibility* and trans ways of being provide a sense of collective belonging as well as a site of continual co-creation. To return to Cox's notion of a possibility *model*: through encountering discourses of trans possibility, through seeing other trans people exist and move through the world, an individual might come to understand that this might indeed be a way to make sense of their own experiences. Trans self-creation is therefore something that almost inevitably happens in community: through the more closely bound environs of local support groups or Internet discussion sites, and through the wider 'imagined community' of trans being (Whittle, 1998; Stryker, 2006).

We write this introduction at a time in which trans people have been both hyper-visible and hyper-vulnerable in many parts of the world; as Nat Raha (2017: 633) observes, this is a moment in which 'the position of transgender people is marked by extreme contradiction'. The 2010s have been heralded as a time of unprecedented social progress for trans people in many Anglophone media outlets, with American magazine *Time* famously declaring a 'trans tipping point' in 2014. However, this obscures a longer history of trans people as subjects of spectacular media interest: for example, Christine Jorgensen's transition was an international sensation in 1952, April Ashley was outed by the *Sunday People* in 1964, and an image of Thomas Beatie's pregnancy received similar mass attention in 2008 (as 'the pregnant man'). Nevertheless, the last few years have seen an enormous *increase* in the number of trans public figures: actors, politicians, writers, journalists, musicians, Youtube stars, religious leaders and so on. This change reflects both a dramatic (albeit predictable) rise in the visible trans population, and a growing public acknowledgement of trans possibility, as seen for example in the increasing everyday use of terminology such as 'trans', 'non-binary' and 'cis'. Such visibility arguably creates a greater range of trans possibility models, thereby turbo-charging the emergence of trans as more people come out or publicly disclose their trans status (which, in turn, creates a wider range of possibility models).

At the same time, trans people are more visible to those who feel threatened by our emergence, and those who might wish us harm. Consequently, the 2010s have also seen the spread of anti-trans ideologies coached in the language of religious conservatism and/or radical feminism, along with the drafting of laws that would ban trans people from public spaces associated with our gender, such as toilets and changing rooms (Aizura, 2017). In the resulting public debates that proliferate across mainstream and social media platforms, university classrooms and public meetings, trans people are frequently portrayed as *monstrous*: a freakish threat to children, to lesbians, to women, to the very notion of womanhood, and/or to the fixity of sex itself. Trans women and girls in particular are portrayed as potential sexual predators, or otherwise as some kind of Trojan Horse whose access to women's spaces will enable predatory men to similarly enter these spaces by claiming that they are women. Trans men and boys are more typically regarded as damaged or mutilated individuals who have rejected 'natural' 'female' bodies at the cost of their reproductive capacity. Non-binary people are often portrayed as fantasists seeking to reject the very 'reality' of binary sex and gender. As Anthony Clair Wagner (2015: 341-342) observes in their account of abjected bodies, '[t]he reaction that is provoked by this fearmongering is one of violent aggression—monsters can be beaten, abused, cast out, and even killed with impunity'.

These arguments have a long history. They are often associated to 'trans-exclusionary' strands of radical feminism dating back to the 1970s, exemplified by works such as Janice Raymond's 1997 book *The Transsexual Empire: The Making of the She-Male*, and Mary Daly's 1978 book section 'Boundary Violation and the Transsexual Phenomenon' (in *Gyn/ecology)*, which 'characterizes transsexuals as the agents of a "necrophilic invasion'' of female space' (Styker, 1994: 238). However, they are also part of wider pattern in which queer and coloured bodies are Othered within binaristic white European and colonial societies, as Christan Williams (2016) recounts in her account of black and gay bathroom panics in the United States, and Nigel Patel (2017) observes in their analysis of sexual and racial segregation in South Africa and Western Europe from the 17th century to the present day.

What has changed is the aforementioned fact that specifically *trans* lives and bodies are exceptionally visible in white Western and colonial societies at this moment in history. This is the context in which United States President Donald Trump has proposed to strip trans people of all legal recognition through eliminating references to gender, creating a legal definition of sex that incorporates only female and male categories and cannot be changed from the sex assigned at birth. Similarly, incoming Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro signed an executive order removing LGBTQ rights from the agenda of the Human Rights ministry. 'Girls will be princesses and boys will be princes,' incoming Human Rights minister Damares Alves explained, 'there will be no more ideological indoctrination of children and teenagers in Brazil' (Walker, 2019).

Visibility, therefore, can have significant drawbacks. The emergence of 'trans' as language of possibility and mode of organising has also worked to create a trans-aware culture against which a backlash might emerge, an issue explored by Natacha Kennedy in chapter 3 of this book. Rather than simply having negative repercussions, the moment of visibility itself can also be negative: this topic is examined by Kat Gupta in chapter 9, with the example of how a trans woman was represented in the UK media both before and after her untimely death. However, it is also important to acknowledge that some trans people are more visible than others, *and* that different trans people have benefited differently (or not at all) from the growth in trans awareness. In his introduction to a recent special section on 'trans recognition' in the journal *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Aren Aizura (2017: 607) argues that recognition does not entail justice: for example, 'trans-inclusive' jails do not end incarceration, and the inclusion of trans people in the US military 'literally deploys trans and gender nonconforming people in the service of "counterterrorist" colonial wars' . Raha (2017: 633) expands on these arguments, noting that the fresh push for trans legal rights following the 2014 'tipping point' fails to address the ongoing 'stratification of livable trans and gender-nonconforming lives along the lines of race, class, gender, dis/ability, nationality, and migration status'. Liberal approaches to trans 'equality' are therefore insufficient, as they fail to account for the wider socio-economic structures which result in some trans people being made (considerably) more vulnerable (more monstrous?) than others, *especially* at a time of heightened visibility.

If trans lives are only barely liveable, what possibilities might be offered through alternatives to mainstream media discourses of 'visibility' and a liberal politics focused on abstract freedoms and legal rights? In recent years, we have been inspired by numerous responses to this question from trans communities and activists, which range from an emergent *radical transfeminism* identified by Raha (2017), to the creation of new services run by trans people, for trans people (prominent examples include the transgender health program at New York's Callen-Lorde Community Health Centre, and UK trans sexual health services cliniQ and Clinic T). These are, importantly, material interventions that aim to address the deep and systemic inequalities faced by trans people, especially trans women of colour and others who experience multiple intersecting forms of marginalisation. However, we believe that it is important also to attend to

the psychic and the spiritual, and it is in this spirit that we turn also to the *possibilities* of trans monstrosity.

Monstrosity

If trans people are to be monsters – our lives and bodies a source of disgust and shame, our difference the cause of fear and anger – then maybe we can reclaim this monstrosity as a source of possibility and determination. Turning shame to strength is an alchemy of the marginalised. We can admire and find pride in our lives and bodies, embracing our very aberration as a source of bravery and love. This is a matter of *transfiguring* values as we transform monstrosity: holding on joyously and stubbornly to the power that comes with strangeness and difference.

It is not just those who fear or hate trans people who exploit the language of monstrosity; so, too, have many trans writers and theorists before us. In her essay *My Words To Victor Frankenstein Above the Village of Chamounix*, Susan Stryker observes that this represents something more than reclamation, speaking to the radical context and possibilities of trans emergence.

> 'Monster' is derived from the Latin noun *monstrum*, 'divine portent', itself formed from the root of the verb *monere*, 'to warn'. It came to refer to living things of anomalous shape or structure, or to fabulous creatures like the sphinx who were composed of strikingly incongruous parts, because the ancients considered the appearance of such things to be a sign of some impending supernatural event. Monsters, like angels, functioned as messengers and heralds of the extraordinary. They served to announce impending revelation, saying, in effect, 'Pay attention: something of profound importance is happening' (Stryker, 1994: 240).

This is not a straightforward task. Anson Koch-Rein draws our attention to the risks that attend discourses of monstrosity:

> In a world where the monster is circulating as metaphoric violence against trans* people, reclaiming such a figure faces the difficulty of formulating resistance in the same metaphorical language as the transphobic attack. Moreover, a figure of difference, the monster appears in racist, ableist, homophobic, and sexist discourses, making its use especially fraught (Koch-Rein, 2014: 134-135).

Nevertheless, Koch-Rein (2014: 135) ultimately echoes Stryker's attachment to the ambiguous power implicated in open monstrosity: 'It is precisely the monster's ambivalent ability to speak to oppression and negative affect that appeals to trans*people reclaiming the monster for their own voices'. Hence, monstrosity is always lurking just around the corner within the growing world of trans arts and culture.

In their *Dance with the Dead Cock* series, Anthony Clair Wagner exhibits the bold, androgynous 'hybrid' trans body of a youth standing nude in a misty meadow, one that openly challenges the viewer through simultaneous vulnerability and provocation, manifesting the artist's 'allegiance with nature' (Wagner, 2015: 342). Cat Fitzpatrick and Casey Plett (2017) feature numerous stories of monstrosity in their trans science fiction and fantasy compilation *Meanwhile, Elsewhere*. Depictions range from the peacefully communal, agendered and highly sexualised terraforming bioconstruct Inri in M Téllez's (2017) parable 'Heat Death Of Western Human Arrogance', to the undead Beryl of Bridget Liang's (2017) slashfest 'Delicate Bodies', who violently exacts vengeance on those who always viewed her fat, brown trans body as debased

even before she contracted a zombie virus. Trans artist and philosopher Natalie Wynn frequently refers to herself as a 'degenerate' on her YouTube channel *Contrapoints*, utilising unnatural lighting and increasingly dramatic costumes and characters to powerful effect in videos that by turns explore trans culture, interrogate left-wing politics and challenge the ideology and aesthetics of the alt-right. In 'Pronouns', Wynn (2018) introduces her discussion in the devilish form of Lenora LaVey, a drag queen dressed entirely in red and black. Wynn *knows* that she is abject, and that her complex analysis of debates around trans people's gendered identities and respectful pronoun use will be portrayed as monstrous regardless (even because) of the nuance of her argument; she plays knowingly with this knowledge. As the outrageous LaVey, a caprine skull sits atop her head amidst dramatic feathers; tall candles pierce the darkness behind her. 'Death!' she announces as the video begins. 'Death, death, death, death. It's the only thing that everyone fears, and the only thing that gets me off'.

This multiplicity of voices is important, for we do not have to be the same monster; while many of us may find ways to embrace our strangeness and aberration, monsters come in different shapes with different configurations of skin and teeth. Rather than remaining alone, set apart from society and forced into living cruel, estranged lives, our challenge is to identify and treasure both our commonalities and differences: to become one of many. In doing so, we can imagine different modes of being, different ways to live, different routes and pathways, different spaces in which to thrive. In the monstrous, we create space; our territory is an expanse of possibility. We are at our *most* powerful as a community of monsters, speaking collectively in many voices. As isolated individuals, we may be mocked or shunned, abused or beaten for our embodied transgressions. Together, we have the strength to queer categories, break binaries, create entirely new discursive and material realities: a point aptly illustrated in Rami Yasir's visual allegory 'Make Yourself' (Chapter 11). We have uncanny abilities: to shapeshift, to disappear and reappear, to travel eccentrically through time (Barker and Scheele, 2019), to appear as simultaneously young and old, to dance on linearities until they shatter.

Medical models for the management of trans bodies and lives have historically attempted to remove our fangs, containing and constraining our monstrosity. As Julian Honkasalo describes in Chapter 1, 'the 20th century discourse on medical treatment [centred] a stabilizing of the binary gender system as well as aesthetic ideals of the psyche and body'. Yet we are at our most powerful when we embrace our very differences and revel in our queerness. Reclaiming monstrosity as strength and courage and resilience and joy is a challenge for us and our communities, a demand to make of ourselves. This also challenges others: it demands that they recognise us as powerful, self-realised, creative, independent beings. As monsters, we can snarl in the face of pity, laugh a sharp-fanged laugh in the face of those who would see us as tragic figures trying desperately to ape the shape of a cisgender life.

Affect is central to the genealogy of monsters. To recognise trans as monstrous is to recognise the complex interplay of feelings: not simply the fear we may inspire in others, the shame and confusion this may bring ourselves, but also the hatred and joy of becoming, the ferocity and tenderness of community care and collective movement. The trans movement, the trans moment, is a movement and moment of feeling, of *trans-emotionality*, in which conversations across difference ensure that the interiority of affect is no longer tied to normative frameworks for how 'girls' and 'boys', 'women' and 'men' are *supposed* to feel (Green, 2017; Moon, 2019). Trans feelings are monstrous because they have so often and for so long existed beyond the capacity of language and identifiable emotion, in a context where there is no acceptable way to make sense of them. With the emergence of trans, we are also seeing the emergence of a more articulate monster, the monster who speaks back. Through the languages of inversion and transvestism and transsexualism and transgender and trans and genderqueer and non-binary we have gradually expanded the scope of possibility, feeling our way towards being able to better account for our relation to the internal and external alike.

What is being demanded in this utterance? Trans people are asked to account for feelings that simply cannot be described through the language of cis emotionality. Phrases such as "wrong body", "gender identity" and "brain gender" have perhaps represented a step forward, but remain woefully inadequate (Lester, 2017). Terms such as 'cis' and even 'non-binary' help us to account for relations of relative power and (in)equality between those who have a particular range of 'trans' experiences and those who do not, but also retain an investment in binary thinking and absolute categories (Enke, 2012). With the emergence of trans, we have an opportunity to move beyond the "argh", the monstrous snarl of warning or wail of inarticulate pain, and instead forge an epistemology of monsters, a way of knowing and talking that fundamentally shifts our understanding of human experience. The epigram that opens this chapter cites Elena Rose's underground classic *the seam of skin and scales*, reproduced in Chapter 4. Rose's work was a key influence on our thinking here, particularly her call to 'look the monstrous in the eye […] to say that we are beautiful in our fierceness, and that we are our own'.

What happens when a monster begins to speak for itself? The potential impact on politics, culture, media, healthcare, and the production of knowledge itself is immeasurable. If trans ideas and trans people's experiences challenge understandings of what is and might be, they threaten the current order of things as much as they promise the possibility of renewal and change. If trans languages challenge our fundamental understandings of sex and gender, how then might we account for both patriarchal structures and feminist resistance in a society built on the principle of binary segregation from birth? If trans patients challenge the logic of pathologisation, what consequences might there be for a medical system that rewards particular forms of diagnostic expertise with financial gain and prestige? It is no wonder that we face an enormous backlash from those who would see us silenced, those who wish to halt or reverse the profound changes in understanding and possibility heralded by the emergence of trans.

This book speaks in many voices. It is itself a many-headed, many voiced monster, bringing the disciplines of anthropology, linguistics, gender studies, history, medicine, philosophy, psychology and sociology into conversation, speaking to and from artistic and activist perspectives as well as academic. In turn, it is one among many, a small part of the rapidly-growing field of transgender studies, which is itself a cause and effect of the emergence of trans. These voices, multiple and powerful and inspiring as they are, cannot contain the scope of trans possibility; but they offer important food for thought.

Nourishment

This book developed out of a need to feel seen, understood and recognised, within and beyond the academy where we work. As trans people, we were (are - will be?) often starved of connection and company: lone monsters, surviving in sometimes hostile environments. We found nourishment in community.

For us, nourishment is physical, mental, social, spiritual. It crosses the bodily boundaries and the categorical distinctions of inside/outside, helping us to embrace the healing, care, and learning that are vital for our continued (collective) existence. At the first, experimental seminars we collaboratively organised at the University of Warwick – *Spotlight on: Asexuality* (2011, with Mark Carrigan) and *Spotlight on: Genderqueer* (2013, with Robin Gurney) – we very literally found nourishment in a shared lunch. In the absence of formal grant funding for these events, we welcomed people's generosity in bringing and sharing food, carefully labelled with

ingredients and allergens so that no attendee would go hungry or suffer the effects of food hostile to their body.[2] This felt important at events which sought to utilise the resources of the academy (in terms of space, time, technology) to open up conversations that were inclusive of asexual, genderqueer and trans people from all walks of life. In both instances the space we co-created sustained our bodies as it fed our minds, and gave succour to our hunger for community.

These first of these events informed the writing of a successful funding bid for the 2012-2014 ESRC-sponsored seminar series *Retheorising Gender and Sexuality: The Emergence of Trans*, held once again at the University of Warwick. Across four events the seminar series offered a site for nuance and complexity, a vital and enriching space that enabled us to reach beyond 'trans 101' discussions to examine deeper questions about gender, sex and sexuality, therapy, media, art, culture. Again, this was a matter of nourishment, a sharing of delectable ideas, experiences and research findings among activists, artists, healthcare practitioners and therapists as well as academics. At the events, we recognised the importance of drawing links between the discursive and the material, a praxis which extended beyond our theoretical analyses and into our organising. Trans people face enormous economic inequalities (Government Equalities Office, 2018); so we spent the grant money on food and speaker costs, and provided free places at the event. We also livestreamed some of the sessions, and with the help of Alex Drummond filmed many of the talks so those who could not attend were still able to follow the event.[3] You can read more about some of the ideas and questions that emerged in the closing chapter of this book, 'A genealogy of genealogies'.

For the final event, our late colleague Deborah Lynn Steinberg - who played a key role in shaping the funding bid, and was a co-editor of this volume - decided that we should host a two-day residential conference. We provided free accommodation as well as meals for all attendees, and travel bursaries for trans people who might otherwise be unable to attend. This was a redistribution of academic wealth in the service of trans community. We have fond memories of deep conversations stretching into the night, our minds and bodies well-nourished after a long day, but our souls still hungry for connection.

Writing this book, too, has an embodied act of nourishment - *transfiguring* discourse at a time of frustration, fear and despair. At times we could not see hope around us; and so we wrote our own hope, and sought to support contributors who offered to do the same. Through this creativity and community the contributors to this book have created a communion of monsters to sustain us during difficult times. This was a communion that grew out of the seminar series, with numerous authors revisiting or building on ideas discussed at those events, and others joining us in response to a new call for papers.

It is therefore fitting that this introduction in turn grew out of a day of nourishment, of ideas bounced around by Igi, Ruth and Kat in a kitchen in south-west London. As the smell of frying onion, garlic and ginger wafted into the air, we began to excitedly explore the importance of feeding both mind and body, how to meet our physical and intellectual needs, and our social need for togetherness. With Kat cooking a delicious vegetable curry our hunger and anticipation grew, and we began to think (with a nod to Margrit Shildrick, 1997) about leaky bodies, bodies without clear edges; not simply through salivating over appetising ideas and foods, but also in terms of the porousness of thoughts in thinking and writing together. Here was embodied togetherness in collective nourishment, our voices melding and merging into the emergence of this piece of writing. These is porousness too in writing together/apart: this sentence is written by Ruth, working with aromatic notes from that sumptuous kitchen, itself a leaky space as smells and tastes lingered in the living room next door and again many days later, in the fragrance of our excited annotations. Then here and there, a choice phrase from Igi, a sentence

distinctly from Kat; and other paragraphs whose origins can only ever be attributed to the collective voice of the many-headed monster.

In that kitchen and at that moment of heightened affect, Ruth was reminded too of the deeply embodied experience of writing with Deborah. Our memories of the *Emergence of Trans* seminar series come with a bittersweet flavour, for it was then too that Deborah received her cancer diagnosis. By the last event she was clearly weakened and had to leave early on the second day, although not before sharing some wise words and a deeply felt hug. The illness took a terrible toll on Deborah's body, but her mind reminded razor sharp until her final days. In July, August, September of 2016, as the summer drew to a close and the chill of autumn crept into the air, Ruth visited Deborah's house in Birmingham to draft the proposal for this book. By this time, Deborah was betrayed by her hands, too rigid and painful to type. So she dictated, fluent theory flying from her lips as Ruth sat at the computer, frantically fighting to keep up, before responding with new thoughts and formulations. In these moments, we were each other's voices. Speaking together.

Of course, these visits were also an occasion for eating, a sharing of food at one with the sharing of ideas. On one occasion in the garden, sat with lunch after a writing session with our loyal sentinel, Lola the chihuahua , Deborah explored her own gender deviance. Of this book's editorial team, Deborah did not consider herself trans; but nor too did she necessarily consider herself cis, describing herself instead as embodying a 'lesbian gender'. Within trans spaces this kind of position is often perceived and portrayed as a denial of privilege, but perhaps something more profound is going on. For all its fluid boundaries and monstrous possibility, even the stand-alone 'trans', as a linguistic technology of the here and now, cannot necessarily provide succour for all gender outlaws. To truly escape binary thinking and embrace the possibility of the monstrous, we must remember that trans language is but an ingredient in the recipe of gender liberation, not a requirement that calls for adherence to necessary identity categories.

As Deborah was dying in the months that followed, she explained that her body felt monstrous in a different way, aching and estranged on the brink of departure. She kept a blog, reflecting on her feelings and fears until she could write no more. She passed away in February 2017, just days after we were offered the contract for this book. We are still mourning her loss; but her contributions, the generosity of ideas and deeds, remain and continue to nourish us.

Whatever happens to the body of a person or text, the contribution to thinking and the expansion of human possibility remain. Like Deborah, we are absolutely determined to leave thoughts that others might continue to work with, meanings and perspectives that may continue to grow and evolve into beautiful, monstrous new forms with time. The body of knowledge mutates beyond the corporeal. The material body may perish but the ideas carry on. Trans goes beyond itself: while Deborah herself did not identify as trans, she was without a doubt a part of our community.

Collective determination

When we speak as the many-headed monster, we do so collectively even if it is in multiple voices, tones and registers. This is not a matter of necessarily being in perfect harmony with one another, but rather a matter of desire in getting to the root of things, an interest in the radical potential of the emergence of trans.

This book was not a single enterprise: rather, its emergence is both the sum of numerous individual projects, and one part a wider mutable form, a project that has mutated. *The*

Emergence of Trans has shifted shape from seminar series to journal special issue to book, with multiple points of origin and a shifting cast of participants and contributors.

It has been a long, complex journey, fraught with difficulty and loss, but one we are grateful to have set out on. We are delighted to share this book with the world as the latest (final?) iteration of a project begun many years ago, and we hope that it will help to nourish you in turn for many years to come.

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[1] The failure of clinical science to account for trans experience is powerfully illustrated in Zowie Davy and Michael Toze's systematic review of literature on the DSM-5 diagnosis 'gender dysphoria'. The authors conclude that approaches to employing 'gender dysphoria' are highly inconsistent: 'Frequent changes of terminology, and crossover between medicalized and identity terms, appear to have contributed to conflation and confusion to the extent that GD is sometimes referred to as a specific diagnosis; sometimes as a phenomenological experience of distress; and sometimes as a personal characteristic within individuals' (Davy and Toze, 2018: 168).

[2] Several people did however bemoan the absence of hummus, normally a favourite at queer events in the UK. Numerous attendees explained that they had considered bringing hummus along, but took the decision not to on the assumption that everyone else would be bringing it instead.

[3] Many of these videos are available through our website: http://transseminars.com.

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